

Two Thousand Five Hundred Years

by M. A. Venkata Rao

THE baffling tension of the times between the memory of two devastating world wars in the century and the fearful possibility of a third yet more daunting to the imagination is helping to turn the attention of mankind towards the serene figure of the Buddha for some quickening of conscience and some ray of light that may dissolve the encircling gloom and show the long-sought way to perpetual peace.

• Great preparations are going on at Sarnath and other places connected with the Buddha's life and activities in India and Buddhists and non-Buddhists, officials and non-officials are vying with each other to celebrate the 2500th anniversary of the birth, enlightenment and passing away of the Buddha on an unprecedented scale. A glance at the career of Buddhism as an organised religion in India and the Far East does not show any special superiority characterising Buddhism over other organised religions of comparable status. What then are the features of the Buddhist Way that are exercising so great a fascination today on thoughtful people in East and West? What are the values lying at the core of Buddhism that can be disengaged for a new career of inspiring service to the seared heart of man in the present and the future?

When Dr. Radhakrishnan's first volume of Indian philosophy appeared in the twenties of the century, Bertrand Russell wrote to him that the chapters on Buddhism appealed to him best among all the other material so freshly presented in the work.

Russell is a rationalist sceptic to whom religion is nothing more than superstition but he felt drawn to the Buddha. It is not difficult to guess the source of this appeal to him in the life and teachings of the Buddha.

The religion of the Buddha, if the word religion can be accurately ascribed to the Path he pointed out, purports to be that impossible variety of it namely a religion without a revelation. The Buddha started by rejecting the revelation of the Vedas, in fact of all authority whatsoever. He appealed to experience and the intelligence. Here is a note that is of exceptional interest to modern man. He transferred the centre of interest from external authority to internal experience. He did in India what Socrates did in Athens turning the focus of thought from the external cosmos to the life of man, his search for a satisfying life, for a law or path that will make sense of life and its potentialities.

The dialogues of the Buddha are comparable to the dialogues of Plato in their sweet reasonableness, their spirit of earnest inquiry, their devotion to truth and their determination to follow argument whithersoever it may lead.

The Buddha appeals to a large section of modern minds in his steadfast resolve not to engage in metaphysical theories of the absolute and the transcendental, of the eternal and the changing phenomena, the soul behind the states of consciousness. The Buddha long before Hartmann, took up an attitude of metaphysical neutrality in regard to moral values. He held firmly and maintained it throughout his long career of teaching that the good life can be lived without any speculation into the transcendental. This has been called a kind of positivism. But the Buddha's attitude is far removed from all kinds of theories that go by the name of positivism today whether that of August Comte or the logical positivism of the philosophers who derive inspiration from Wittgenstein.

This does not mean that the Buddhist was a forerunner of Herbert Spencer holding a kind of agnosticism. The Buddha did believe in some view of the Absolute but refused to discuss it with his disciples or interlocutors because he felt that there is no end to philosophical speculation and that life cannot wait for the solution of ultimate mysteries. Life can be made to yield the highest good it is capable of by right opinion about it.

The Buddha started with the fundamental intuition that life as ordinarily lived is full of suffering. In his enlightenment he saw that this suffering has a cause, that cause is *trishna* or desire and that there is a way out of it. These are the four noble truths. We may compare this starting point with the anguish or *angst* of the current school of existentialism.

Religion or morality rises to the surface of consciousness when man is confronted with some great suffering, a situation that confronts him on all sides making it impossible "to sit or stand" but forcing him to "go."

The world is full of suffering—*dukha*. This suffering is caused by desire and the perishing nature of experiences, *anithya*. Further, the soul to which we cling as the source of satisfaction is non-existent—*anatman*. These constitute the starting point of the Buddha's analysis of the moral situation. No scripture is appealed to in support of it.

This rational spirit of appealing to actual experience and method of analysis of its ingredients together with a faith that there is a way out to enlightenment in accordance with which life can be pursued in serenity in possession of "the blue print" of the world as it were, is something that stirs the depths of modern man as it did the simpler folk of a bygone day.

The Buddha in the course of his long life of eighty years and a career of teaching of over fifty years never asked anyone to take his words on trust.

And when he was on the verge of *nirvana* when his sorrowing disciples asked for his last will and testament, for his last instructions, he only said—"Be ye lamps unto yourselves. Rely on yourselves, and do not turn to external help. Hold fast to the truth as a lamp. Seek salvation alone in truth.... Be anxious to learn!"

This profound respect for the individuality of his disciples is something that is precious in the attitude of the Buddha. It is in strong contrast with the harsh and uncereemonious way in which governments and pressure groups today seek to stuff the minds of people with their own ideas and attitudes and values in regard to things and persons. This evil is carried to its culmination in totalitarian countries reducing man altogether to a kind of robot. This is supposed to be the new man of communism, the new Mass Man so superior to the exploited subject of bourgeois governments!

If the Upanishads pointed to the eternal reality behind the changing phenomena, the Buddha called attention to the changing surface of things whether in the world outside or in the mind and heart within. He was impressed with the truth that such flux without and within precluded any possibility of permanent satisfaction so long as we chased the changing show in pursuit of lasting joy. No wonder that one of the most logical of the schools of thought that developed after him came to deny all essential reality to the world and soul. If the world is real, it is perma-

nent and its suffering will also become permanent! Hence the Buddha denied the reality of world and soul to remove the basis for a selfish attachment to the passing pleasures of the world!

This leads to a deep phenomenism, a view of the world and all things in it as a stream of conscious states, no two of which are identical and all perishing into nothing moment by moment.

Russell has deep sympathy with this view of the world. For he is a Human phenomenist himself. Thinkers from many points of view have converged in ancient and modern times to deny any substantial reality whatever and to hold that the series of sensations and images is all.

With all concern for the supra-experimental Reality removed in this way, it is but natural that Buddhist moralists developed accute analyses of the states of mind as the basis for ethics. Their psychology is even to-day a marvel for thoroughness and rationality. But the core of the ethical teaching centred round renunciation of selfish desire as the way to blessedness. This entailed universal compassion. *Nirvana* came to be regarded as a state of mind attainable here and now by self-control.

A discipline of meditation and mindfulness and a morality of *panchsila* or the five principles of *dana* (charity), *virya* (fortitude), *sila* or good conduct, *kshanti* (patience) and *dhyana* or *prajna* meditation and wise mindfulness was developed and taught in the schools and monasteries of the Buddha.

This discipline can be supported by varying philosophical points of view. If put into practice on a universal scale, the conflicts and tensions in the world can certainly be reduced and a universal humanistic ethos be made to pervade all human societies. May this cause of world peace be furthered by the celebrations this month.

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Notes

Ten Days That Shook Khrushchev

THE play began in an atmosphere of intrigue and suspense worthy of a popular thriller with the villain arriving on the scene to seduce the heroine and alienate her from her family and the traditions of decency in which she had been brought up. It ended in a rollicking farce with the villain retiring across the Curtain bemoaning the "piggish" treatment to which he had been subjected by the heroine. Credit for the happy denouement must go to the good sense of the heroine—in this case, the British people—as well as to the presence on the scene of thousands upon thousands of previous victims who had suffered through past villainy of the same party—the exiles from Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Baltic countries.

Even before the arrival in Britain of Bulge and Khrush, as the British had named them, the omens were not bright for the success of the manoeuvre on which they were launched. Not only had Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge, editor of *Punch*, succeeded in holding a public meeting in Manchester attended by over two thousand people who had paid a shilling a head to join in the protest against British hospitality being extended to the Russian dictators, but no less a person than Air Chief Marshal Slessor, war-time aviation head of Britain, had publicly attacked Bulganin of "the coldest, bloodiest, blackest-hearted treachery in the whole history of the war" in refusing to help the Polish resistance when it rose in revolt in Warsaw against the Nazis in 1944. In Coventry, more than a thousand exiles from Eastern European countries wore black arm bands to protest against British hospitality being accorded to the oppressors of their countries. In London, Sir Anthony Eden received from a group of British citizens a silver-painted wooden spoon with the inscription that it came from those "who fear it will not prove long enough at Thursday's dinner party", a reference to the old saying that "he who sups with the Devil needs a long spoon". A "burn Russian institutions and deface Communist memorials" campaign was launched which involved the whitewashing of Karl Marx's memorial and an attempt, fortunately unsuccessful, to set fire to the Tass Office in London.

After the arrival of the Soviet rulers in England, the sentiments of the British people were even more clearly expressed. During the visit to Oxford University of Bulganin and Khrushchev, Oxford undergraduates, true to tradition, staged a rag, the refrain of all their demonstrations being the singing of that old song "Poor Old Joe" in reference to the dear departed Soviet Fuehrer.

Trafalgar Square was the scene of a mass march in which thousands of citizens participated in an

orderly manner carrying banners reading "Russians, get out of Poland", "Khrushchev personally shares the responsibility for the deportation of half a million of Polish citizens."

Things got even hotter when the party moved to Birmingham. There huge crowds greeted the Russian rulers with banners proclaiming "Down with Moscow" and shaking their fists as the Soviet leaders passed.

Nettled by the jeering crowds, Khrushchev lost his composure and his speech made at the Chamber of Commerce in Birmingham warned: "Never shake your fist at a Russian." He proceeded to reinforce the warning by boasting of his power to drop a Hydrogen Bomb by a guided missile on any part of the world at any moment—a peculiar performance from the spokesman of the world's most "peace-loving" nation!

His Waterloo

THE climax, appropriately enough, came not when Bulganin and Khrushchev were fraternising with the British Conservative Ministers or Chambers of Commerce but at a dinner organised by the Labour Party in the House of Commons. Mistaking the occasion and perhaps imagining that he was back in Bombay addressing the dinner of that communist front, the Indo-Soviet Cultural Relations Society, Khrushchev repeated his speech about how the British had incited the Nazis to attack Russia. This time he did not get away with it. Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, British Labour Party Leader, was equally frank in replying and presented to Khrushchev a list of two hundred prominent Social Democrats languishing in slave labour camps in Russia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Latvia and Lithuania. "There are no Social Democrats in Russia. What happens in other States is not our concern," responded Khrushchev, brushing aside the list. Khrushchev accomplished what all the efforts of peace makers in the Labour Party over the past few years had failed to produce. Aneurin Bevan jumped angrily to his feet in support of Gaitskell!

When finally peace was restored and a reference was made in the final toast to "our next meeting," Khrushchev retorted: "Without me." He also complained that he found it easier to talk to Conservatives than to Socialists, which is not surprising coming from the boss of the most Right Wing reactionary social system in the world.

The next day, their last in London, Khrushchev and Bulganin had to console themselves at a Soviet Embassy reception by fraternising with the Red Dean and Charlie Chaplin who, apart from the Communist Party, appeared to be their only friends and admirers in Britain.

The *Times of India* correspondent reports that, at that party, Khrushchev's eyes lit up when he was reminded about the Indian tour. That, however, was long ago. Gone are those halcyon days, never to return. The Red Napoleon had met his Waterloo.

Mao And Stalin

IN the current discussion regarding the significance, short-term and long-term, of the debunking of Stalin in the Soviet Union, one important factor that is only too often overlooked is the existence of communist China. Surely the hopes of even the most illusioned of those who see a return to normalcy will be blighted if, while in Russia Stalinism were to be liquidated, it were to flourish without any check in the Eastern partner of the communist Axis. A glimpse at the Peking end of the story might therefore be rewarding.

Till April 5, there was every indication that the Chinese communists might for once strike an independent line. A week after Khrushchev had attacked Stalin's *Short Course of the History of the CPSUB* and Mikoyan had attacked Stalin by name, Radio Peking broadcast a lecture based on Stalin's short course. Listeners were urged to read that book as also another of Stalin's works. This defiance of the Moscow line was not hard to understand for Mao is in China what Stalin was in Russia. The "cult of the individual" has been in full sway in China. During the last meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese C.P., Mao had repeatedly been hailed as "our peoples' great leader and teacher" and Mao's written message to the Moscow Congress addressed to "the Soviet C.P. headed by Comrade Krushchev" had referred to the CPSUB as being "reared by Stalin and his close comrades-at-arms." For years, Stalin has been described as the "stainless steel" and the "eternal sun" among Chinese communists.

Such, however, is the power of the Kremlin monolith that, somewhat belatedly, the Chinese satellites have been whipped into line. On April 5, Peking Radio broadcast a report of the Politburo of the Chinese C.P. denouncing the "cult of the individual" and admitting that mistakes had been made in the past.

While this incident shows once again the unwisdom of expecting Peking to pursue any course independent of Moscow, it would be futile to expect any relaxation of the terror in communist China. That unfortunate country is even at this moment going through the horrors of collectivisation of the land and the brutal massacres that are part of that process. What is likely is that, while conforming to the Kremlin *dictat*, Mao Tse Tung will continue, in his person and in his policies, to follow in the footsteps of the man he has acknowledged as his master, and whom he has publicly eulogised as "the greatest genius of the present age, the great teacher of the world communist movement."

South Vietnam Free At Last

THE signing of an agreement between the South Vietnamese Government and the French for the complete withdrawal of the French Expeditionary Force by June 30 is the best news that has come out of Indo-China recently. At last, the chapter of

French imperialism there comes to an end. The elections which preceded this agreement had already put the South Vietnam Government on a firm democratic footing and shown that President Diem was the unquestioned leader of his people against both French and Soviet-Chinese imperialism.

Friends of communism in India who cynically pose as "anti-imperialists" naturally do not relish these developments. Some of them have been trotting out imaginary bogeys of the insecurity that the French withdrawal must involve to the International Truce Commission consisting of Indian, Polish and Canadian members. We have witnessed in the past few weeks the supreme irony of ardent "anti-colonialists" falling over themselves to ask the French imperialist forces to stay in Indo-China so that the Indian Chairman of the International Truce Commission might sleep safely in his bed. President Diem has, however, knocked the bottom out of the alarms sounded by his enemies. By demanding the unification of his people, whether in the North or the South, through *genuinely* free elections, he has shown that it is the existence of a communist dictatorship in Viet Minh territory that comes in the way of such a happy consummation.

President Diem's vigorous measures against communist subversion and infiltration are already bearing fruit. At a recent ceremony in Saigon, no less than 2000 former communist functionaries took an oath of loyalty to the Diem government. In all 55,000 communist cadres have rallied to the regime, handing over considerable quantities of arms.

Secure in the support of his people and the goodwill of lovers of freedom abroad, President Diem could afford to look on with equanimity at the Soviet-inspired talks in London between the Russian and British co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference. Indeed, these talks boomeranged badly on their instigators, for their only concrete result was a belated British admission that the S. Vietnam Government is not bound by the armistice agreements of Geneva. We may be sure that further attempts at inflicting the infamous formula of joint elections when a majority of voters are under the heel of a communist dictatorship will founder against the determination of the Vietnamese people to be free from communist tyranny.

So What?

THE Russian dictators have at last announced their decision to disband the Cominform. The decision has been welcomed in some quarters as an acceptance of the policy of non-interference in the affairs of other countries. It is on that ground that some persons, notably the Prime Minister of India, had asked for the dissolution of the Cominform. After hesitating for a long while the communist rulers of Russia have at last decided to oblige them.

The dissolution of the Cominform is, however, as every student of the subject knows, a mere formality. The communist dictators have many other weapons in their armoury. First and foremost is the

Communist Party in each country which acts as the servile instrument of the policies of Soviet Russia. Then there are Moscow Radio, the Tass Agency and communist literature. To supplement these the communist rulers of Russia have built up at least thirteen other communist front organisations.

The World "Peace" Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the International Federation of Resistance Fighters, the International Federation of Democratic Lawyers, the World Federation of Scientific Workers, the World Federation of Teachers' Unions, the Committee for the Promotion of International Trade, the World Congress of Doctors, the International Organisation of Journalists, and the International Broadcasting Organisation are organisations most of which have branches in this country. There may be others of a clandestine character not yet revealed.

Russian interference in the affairs of other countries will not cease as long as any of these organisations and agencies, including the Communist Parties, are in existence. It will be wise therefore not to be fooled by this empty gesture of the Russian rulers. It may be also worth-while remembering that the Comintern was first dissolved and replaced a few years later by the Cominform. Who can say that the Cominform which is now dissolved will not be replaced by another organisation secretly today and openly a few years later?

Iron Curtain For India?

"SEMI-Government or private organisations intending to invite delegations from foreign countries to visit India are advised to do so through the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India. Similarly, organisations intending to send Indian delegations abroad are advised that no invitation to send such delegations should be accepted without the knowledge and consent of the Ministry of External Affairs."

This report, which then goes on to particularise the procedure in regard to communist China, appears in the *Sunday Standard* of April 8. If accurate, it can only be construed as an attempt to raise an Iron Cur-

tain between India and the world which we hope will be firmly resisted. Under what provision of law does the External Affairs Ministry demand that a private organisation of Indian citizens should submit to its veto in regard to any group of non-official foreigners it may choose to invite to this country and any group of non-official Indians who may choose to accept a similar invitation from abroad?

Of course, about the only people who, apart from the Indian Government itself, indulge in the sponsoring of delegations are the Soviet and Chinese dictatorships and their "fronts", both in this country and abroad. If the purpose of the Ministry of External Affairs is, as the reference to China may show, to curb the subversive and treacherous activities of the communists, they should say so. Unfortunately, there has been no sign of such restraint being exercised by New Delhi so far.

Illusion Shattered

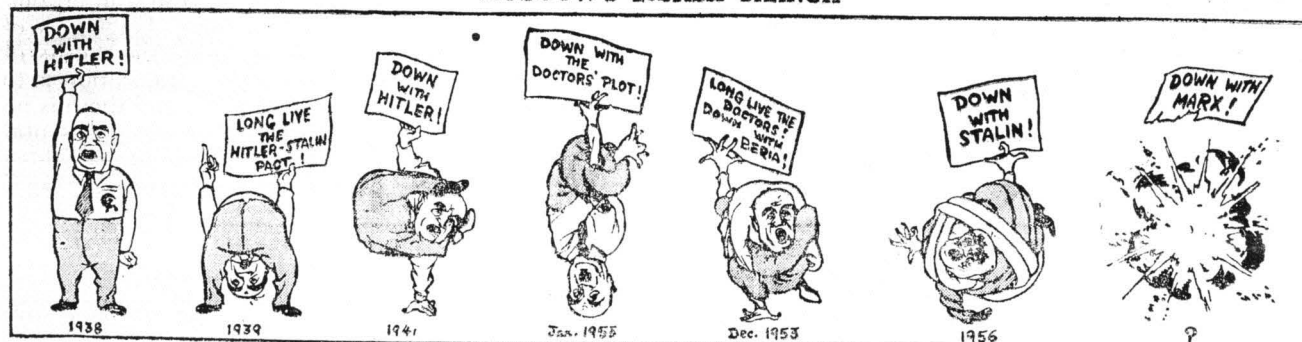
TWO years back, in the first flush of enthusiasm to study in "New China", about 10,000 students left Singapore for the communist mainland *every month*. During the *whole* of 1955, this tidal wave dwindled to a miserable dribble of a few hundred, and by December last had fallen to only 20.

This startling change is the reflection of the shattering disillusionment that faced the credulous young migrants when got to their "homelands" and found a shocking state of affairs so unrelated to the communist propaganda of which they had been the dupes.

According to Mr. Lim Yew Hock, Labour Minister of Singapore, many students on reaching China promptly asked for permission to return to the British colony on which they had turned their backs.

The *Singapore Standard* of September 4, 1955 carried an interview with a Chinese woman student which throws a little light on the facts. On arrival in China, she relates, her party of 800 was split into small groups and were put through a Third Degree interrogation. Most of her friends disappeared and she never saw them again. Her inquiries were answered by the statement that they were "useless and spoilt young people, they are now working with their hands." She also reveals that students in China, if they wish to move about, must first obtain a card which can only be secured by writing a "confession" of previous sins of omission and commission.

MOSCOW'S BRITISH BRANCH'



The man pictured above is Harry Pollitt, secretary of the British Communist party.

Continues in The London Daily Express

Copyright Bill: Author's Viewpoint

by S. R. Tikekar

A NEW Copyright Bill was introduced in the Rajya Sabha recently and it is now in the Committee stage. It is meant to replace the present Copyright Act (III of 1914), which is actually the Copyright Act of 1911 of United Kingdom, made applicable to India. In the U.K. too, a new Copyright Bill has gone through the Committee stage and it may soon be adopted.

The necessity of drafting afresh the Copyright Bill must have been felt in high official circles, mostly because of international implications, particularly with regard to Indian books selling abroad. For authors in India, the present Act gives enough protection of their rights. But the greatest difficulty is of implementing the law, of making that protection of practical value. As it is, there have not been many cases under the Copyright Act, and the Act has remained a sort of dead letter. To improve conditions, the Ministry of Education has stepped forward with this new piece of legislation although it was the Ministry of Law that was previously responsible for bringing it up to date. In the VII schedule to the Constitution, the subject of copyright is mentioned along with trademark (art. 49) and must naturally belong to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, and not to the Ministry of Education. That, however, is a minor change and it does not matter which of the many arms of Government takes it up.

The present Copyright Act and the new Bill are a study in contrast. It is extremely doubtful whether there was any justification for such a drastic overhauling of the Copyright structure. The statement of objects given by the Minister of Education does not throw any light on the reasons why so many vital changes have been proposed. The only suspicious mention is of "interested industries" who were, we are told, invited to send their comments on the subject. Although there is reference to the British Copyright Report 1952, it is surprising a similar Report was not sought for India before drafting the present Bill. A striking omission in the list of persons and interests consulted is that of authors' or literary bodies. Very likely, the drafting official believed that the copyright legislation had to do exclusively with the exploitation of Copyright material, and not with the object of affording any protection to authors and producers of works of art generally.

There are 15 chapters of the Bill. Title and interpretation make up the first, and immediately follows the chapter relating to the setting up of a Copyright Office and a Copyright Board. This is a new set up of bureaucratic machinery to be created to deal with all problems of copyright. In the third chapter, copyright is defined and the next two chapters cover the rights of the owner and the term of copyright. Licences, performing rights of societies and rights of broadcasting authorities are discussed in the next

three chapters (VI, VII & VIII). International copyright is the subject of the 9th chapter while the 10th lays down the procedure of registration of copyright. Infringement, civil remedies and offences are covered in the next three chapters (XI, XII & XIII). The last two chapters are concerning Appeals and Miscellaneous. The Bill has 82 clauses in place of 36 of the present Act.

From the author's point of view, there is little to commend, very much to condemn, in the Bill. First and foremost, the term of copyright has been drastically reduced from *fifty* to *twentyfive* years after the death of the author. Copyright of works produced during the course of employment has been declared to belong to the employer in absence of agreement to the contrary. The implications of this [Sec. 16-(b)] may cover almost every one who is in service somewhere. This tilting of the balance in favour of persons other than the authors seems to be a special feature of the new Bill. In the copyright legislation in all countries, the author has never to prove his copyright. It is for others who claim it to prove that they have a right in it.

Similarly, the "optional registration" of copyright is an objectionable process. It is not mere registration; it is applying with a fee and the registration can be effected only after careful scrutiny by the bureaucratic head. In other words, the inherent right of authorship has to be proved first and then paid for by registering it, all of which make producers of works of art look small, feel small, before the petty officer. It is surprising that our Government should suggest such a procedure, derogatory to the dignity of the self-respecting citizen, not to mention the author, who in every society is a privileged person by common consent.

All sections relating to Licences (Chap. VI) betray a complete lack of understanding of Indian conditions, of an author's earnings and the requirements of literary production. What is worse is that the Bill is partial to the makers of mechanical contrivances at the cost of authors. There are licences and licences. But this Bill provides for licences for translations of literary productions and the authority is vested in an official. Will he be well versed in many languages of our country? Will he be able to judge the merits of this translator from that? Compulsory translation is to be made legal under official patronage, and there is no remedy for bad, faulty translation or misrepresentation of author's views. This is the limit to which official high-handedness can go in spheres not their own. But all this is sought to be achieved by the provisions in the Bill.

For joint authorship, the present Act provides that the term of copyright (50 years) will be counted after the death of the *last* author; while the new Bill reverses the process. The term is of course reduced

to 25 years and it is to be calculated from the first death among the authors. Obviously some publishers seem to be gnawing at the rights of authors. Or is it just an official whim? Whatever it is, it is not right that the authors' rights should just be appropriated like that. Even the socialistic pattern of society does not demand the course. It is unbelievable that our own Government, headed by President Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who are themselves writers of note, should allow this to happen.

The new machinery proposed to be set up under the new Bill to deal with the problems arising out of the Government's keen desire to protect the copyright promises to be a grand failure, in addition to being an added burden on authors. The problems of copyright in a multilingual sub-continent that India is, will be far beyond the capacities of the ablest of administrators. Even a vast machinery, with state-wise or language-wise offices, with quick means of inter-communication, will not be able to discharge its function to the satisfaction of those for whom it is to work.

Three copyright libraries on an all-India scale are functioning already. In addition, Bombay State has one central and three regional copyright libraries. The records of these ought to be quite sufficient for the purpose. There is no point in duplicating a similar effort in the new Copyright Offices.

Apart from publisher and a stray translator, writer or editor, the possibility of infringement of copyright in days to come is likely to be from the State itself. The fear may seem unfounded; but it is true. Broadcasting being the monopoly of the Union Government, producers of works of art for use by it will

require an organised body to present their case, to secure better terms and to guard against all possible inroads on their rights. With the development of broadcasting, artists and writers for radio ought to have been more organised. It was expected that All India Radio would of its own accord take an initiative in organising the artists on whose co-operation broadcasting mainly depends. Nothing of the sort has been done by it. On the contrary, attempts at organisation were defeated by officials.

With emphasis on film production both at Union and State levels, with the ever increasing volume of book production coming from the many departments of State and Union Governments and with the National Book Trust lurking round the corner, it is clear that more and more infringements of copyright—at least disputes about the fees to be paid—will come from the organised sector of governments. Where is the protection for the author or composer in such cases?

Any legislation regarding copyright must necessarily foster and actually bring about an organisation among those whose rights are to be protected. The nature of the protection sought makes individual attempts well nigh impossible. That is why in many countries of Europe as in the USA, authors' and composers' societies are doing excellent work while there is hardly any organisation on similar lines in India. Literary associations there are many; but not one is interested in protecting copyright, in collectively bargaining for better terms, for obtaining royalties. The new Bill is disappointing because it leaves no room for authors' associations; it leaves almost all the work to a governmental department.

The End Of Equality In U. S. S. R.

THE whole motive force of the Russian Revolution (as based on Marxist doctrine and guided by Lenin) lay in its promise of equality of income to all. The very idea of a classless society as envisaged by Karl Marx is that of one where the inequalities of capitalist economy have been eliminated. It is this vision that has inspired the passionate support of the have-nots and generous humanitarians throughout the world to the Marxist Gospel of revolution and has excused in their eyes and conscience all the lurid bloodbaths accompanying the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

As the inter-war period wore on, the starry-eyed faith of the liberal humanitarians and the hopes of the masses began to be disturbed by the impartial and critical studies of the state of affairs behind the Iron Curtain that were being published from time to time. It was revealed that Marxist Society under Stalin had no doubt grown powerful in terms of industrial and military potential but that the dream of equality of income and opportunity as well as that of widespread recognition by law and custom and manners of the equal dignity and value of the indi-

vidual citizen found no support in the rude facts of the regime. It was the era of the disillusionment of intellectuals who wrote books on the God that Failed. But the inveterate believers in the Revolution continued to ignore all the evidence of tyranny, slave labour camps, the misery of the masses and the subjection of the whole population to the dogmas of the regime. It was revealed by a consensus of studies by independent scholars that the central claim of socialist society namely equality of income was not realised in Soviet Russia and that disparities there between different levels were as great if not greater than in capitalist countries.

After the death of Stalin many myths of Soviet Russia are being exposed. Mr. Mikoyan, who was loudest in debunking Stalin at the recent 20th session of the Russian Communist Party Congress in Moscow, surprised the members of the Indian Planning Commission and several Ministers at New Delhi on 28th March by admitting frankly that there were still great differences in levels of income in Russia even after 40 years of totalitarian rule and three successful Five

(Continued on page 9)

Prospects Of Democracy In India

by Nabakishore Das

AFTER the attainment of independence we are experimenting with a form of polity called "Democracy" with which we have not been so familiar. We had a glimpse of this democracy in the pre-Mauryan days and again during the British period. Democracy as a form of polity is very much related to a cultural pattern.

We had democracy in India when the Buddhistic culture of equality and tolerance was in vogue. The traditional Hindu polity was not fully democratic. Constitutional monarchy and caste regimentation go with the Hindu culture. A society having rigid caste divisions cannot be either very democratic or dynamic.

This very rigid conception of society is reflected in the first principle of Hindu Law, which lays down: "The Hindus are divided into four castes and the members of the first three castes are called regenerate. The regeneration consists in the study of the Vedas and in the performance of sacraments. All these are denied to Sudras except the Samskara of Marriage." Each of these four divisions and its sub-divisions have their own legal privileges and interests to protect. In spite of the high principles embodied in the Preamble and the chapter of Fundamental Rights in the Constitution, this is the social set up of the larger number of people in India.

When we discuss the prospects of Indian democracy, we cannot but take serious note of the present Indian social structure, that really forms the cultural pattern of the prevailing polity. Hence the danger to democracy will not come so much from any communistic countries, as some of us think. The weakness lies within its own womb. That is very aptly put by Pascal, as follows:— "People with watertight class or caste distinctions, even when free from foreign domination, cannot enjoy political liberty, it will be subject to autocracy of a clique or a family."

A democratic system cannot work in a social vacuum. The long political tradition in India is linked with loss of independence, and political servitude. The State always belonged to a class. They were either warriors or conquerors?

The liberal education imparted in our schools and colleges has actually nourished Indian democracy. But it has a limit. It is limited to the educated class, which is separated from the great 'mass' of India. The Indian mass, the real masters of our political democracy, do not know the A.B.C. of democracy.

Therefore, a pertinent question arises in our mind. Is universal adult franchise suitable to Indian democracy? The Indian Constitution, though it enumerates high and noble principles, has some weaknesses. One of the greatest dangers of the Indian democracy may be the universal adult franchise. Every election only harps on "casteism" and that is the simplest way

to get large number of votes, specially in the rural constituencies. The Harijans and Adivasis, who were oppressed in the past, are now getting special favour and attention of the ruling party. It is not without a motive. They can be easily mobilised, it thinks, into its camp.

Article 326 lays down that the elections to the House of People and Legislative Assembly of every State shall be on the basis of adult suffrage. The framers of the Indian Constitution while giving this wide power to the people clearly visualised the difficulty in the working of democracy in India and, therefore, Article 45 laid down the directive principle that the State shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution free and compulsory education to all children until the age of fourteen years.

But the State has failed to fulfil this solemn direction given in the Indian Constitution. The following literacy percentages given from the Census Report of 1951 will show how bad the position is:

1. Andhra	15
2. Assam	18.2
3. Bihar	12.2
4. Bombay	24.6
5. Madras	21.8
6. Madhyapradesh	13.5
7. Orissa	15.8
8. Punjab	16.1
9. Uttarpradesh	10.8
10. Travancore- Cochin	46.4
11. West Bengal	24.5

Democracy functions in a State smoothly, if there is more than one organised democratic party. In India Congress is the only organised democratic party having an all-India following. It was due to the fact that Congress as a national organisation fought for the attainment of independence. The other parties have failed up till now to capture the imagination of the people owing to their ideological bungling.

The Congress also has now adopted the "Socialist Pattern" or "Socialism" as its ideology. The common man therefore, fails to understand, the difference between the 'right' and 'left'. Pandit Nehru has adopted "Shankarian" tactics to kill the opposition. It was the genius of "Mayabad" to kill the all prevailing "sorrow" philosophy of the Buddhists. These tactics also have their defect. Anyway in my opinion complete socialism or even the major control of the State in the sphere of industries cannot preserve democracy. Socialism is a kind of State Capitalism. The moment the State owns the major means of production and distribution it assumes the role of a great state machine. In such a State no party can thrive except the ruling party.

Kingship and dictatorship have many similarities. The Indian dictatorship might be of Fascist or Communist brand. It will have a special appeal to the age-old psychology of the people, who are habituated to be ruled by Rajas and Maharajas. In India unless a well-organised opposition party soon emerges, the future of democracy is doomed. Lack of effective opposition will make the Congress Party autocratic and undemocratic in spite of its faith in democracy. People will not forever tolerate one party. Therefore, both political and economic measures are adopted to make the Congress Party strong and all-powerful, otherwise the Communist Party will come to destroy democracy completely.

The Congress Party is growing old and so also its leaders. Though they enjoy abundant respect of the people due to the past sacrifices for the country, the youth are no more behind the leadership. The party lacks a political thinker and philosopher like Gandhiji.

The acceptance of an ideology of "Socialistic Pattern" is more or less a diplomatic move. It may be just possible even to adopt a slogan of "Communist Pattern."

Leadership plays a great role in building up real democracy. Indian democracy can get a new dynamic lead provided we realise that politics is always relative like any other social phenomenon and in a democratic republic the attitude and political behaviour of the party in power affect most and the people outside the administration only react relatively as democracy is not a one sided affair.

Apart from building another strong effective opposition party I believe that the prevailing cultural pattern shapes the polity to a large extent. The high ideals incorporated in the Constitution will become useless unless the society is attuned to those ideals. Therefore, India needs a new social philosophy, and a new dynamic culture to reshape her static old values to suit democracy.

(THE END OF EQUALITY IN U.S.S.R. — from page 7)

Year Plans. He said that a scientist who is an Academician can earn as much as 25,000 rubles per month whereas the average wages of a worker were about 400 rubles. The disparity would be about 1 to 62 which might rise still further if we take into account the salaries of the principal ministers and Army chiefs.

Also, Mikoyan made the remarkable revelation that there were *no ceilings* to incomes in Russia. This should be specially instructive to the enthusiasts of the socialist pattern of society among us who seem to imagine that ceilings are of the essence of socialism.

These admissions by the third personage in the Soviet hierarchy of the degree of inequality that subsists in the Fatherland of Socialism even when the economy has drawn abreast of modern industry bear out the contention of *Freedom First* (as that of several others) that the facts of Soviet economy today *do not* show any fulfilment of the hopes of the makers of the Revolution.

What is the implication of this admission for economic policy? Clearly it is that socialism-cum-communism of this Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist kind, vitiated by the doctrine of class war and the cruel strategy of the dictatorship of the proletariat (resulting in the most thorough-going kind of control over mind and body exercised over the whole population by the governing elite) is totally un-called for. The path of regulated capitalism checked by free trade union organisations of labour adopted successfully under the New Deal and Fair Deal systems of the United States of America has led to results by way of abundance, wide distribution of incomes and a widespread social security system based on insurance and government grants-in-aid to voluntary associations interesting themselves in welfare. This seems to be decisively preferable to the dread Soviet system especially when we throw into the reckoning the great fact of the preservation of democratic liberties and the rule of

law through liberal constitutions and democratic conventions.

We have also the alternative pathway chosen by Britain after the recent world war, the way of democratic socialism, which proceeds through cautious experience and intervals of reflection and audit of experiments of socialisation before embarking on further grandiose measures of all-out Planning prompted by doctrine rather than by felt need and estimate of what the economy can stand.

The crucial difference between these latter methods of advance and those of Soviet Russia lies in putting *freedom first*. Plans are put through the crucible of popular discussion in party and legislature, press and platform, local discussion group and learned institutes and professional bodies. And each measure passed at the end of this process has the effect of enlarging opportunity and freedom rather than curtailing it. It is the faith of *Freedom First* that freedom is not merely an element in the good life but is itself the highest good.

The policy of jam tomorrow and always jam tomorrow adopted in these socialist or communist States sacrifices the happiness of the present generation for that of a future golden age. It is not clear whether statesmen in office today have the right to decide so immense an issue. They seem to play the God to their subjects and to humanity in general.

The claim of the communist leaders that there is no third way between *laissez faire* and their own grim road is thus proved false. An advance towards greater equality of incomes and fuller social security has been proved possible in contemporary free society through progressive taxation and State aid to voluntary associations, while the overall policy of the State is inspired by the desire to stimulate and assist trade and industry in private hands even while limiting and controlling them in the interests of social harmony and justice.

Review

Why I Oppose Communism

Phoenix House Ltd. Distributors in India, Blackie & Sons, 2sh. 6d.

THIS is a small booklet, a brilliant symposium by distinguished men—a philosopher, a soldier, a scientist, a trade unionist, an author, an Indian writer, a Roman Catholic, a business man, and an educationist. Each one of these offers weighty reasons why he is opposed to communism. The booklet as a whole presents almost all points of view that hold communism as a threat to human freedom. Writing as a philosopher, Bertrand Russell points out “The theoretical doctrines of communism are for the most part derived from Marx. My objections to Marx are of two sorts: One, that he was muddle-headed, and the other, that his thinking was almost entirely inspired by hatred. . . . But my objections to modern communism go deeper than my objections to Marx. It is the abandonment of democracy that I find particularly disastrous. A minority resting its power upon the activities of a secret police is bound to be cruel, oppressive and obscurantist. . . . Those who have been dazzled by the outward success of the Soviet Union have forgotten all that was painfully learnt during the days of absolute monarchy, and have gone back to what was worst in the Middle Ages under the curious delusion that they were in the vanguard of progress.”

Lieut. General Sir Brian Horrocks’ argument against communism is simple. He states: “The main reason why I, a soldier, am bitterly opposed to communism, is because I have a horror of war, and the greatest menace to world peace today comes from the military forces of Soviet Russia and China.”

Dr. C. D. Darlington, the scientist, writes from his personal experience of Soviet communism. To him, communism today is the greatest threat to the free spirit of scientific enquiry. He had his scientist-friends in Soviet Russia. “These men were imprisoned, consigned to labour camps, degraded as criminals, allowed to die and sometimes officially shot” he says.

Sam Watson, the trade unionist, is bitter. He points out that for 17 years—1932-49—the Russian Trade Union Congress never met. “Time was when such Congress published reports on Union activities. None has been published since 1928.” He establishes that the Russian Trade Union Congress is completely subservient to the Communist Party and enjoys no freedom whatsoever.

Stephen Spender, as an author, has two reasons for being anti-communist. One is that in all communist States the writer has to merge his individual conscience into that of dictatorship. The other is that he has to do this in conditions where arrests, mass deportations, labour camps etc. are an aspect of the

Necessity-recognised by the party when it has taken over power.”

Minoo Masani, the Indian writer, introduces himself by referring to some of his boyhood traits—“traits of standing up for the underdog, rebelling against authority and insisting on the right of self-expression.” These traits “have remained ever since somewhat inconvenient elements in my make-up,” he says. With this background and with the influence of Wells, Shaw and Upton Sinclair during school and college days he became a socialist. John Reed’s *Ten Days That Shook The World* won for the October Revolution his “starry-eyed” enthusiasm, and in 1927 and again in 1935 he visited U.S.S.R. But he became disillusioned of Soviet Russia since the time of the Great Purges of 1936 and the years that followed. “I am against communism because it represents, in the way in which it is practised in Soviet Russia and its empire, extreme Right-Wing reaction, because for the freedom of the Asian peoples there is no greater menace, because it turns its back on the moral and spiritual values that represent the progress of man.”

To the Roman Catholic, Douglas Woodruff, Communism “is a complete reversal of the true Christian order of importance,” and to the businessman, Hugh Lonsdale, it is not “free from the danger of the disruption of its economic system while key-posts, even those of minor importance, are held by those who are considered to have flourished — i.e. were not of the worker class — under capitalism.”

Writing as an educationist, Sir John Sargent bases his objections to communism primarily on educational grounds. “Education, as I see it” he observes “is a continuing experiment in individual development. If my belief in the supreme importance of the individual is a valid one, then the individual must matter more than any form of State or Society to which he may belong from time to time.” But, he points out the State under communism is supreme and hence it restricts the individual’s “approach to the goal of self realisation.”

A. A.

Human Society In Ethics And Politics

by Bertrand Russell. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London. 15s. pp. 239.

IT is in this book that Russell first puts forward the proposal that the Government of India as a sincere neutral State should appoint a committee of scientific men to investigate and report on the actual long-range and short-term consequences of the explosions of nuclear bombs on life on the planet, human and animal. This was a great compliment to India and her leaders in Government. He later put it in person to our Prime Minister but nothing came of it which is an opportunity missed and a pity.

Russell considers in this volume the facts and tendencies of human nature that are coming in the way of the next stage in moral advance namely some kind of world order based on the sacrifice of ultimate

political sovereignty by existing national states. How is this to be brought about in time to save mankind from self-destruction by a series of nuclear wars?

Russell traverses the familiar ground of the psychology of human nature from a Human or phenomenalist point of view to which man is a higher kind of animal, essentially a bundle of impulses but with more intelligence than the animal's. Are all impulses self-regarding as Hobbes held? If so, the basis for morality vanishes. But Russell follows Butler in agreeing that some impulses are as a matter of fact other-regarding. Thus the problem reduces itself to that of making the bulk of people follow lines of action which are on the whole conducive to social good. There are two motives in Russell's thinking. One is the atomic, phenomenalist one which impels him to take simples for entities—in this case the series of impulses as the stuff of human nature, each self-existent and compact. The other is the rational motive that impels him to find some way of controlling and organising the material of emotion and impulse. Is this possible if man is nothing but *skandhas* or bundles of impulses? What is the relation between reason and impulse? Russell avows again in this book that the Human formula that "reason is the slave of passions" is true. If so, the question arises how the rivalries, vanities, fears and suspicions of organised societies can be transmuted into one of trust and cooperation. But perhaps it is a mistake to probe too deeply into the ultimate questions of ethics and psychology in reading Russell.

The most valuable things in Russell's social works are the *asides*, *obiter dicta* and satirical sallies on accepted hypocrisies, of which this book is as full as any of his previous works.

"When I allow myself", he says in a moving passage towards the close (page 238), "to hope that the world will emerge from its present troubles, and that it will some day learn to give the direction of its affairs, not to cruel mountebanks, but to men possessed of wisdom and courage, I see before me a vision: a world where none are hungry, where few are ill, where work is pleasant and not excessive, where kindly feeling is common, and where minds released from fear create delight for eye and ear and heart."

Is such a hope rational, knowing what we do of human nature, for no beast and no Yahoo could have committed the crimes committed by Hitler and Stalin? But, says Russell, man is also a child of the starry heaven, and is unconquerably persuaded that his vision will be realised. M. A. VENKATA RAO

D. R. S. NEWS

Some members of the Democratic Research Service met Mr. Walter Reuther, the American Labour leader, when he was in Bombay on April 12. They had useful discussions with him on the relations between India and the United States and the role of labour in modern industrial society.

I. C. C. F. NEWS

A public meeting was held on April 16 under the joint auspices of the P.E.N. All India Centre, the Indian Institute for Educational and Cultural Co-operation and the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom to consider the Indian Copyright Bill of 1955. Sir Rustom Masani presided and speeches were delivered by Mr. B. V. Warkar, M.P., Mr. M. R. Masani, Mrs. Amy Rustomjee and Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao. The meeting passed a resolution authorising the Chairman to intimate to the Education Ministry and the Chairman and members of the Select Committee of Parliament views about the Bill expressed at the meeting.

*
The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom arranged a luncheon on April 13 in honour of Miss Leontyne Price, the wellknown American soprano. The function was attended by a number of prominent persons interested in Western and Oriental music. Miss Price was good enough to sing a couple of songs on the occasion.

*
The Patna Group has recently been very active. On February 12 it arranged a recital of *Tulsidas' Ramayana* by Shri Vallabhdas Isardas of Howrah. The recital was much appreciated by the distinguished gathering which was present on the occasion. On March 12 a tea party was held at the residence of Mr. R. K. Desai in honour of Shri K. M. Munshi, Governor of Uttar Pradesh, Shri R. R. Diwakar, the Governor of Bihar and Shri B. G. Kher, the Chairman of the Language Commission.

The Group organised, in cooperation with a local cultural organisation, the Kalamanch Theatre, a series of dance and music performances by Shrimati Rukmini Devi Arundale and the artists of Kalakshetra, Adyar. The performances began on Sunday, 15th April, and continued till the 21st. Shri Anugrah Narayan Sinha, Finance Minister of Bihar, inaugurated the series. On 18th April Shri Mahabir Prasad, the Advocate General of Bihar and President of the Patna Group of the Committee, arranged a tea party in honour of Shrimati Rukmini Devi and her troupe.

ENCOUNTER

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—Tennyson.

One of his (the Cabinet Minister's) problems is to frame an eating and drinking policy that is compatible with courtesy and survival.

—Mr. Gordon Walker, M.P., *Encounter*, April 1956.

Beyond a certain point the more you plan, the less you do.

—Mr. Gordon Walker, M.P., *Encounter*, April 1956.

Malaya's Chief Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, said today he took "great pleasure" in rejecting a communist offer to meet him for peace talks. He said he would meet the communists only if they agreed to surrender unconditionally.

—The *Times of India*, April 3.

The Russians today denounce Stalin. Tomorrow they may denounce Mr. Nehru, if he disagrees with them.

—Mr. Sudhir Hendre in the *Ambassador*, March 16.

Pandit Pant asked Mr. Asoka Mehta whether he had forgotten his (Mr. Mehta's) earlier description of the communists as the "hangmen of democracy" when he now favoured a communist-backed P.S.P. Government in Travancore-Cochin.

—The *Times of India*, March 30.

Over-patriotism was nothing but arrogance.

—Acharya Vinoba Bhave, quoted in *The Times of India*, March 21.

To the Editor,
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What the indictment says of Stalin and of the Stalinist regime beats even the worst that has ever been said by the most perfervid anti-communist anywhere.

—Beachcomber in *Thought*, March 24.

The future belongs to independence, not domination, to freedom, not servitude, to diversity, not conformity.

—Mr. John Foster Dulles, quoted in the *Times of India*, March 25.

What is utterly contemptible is the way that communist stooges—in a free country and safe from compulsion—accepted the lies, prostituted truth and dignity, and licked the feet of the dictator. And so they always will.

—The *Daily Herald*, quoted in the *Ambassador*, March 16.

America can prove Marx was dead wrong. In this country we don't have to divide scarcity.

—Mr. Walter Reuther, *Indian Express*, April 3.

There dare not be any hint of neutrality in band music.

—Directive of the East German Artists' Union to musicians.

I cannot understand why anyone should enter a country except to pump out.

—Khrushchev to Harold Wilson, M.P. quoted in the *Observer*, January 22.

We want to build steel mills because you can't eat steel.

—A foreign adviser to the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, at a meeting in Poona quoted in *Business Week*, April 7.

Not all will agree that to the hungry man poverty served with ample ideological sauce would seem a full meal.

—Touchstone in the *Hindustan Times*, April 4.

If the Congress thinks it can drive a wedge between Moscow and the Communist Party of India, it is making a very foolish mistake.

—*Eastern Economist*, April 6.

I wish there was a tax on loose language. I am disappointed it does not find a place even in the new Budget.

—Mr. M. A. Sreenivasan, in a speech on March 7.