

NOVEMBER 1953

Freedom And Discipline In Music

by R. Srinivasan

Professor R. Srinivasan is an illustrious mathematician who joined the Travancore State Educational Service as a Professor in the Maharajah's College and later was Principal of the institution. His knowledge of music (Lakshanas) is profound and he is now on the Central Body of the Advisers of All India Radio. He is on the Expert Committee of the Madras Music Academy.

SOME of the deepest truths of life are best expressed only in paradoxes, in apparently contradictory terms. The Ultimate is described as bigger than the biggest and at the same time as smaller than the smallest; some of the attributes given by Science to either are contradictory.

When we talk of Freedom and Discipline in the same breath it may sound strange. But a little thought will indicate that not only these two are not inconsistent but complementary to each other. Absolute freedom is an impossibility in the manifested universe. If everyone claimed absolute freedom the result will be chaos. Our freedom in the world is conditioned by the freedom of others. Disciplined freedom alone will lead to stability and progress. In fact any cultural achievement is the result of self-imposed disciplines. The more we advance the more these self-imposed disciplines. There lies the essential difference between man and beast. The animal instinctively follows two great natural urges, self-preservation and race preservation. As life evolves the individual takes himself in hand and minimises the time and attention he was giving to mere physical urges in his savage condition and releases more and more time and energy for higher pursuits. His lower nature is subdued and made subservient to his higher nature. The material side is well disciplined so that his spiritual nature may be more and more revealed. The more the lower nature is disciplined the more the spirit is set free

to reveal itself. We may restate it thus: Life expresses itself through form. The more the form subserves the purpose of the Life the greater the freedom of the Life.

This comes out clearly in music. It is often said about our Karnataka music that the art suffers from too much of codified rules. This is due to misunderstanding. Of course there are rules and also there is tradition, and these two work in harmony to enable the art to achieve the highest. The most remarkable feature of our music is that there is almost no limit to improvisation and still the rules would be followed. Let me quote Leopold Stokowski. He says,

"One of the great characteristics of the music of India to my mind is its flexibility and freedom. While giving due consideration to traditions stemming from the past, Indian music is free and improvised so that all powers of imagination in the musician are brought into play. In this way the music of India is always creative, never a reproduction of what is written or played, as sometimes happens with the music of Western countries."

Nature is full of charm and beauty, but in what may be called random distribution. It is the privilege of the artist to select from the abundance of nature's gift in beauty of sound, colour, form and so on and give a new shape which will enhance that beauty a thousand-fold. The artist makes a beautiful part out of the plants and flowers which grow in nature in forests luxuriously without a plan and design. It is the creation of this beauty from raw material supplied by nature that is the true function of the artist. And here comes the value of discipline, orderliness, plan and forethought. Nature is full of pleasing sounds, but the musician selects such of them as can be built into a beautiful garland of sounds. That is music.

The synthesis of freedom and discipline is best illustrated in *Ragalapana*. The essential characteristics of the *raga* are given by tradition in the form of rules, and these bring out its individuality

in unmistakable clarity. But it is up to the artist to clothe it in costume, without however mutilating the essential individuality. Let us take a child, it has its individuality, in whatever manner you dress it or bedeck it the child is the same. There is no limit to the variety of ways in which you can ornament it, the exact manner of such an ornamentation is left to the imagination of the designer. Something like this is what happens when artists elaborate *ragas* in their own way. The more fertile the artist's imagination the more variety of clothing and decoration in which the *raga* is draped. Here is an example of how perfect freedom and discipline can exist side by side and make for richer and grander art. True freedom is Cultural Freedom which is Disciplined Freedom.

It has been said that, for Indian Music, *Shruti* (correct note-intervals) is the mother and *Laya* (rhythm) the father. There is a great truth behind this statement. The mother is the nourisher of the child, she lavishes all her love on it and perhaps sometimes overdoes it, with the result that it becomes a spoiled child. The father sees to it that the progress of the child is not marred by the indulgence shown by the mother, he lays down the lines

along which healthy progress of the child will be assured. Taking the simile of the park, the mother gathers the plants and flowers, the father lays the garden according to plan. These two aspects correspond to the freedom and discipline sides of the art.

Unfortunately, at times the value of both these functioning at the same time is lost sight of, over-emphasis is laid on the form side to the detriment of the soul of music, or it may be the other way. But in any case the value of discipline lies in its helping the growth of art. If at any time this discipline misses its true mission and begins to encroach on the realm of the soul of music, we have to stop it and confine discipline to its proper role. Such critical situations come now and then, and there is some sort of struggle for supremacy between the soul and form of musical expression. Generally the soul wins and then follows a period of steady progress till again perhaps another such situation comes up. Thus it goes on, and the art progresses, though not always in a straight gradient, but in an undulating series of crests and falls, each crest being slightly higher than the preceding crest. Such a progress is made possible only through disciplined freedom. It is this freedom which is so essential for true Culture.

Notes

Heads on Our Shoulders

TWO heads, they say, are better than one, but apparently fifteen are much more effective. For that was the number of communist heads presented by the Kazhak refugees from China to Indian police officials. At the sight of them even the stern face of "neutrality" wreathed into the welcoming smile of asylum and at the dire risk of ruffling the becalmed ocean of a "beautiful friendship," the Kazhaks, who had fought their way through from Sinkiang, were admitted into Kashmir. Last month they left our shores for Turkey. From the vicissitudes of life with the communists to sturdy independence with the Turks *via* the gentle delights of "neutrality" is quite a journey and we must wish the brave Kazhaks every happiness in their new home.

If fifteen heads could unbend "neutrality"—if only for a fleeting instant—one is tempted to wonder how many heads will be needed to change it for ever to the ways of reality? Certainly their number will be greater. This, of course, would be entirely democratic, for has not some one described democracy as a mere counting of heads?

The Show Must Go On

THE Government of Bombay has decided that instead of reducing the entertainment tax on cinema and theatre tickets, it will build more theatres out of this revenue. It will also offer prizes for plays and other items of dramatic entertainment.

Lovers of the theatre have reason to be apprehensive of State patronage in the field of the arts. Unfortunately, the general public has a tendency to look to the State to provide any things that it lacks. The public has clamoured for more theatres and it will get them, but almost certainly it is going to mean that the bureaucrat is going to decide what kind of performances will go on the boards and receive prizes. And the bureaucrat, as is the way of bureaucrats, is bound to select plays on grounds of public morality rather than aesthetics. But, as Somerset Maugham has pointed out, the business of the play-

FREEDOM FIRST

is the Monthly Bulletin of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, which is affiliated to the World Movement for Cultural Freedom.

Material published in this Bulletin may be reproduced and copyright is not reserved.

Annual Subscription Post-free (Inland) Rs. 3/-
 " " " (Foreign) \$1 or 7 sh.
 Single Copy 2 annas

Articles and letters for publication and all enquiries
 may please be addressed to

THE INDIAN COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM
 127 MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD
 BOMBAY 1.

wright is not to instruct but to entertain, keeping in mind the subtle distinction between entertainment and amusement.

If cultural freedom is to be maintained and enlarged, the less that the State has to do with our theatres the better. We can by no means be certain that all government officials will show the good taste in art that was shown by Dr. B. V. Keskar, in preferring the classical to the vulgar.

Who Speaks for Asia?

AN American Senator recently pointed to the variety of voices speaking on behalf of Asia and questioned the right of any particular statesman to assert a monopoly in such spokesmanship. A lot can be said on this issue from many diverse angles. Is population to determine priorities? Or military prowess? If the latter, the doughty though diminutive Republic of Korea could base its case for leadership on the valiant record of what has been described as the finest fighting force in Asia.

Can sport perchance provide a test? If so, the list issued by Mr. T. D. Ranga Ramanujam, General Secretary of the Table Tennis Federation of Asia, should provide food for reflection to many vociferous spokesmen of Asian aspirations. The new Asian champion is Mai Van Hoa of Bao Dai's Viet Nam, while the women's title in the Asian championship is held by Miss Chen Pao Poe of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Chinese Formosa. In the team markings for both men and women, Yoshida's Japan occupies the premier place followed in the case of men by Viet Nam and that of women by Formosa. Anguish will undoubtedly be caused in certain quarters by the fact that People's China and India trail sadly behind these leaders of Asian sport.

One swallow does not make a summer nor does table tennis determine Asian leadership. These facts could, however, provide a sobering corrective to those who think they know the answer to that yet undecided question: 'Who speaks for Asia?'

Ernst Reuter

LORD Mayor Ernst Reuter of Berlin, who passed away last month, was the spokesman of a free city's resistance. He was the hope of millions of Germans on the wrong side of the Iron Curtain. Having spent the greater part of his active life under the shadow of Nazi and communist terror, he could give expression during his last days to a truth which he vindicated in his own life: "Totalitarianism has not wiped out human courage, nor human dignity, nor human idealism."

In September 1948, when the people of West Berlin were heroically fighting back the Soviet blockade and again in June 1953 when the workers of East Berlin battled with bare fists against Soviet tanks, he became the symbol of the urge for freedom.

The Congress for Cultural Freedom shares the loss of millions in Berlin and elsewhere, for he was one of its best friends. His was the voice and the hand

that welcomed intellectuals from all Europe and America to his beleaguered citadel when they foregathered there in June 1950 to establish the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Earlier this year, he reaffirmed his solidarity with our cause when he participated in the International Conference on Science and Freedom organised by the Congress in Hamburg in July 1953. We offer our admiring tribute to his glorious memory.

Stalin's "Will"

IN the June issue of *Freedom First*, there was an incidental reference to a report about a will left by Stalin which his son was being prevented from publishing. Information now reaches us that a document that is going round purporting to be Stalin's "Will" is in fact a concoction manufactured in a workshop for the forging of sovietica which has been known to exist in Paris for some time now. Those who are interested in details about past efforts at forging sovietica would be rewarded by reference to the BEIVI (issues 88 and 89) published by that authority on Soviet affairs, Boris Souvarine.

The Lesson of Guiana

MR. A. D. GORWALA'S able but alarming analysis in the *Statesman* of the extent of communist infiltration in Bengal has drawn attention once again to the impunity with which these disruptive elements are allowed to undermine the foundations of our freedom. Perhaps the fact that the patience and complaisance of the neighbouring Government in Burma have at last been shaken sufficiently to outlaw the Communist Party in that country will draw attention to the need to defend this country's free way of life. In this context the developments in British Guiana are not without relevance to our own problems.

By a queer twist of irony, it was left to the British Socialist leader to deliver the final verdict on the deposed P. P. P. ministers. Having met Jagan and Burnham and heard all they had to say in their justification, Mr. Attlee confirmed in the House of Commons that they were "either communists or communist dupes."

The picture as it emerges from the White Paper and the testimony of the various authorities concerned is now fairly clear. Led by Janet Jagan (née Rosenberg), a small communist clique had managed, hiding behind the label of the P. P. P. (so reminiscent of our own P.D.F. and U.D.F.), to mislead the electorate into giving it a fifty per cent vote and a disproportionate majority in the legislature. Using this point of vantage, this communist clique then set about preparing the ground for a violent seizure of power in the classic Czechoslovak and Hungarian pattern. Conspiring with the W.F.T.U., the World Peace Council, the W.F.D.Y., the W.F.D.W. and the whole apparatus of the Cominform, fomenting of racial hatred, capture of trade unions, infiltration of the police and of schools, destruction of rice crops,

preparations for arson—all the hallmarks of "Telangana" are to be found in the details made available by the White Paper. Even Mr. Krishna Menon's India League in London has withdrawn its support to Dr. Jagan.

While this nefarious conspiracy was taking its course, the bulk of the Guianese people, and indeed sections of the P.P.P., were blissfully unaware of the fate that was being prepared for them by Janet and her colleagues. According to Mr. Luckhoo, a London trained barrister of East Indian descent, who is a member of the State Council (the Upper House), the "people of British Guiana are not communists. They have not a clue about communism." Among these unsuspecting people, according to Mr. Luckhoo, "the P.P.P. organisation worked hard backed by money from Moscow. The P.P.P. gave away thousands of books costing 7 shillings and 6 pence. The country was flooded with communist literature." Mr. Luckhoo complained that the Colonial Office failed to send them literature with which to combat the propaganda of the communists. "Thank God the troops were sent," was Mr. Luckhoo's comment.

These developments raise a fundamental issue: should enemies of freedom be allowed to utilise the apparatus of democracy for its own destruction? The case against allowing such disruptionists the facilities of the ballot box for their totalitarian aims has been advanced with unanswerable logic in that classic of democratic socialism, *The Politics of Democratic Socialism* by E. M. F. Durbin, a junior minister in an earlier Labour administration. In Parliament, it was left to Mr. McGovern, a former I.L.P. spokesman, to clinch the matter from the Labour benches: "The time for action was now and not as in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and other places after they were drawn into the net."

Chinese & North Koreans Vote

THE agreement for the exchange of prisoners arrived at between India and Pakistan for the exchange of prisoners taken during the fighting in Kashmir is sound and simple. About 30 persons from both countries who have refused repatriation will be free to please themselves—without benefit of "explanations." The right of voluntary repatriation which the U. N. vindicated in Korea has thus been accepted by India and Pakistan in a straightforward manner.

Meanwhile the impasse in the N.N.R.C. remains unresolved. The Polish and Czechoslovak members of the Commission continue to hold up the process of explanations to the Chinese prisoners by insisting that Indian troops indulge in a wanton holocaust of bloodshed against thousands of North Korean prisoners who refuse to listen to, and be interrogated by, the communist inquisitors. The majority of the Commission, made up of the Indian, Swiss and Swedish members, has so far refused to be driven into such brutal and illegal conduct. The Indian people have reason to be proud of the stand taken on this point by General Thimmayya and the gallant soldiers of the Indian

Custodian Force to whom widespread public sympathy goes in the difficult predicament in which they have been placed. Public opinion will expect them to hold fast to their stand. Indeed, no other course is conceivable, quite apart from moral considerations. The terms of Article 3 of the Armistice Agreement are unequivocal:

"No force or threat of force shall be used against prisoners of war to prevent or effect repatriation, and no violence to their persons or affront to their dignity or self-respect shall be permitted in any manner for any purpose whatsoever."

All the communist chatter about secret "agents" holding back the P.O.W.s cannot obscure the vital fact that the Chinese and North Korean communist regimes have suffered the biggest propaganda defeat of their chequered and inglorious careers. There has not been, and can never be, any free elections in those unfortunate lands until they are liberated from the Soviet yoke. The insistence of the United Nations on voluntary repatriation has, however, presented a few thousand Chinese and Koreans with a wonderful opportunity to cast a vote for or against the communist dictatorships in their countries.

The result is smashing in its decisiveness. The North Koreans will not even look at their tormentors. They are prepared to face bullets in their determination. Of the 921 Chinese who have so far been the recipients of communist "explanations," only 19 have opted to return to their home lands—just 2 per cent! There is no reason to doubt that, given the choice, the bulk of the Chinese and North Korean peoples would pass a similar verdict on Mao and Kim.

When one is asked therefore what one is to make of the reports on communist China by men like Sunderlal and Chalapathi Rao, one does not have to cite the books by Moraes and Hutheesing to discount their testimony. The Chinese and North Korean prisoners of war have given the lie direct to those fairy tales with which it is sought to bemuse gullible sections of the Indian people.

Thanu Pillai and the Rope

MR. P. THANU PILLAI, the veteran Praja Socialist list of Travancore-Cochin, is reported to favour a United Front with the communists in the forthcoming elections in his State. He evidently has not read his Lenin on the true meaning and implications of a United Front. These were outlined by Lenin in his *Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder* in which he advocated the British Communist Party offering a United Front to the British Labour Party. Explaining the true meaning of such an alliance, he wrote:

"I want with my vote to support Henderson in the same way that the rope supports a hanged man"—Reprinted in the *Essentials of Lenin* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1947, Vol II)

Perhaps, even now Mr. Pillai's second thoughts or the remonstrances of his colleagues of the P.S.P. in the rest of the country will restrain him from inviting suicide for himself and discredit for the party to which he belongs?

The New Serfdom

by Philip Spratt

SLAVERY of the old type was abolished, except in some corners of the world, in the 19th century. Increasing prosperity, state interference and modern publicity have conduced to liberty for the masses at the bottom of the social system.

Then, within the past forty years the state socialist trend has developed, which threatens liberty in all countries, not only backward ones, and not only of those at the bottom of the scale. The totalitarian states are notorious, but all those following the fashionable welfare doctrine are suspect. There have been many protests, not all frivolous, at the restriction of liberty in Britain, especially under the Control of Engagements Order of 1947.

In 1951 the ECOSOC of UN and the ILO jointly set up a committee to inquire into this new danger to liberty. Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar was Chairman, and a former President of the Supreme Court of Norway and a former Foreign Minister of Peru were the members. They divided the subject into two parts: forced labour designed to change the political opinions of those subject to it, and forced labour for economic purposes. They decided to base their conclusions mainly on laws and regulations, but admitted other evidence. They sent a questionnaire to all the governments of the world: about two fifths of these failed to reply, all the iron curtain countries except Czechoslovakia falling in this category.

In regard to the non-communist countries the report* is not alarming. Forced labour is exacted, if at all, for economic purposes. There is, or under the law could be, forced labour, direct or indirect, in Spain, South Africa, the U.S.A., and some of the colonies of Australia, Belgium, Portugal and Britain. It is only in South Africa that the evil is on a big scale, and there the coercion is indirect.

The Latin American countries are let off with a request to hasten the promised abolition of lingering feudal forms of coercion. Some of the others are perhaps rather too easily given the benefit of absence of evidence, and perhaps some of those which omitted to reply are really guilty. However, the conclusions are in accordance with what was vaguely known or suspected, and their publication should lead to pressure from the public and eventually improvement.

Forced labour is only an extreme form of the coercion which the modern state exerts on its citizens. The evil is far broader and more insidious. These findings reassure us that this extreme form of the evil exists as yet only on a small scale, and that vigilance in defence of liberty is still possible and effective.

The iron curtain countries are charged with using forced labour for both political coercion and economic benefit. China is omitted for lack of evidence,

and all the rest are found to have passed legislation under which forced labour systems for both purposes could exist. The Committee refuses to pronounce on the extent of the systems, but in some cases remarks that the other evidence substantiates that derived from legal provisions.

Thus in Russia, penal legislation "constitutes the basis of a system of forced labour employed as a means of political coercion or punishment for holding or expressing political views, and it is evident from the many testimonies examined by the Committee that this legislation is in fact employed in such a way... the system seems to play a part of some significance in the national economy. The Committee has not been able to arrive at any definite conclusion as to the number or location of the corrective labour camps and colonies; much less has it been able to assess how many persons are detained in them.

"Soviet legislation makes provisions for various measures which involve a compulsion to work or place restrictions on the freedom of employment; these measures seem to be applied on a large scale in the interests of the national economy, and... lead, in the Committee's view, to a system of forced or compulsory labour constituting an important element in the economy of the country."

In its General Observations the Committee declares that systems of forced labour of both types violate the fundamental rights of the human person as guaranteed by the UN Charter and proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Of forced labour for political purposes it says: "What makes the system most dangerous to human freedom and dignity is that it tresspasses on the inner convictions and ideas of persons to the extent of forcing them to change their opinions, convictions, and even mental attitudes to the satisfaction of the State."

Of forced labour for economic purposes, it says that while the existence of this type of forced labour has been generally suspected in countries of the colonial level of economy, and the work of the ILO had been directed at that problem, it now occurs in fully self-governing countries, raising new problems for the ILO. "The inquiry has revealed the existence of facts relating to systems of forced labour of so grave a nature that they seriously threaten fundamental human rights and jeopardise the freedom and status of workers."

These findings and comments do not go nearly as far as the perfectly well established facts, familiar for years past, about the iron curtain countries. However, it is a gain to have them set forth, with a mass of evidence mainly from the laws of those countries, in a report of such authority. The danger is now that in the interests of illusory political agreements the report will be shelved.

* Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour (I.L.O., Geneva, 1953, Pp. vii, 621, Price 22sh. 6d.)

'No Place For Ideological Germ-Warfare'

by M. Bhaktavatsalam

I HAVE great pleasure in welcoming you all to this conference. We are meeting at a time when the democratic forces of the world stand imbued with a keen awareness of the responsibilities they owe to themselves and others. Today, more than ever, we should bear in mind that democracy is not a mere form of Government which can be grafted on the existing set-up of things but that it is a way of life, a communion of culture, a partnership in progress which is all-pervasive and in whose mighty march our own individual life, however insignificant, plays an intrinsic and integral part. The ordinary day-to-day life of the under-dog is, today, a perpetual struggle; but in the struggle itself is embedded the challenge, and the call to the realisation of a fuller and more fruitful life. It is this challenge, this purposefulness, that men should be made to realise, it is then that the latent energies of mankind can be opened out into creative, constructive, co-operative activity for the common good.

We hear all too often of the new glorious era of the common man that is waiting to be ushered in; this drum beating has indeed become the stock-in-trade of most political parties. Yet this revolutionary rigmarole rolls by leaving the common man cold and indifferent. Into his life has crept a void—a painful lack of something, an oppressive sense of emptiness. In this state of distraction and utter frustration counsels of despair and gospels of violence appeal to him and sweep him away. If man is not to be thus egged on to his own destruction the need is imperative to make him feel the point in his life, the purpose of his existence, to make him realise that each man has a message to give, a mission to fulfil and is a messiah unto himself. Society needs men—not man-machines. It needs men, pulsating with the creative confidence that cultured convictions have given them. It has no use for men who are content to be ground into nothingness under ideological steam-rollers.

It will be a tragic irony if in the gruelling struggle for material advancement, whether it be sponsored by individual greed or national aggrandisement, man becomes de-humanised; he will then have gained the world, only to lose his soul. In the race for exceeding targets and breaking records let us take care that man shall not be the casualty. To him should be given the right to think and the freedom to work, the right to use his mind no less than his hands, the right to evolve and strengthen the bonds between himself and society. It is this freedom that is denied in a totalitarian State. In the regimented society of military dictatorship or ideological absolutism, the citizen has the right to live—but not his own life, the right to think, but not his own thoughts.

This right to think and the freedom to act are the basis of any truly democratic and progressive society. On this depend individual advancement, social stability, national progress and world peace. The harmony of interest that cultural freedom brings will help to cut across national barriers and class distinctions. Man must live a full life. He must have something to live for and something to live on. When food is given and the ideal is taken away there is intellectual sterility and barrenness of spirit. True culture can flourish only when the stomach is full and the soul is fresh.

This part of the country in which we are meeting today has been the home of a culture which is as broad in its outlook as it is ancient. The Tamil saying from the ancient Sangam literature of nearly a thousand years ago that "the world is my home and all are my kin", sums up the spirit of brotherhood and universal outlook that characterised those days. That spirit of universality was a positive force; a creative urge; it was founded on love and nourished on truth. True fraternity and fellowship cannot be promoted by invoking feelings of hatred or animosity, by dividing society against itself and by giving free rein to destructive force. It is the sympathy that comes from understanding, the comradeship that springs from co-operative endeavour, the flowering of the spirit that knows and enjoys its freedom—these alone can take man and society on the right road to fulfilment.

The emphasis on correct moral values in personal as well as public life, in national as well as international affairs, is the greatest contribution that Mahatma Gandhi has made to modern thought. The cardinal truth, on which all his teachings were founded and to which all his actions were faithful was that the means should be as pure as the ends. A noble end can never be achieved by foul means, however tempting the prospect and easy the short-cut; the means would corrupt, corrode and debase the end and demoralise the effort. Imperfect means, striving honestly to attain an ideal, trying to stretch their arms towards perfection, are nearer the goal, than incorrect means with improper values. That false moral code, which made distinctions between personal morality and public morality, which sought to condone and even commend wrong, when it was sanctified by numbers, which permitted the suppression of truth in the name of tact, and recommended dishonesty under cover of diplomacy, found its sworn enemy in the Gandhian way of life.

Gandhiji's gospel of non-violence and love, offers the one ray of hope for the world which is today groping its way towards peace. It shows the way for ending all exploitation and with it, that most

(Continued on page 7.)

Review

Report on Mao's China

By Frank Moraes (Macmillan & Co., New York, 1953, \$ 3.50, pp. 212)

UNLIKE other travellers to countries under the communist yoke, Mr. Frank Moraes did not forget to include some common sense among the very necessary articles of luggage. To him the traditions of his country, the strong influence of his liberal education and a sense of professional integrity are not things to be discarded on crossing the barriers between the enlightenment of freedom and the darkness of slavery. If Oxford is evident in his polished prose, his revulsion against thought control and organised hatred is typically Indian; so too, unfortunately, is some confused thinking on neutrality.

His tour like others, was a conducted one ("We saw what our hosts wished us to see") and interpreters loom large in his chronicle of the country where the "Forbidden City" has expanded into the "Forbidden Land." But through the camouflage of propaganda and percentages, he has caught a good glimpse of the real nature of communist dictatorship. It struck a familiar chord: "Many years ago in Fascist Rome I had watched Mussolini's Black Shirts... then as now the sense of something superimposed on an

(BHAKTAVATSALAM — Continued from page 6)

sinister and subtlest of all subjugations—the subjugation of the intellectual personality of the individual through ideological exploitation. In the Gandhian society, man will be respected not repressed, ennobled not annihilated, purified not purged. The Gandhian way has no use for the ruthless process of thought-culture, which leads to mind-control and ends up with the annihilation of the soul and the liquidation of individuality. Gandhiji looked upon life as one long experiment in truth, the more the number and wider the variety of experiments, the more fruitful was the research likely to be. According to him, the citizen had not only the right, but the duty to think intelligently, speak truthfully, and act independently. The legacy he has left to India and the world should be cherished and enriched.

We owe a duty to ourselves no less than to posterity to educate ourselves in culture so that we may experiment in truth. And in this temple of learning there is no place for ideological germ-warfare. Man would have taken a big stride towards progress when he learns to see and respect truth in its manifold manifestations and desists from the diabolic determination to strait-jacket the entire society into his own pet pattern.

May I welcome you all, once more to this conference and express the hope that your deliberations will help to keep the torch of truth burning.

(Welcome Address of Chairman, Reception Committee, at the Annual Conference of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom in Madras.)

age-old pattern prevailed... It was harsh and horrid. It was the mating of bamboo with blood and iron."

Mr. Moraes has the added advantage of having visited China before and talked to numerous people in all walks of life. This time, however, his contacts are only "official," people whom he had met before and spoken to in English, (like Madame Sun Yat Sen) now only speak through interpreters and then only in the stereotyped phrases of communism's automations. The sinister pattern of thought control could not be concealed by all the interpreters in China. The "intellectuals might not always have been able to speak aloud in Kuomintang China but now they found they could not even whisper." "There is no sphere of life private or public in which Mao's government does not intrude. The individual is denied even his right of silence..." A fleeting contact with a businessman in Shanghai, a word here perhaps—the rest was incessant, compelling propaganda where wrong became right and the ancient Chinese virtues of scholarship and individual thought were being submerged in the treacherous quicksand of communism.

"The absence of the rule of law implies the presence of a police state. Despite its verbal trappings this is the character of Mao's China." The concept of equality and justice under law is alien to communism. Dr. Katju recently described Chinese communist justice as "trial by radio and verdict by telephone;" Mr. Moraes having studied law in the hallowed sanctum of Lincoln's Inn finds it a revolting state of affairs where there are no laws, where the judges have no knowledge of law and where the accused is always guilty.

"The Chinese communists are merely agrarian reformers," "Chinese communism is different," "Mao will be another Tito." Springing as they do from the mistaken policies of our Government and the natural pro-Asian sentiments of our people, these misconceptions are widespread in India. But they find little support in Mr. Moraes' book. "The trimmings of the Red cake were gay and pleasing. They made a pretty pattern. The ingredients were Chinese. But the recipe came from abroad. It came from Moscow." The identical nature of China and the U.S.S.R., the oneness of their objective of world conquest are all set forth in a lucid manner by him. The glib salesmanship of Sardar Panikkar also comes in for some rough handling.

Communist China represents a direct threat to the security of our country and the communists have made no secret of their intention of ultimately spreading their darkness over India. In spite of this the naive still cherish illusions of a "beautiful friendship;" and faced with the signals of danger they can only preach appeasement. "In Chinese eyes India needs to be liberated along with the rest of Asia. The Japanese called their expansion "co-prosperity." The Chinese prefer to call it "liberation." Mr. Moraes has none of the simple faith of our politicians in the good intentions of communism. Another popular misconception is that communism will come only through the efforts of the internal Party and that

the Russians or Chinese will do nothing to accelerate it. In answer, Mr. Moraes quotes Stalin as saying: "Naturally our Party cannot remain indebted to fraternal parties and peoples in their respective struggles for emancipation. The Soviet Union needs the support of the peoples abroad and pledges the Soviet Communist Party to help foreign communist and democratic parties fight for peace and liberation." So much then for the "beautiful friendship."

Communism's design for conquest is there for all to see, Mr. Moraes sees it very clearly indeed and yet he goes on to defend India's neutrality on the false analogy of America's neutrality in earlier days. He puts forward the thesis that, "power blocs are an incitement to war, not an insurance against it," as one of the "fundamental truths that survive." Obviously he means that the alliance of the democratic countries in the face of the communist threat is an incitement to war. Surely he would not suggest that all of them go the way of Czechoslovakia which tried so tragically to "co-exist" with the U.S.S.R.? The fundamental truth of the modern world is that there can be no co-existence with communism, because by its very nature communism is imperialist and expansionist. In the face of a self-confessed conqueror one can either defend oneself in the company of one's friends or lie down and be conquered. In the words of Mao-Tse Tung, "there is no third way." "War," says Mr. Moraes, "is no solution." Entirely true, but military weakness today is an invitation to war. Economic betterment by itself is as much a defence against communism as the higher standard of life of Denmark and Norway was a defence against Hitler. Apart from this lapse into providing a rationale for neutralism Mr. Moraes' report on Mao's China represents an intelligent and balanced account by one who leaving democracy saw communism and preferred democracy.

FAIZ NOORANI.

A Moon For The Misbegotten

By Eugene O'Neill (Jonathan Cape, 1953, sh. 10/6, pp. 156)

THE map of Ireland stamped on her face, Josie Hogan is a tragic symbol of womanhood gone to waste in a world of drunken, loud-swearing bums. In a vain attempt to offset the insecurity of her future as a woman, consciously fomenting an unsavoury reputation about herself, Josie is complacent in the nightmare world of her own making, till Jim Tyrone comes along and calls her bluff: "You can take the truth, Josie, from me because you and I belong to the same club. We can kid the world but we can't fool ourselves, like most people, no matter what we do—nor escape ourselves no matter where we run away. Whether it's the bottom of a bottle, or a South Sea Island, we'd find our ghosts there waiting to greet us"—sleepless with pale commemorative eyes.

Set in the uneasy days of speak-easys on a New England rock-pile mis-called farm, Eugene O'Neill's hitherto unstaged *A Moon For The Misbegotten* is a far cry from the contribution he has by now made to the American stage.

However, though over-shadowed by slightly larger-than-life-size Josie Hogan, the narrative displays unusual grip on a none too unfamiliar theme: the conflict of moral and material values when an ungainly daughter deceived by a scheming old father comes face to face with the only real love of her life and is disillusioned in finding her Latin-quoting lover idealizing his much wronged mother in her person.

RUSTAM HORMUZZIYAR

Notes On Andre Gide

By Roger Martin Du Gard. Translated by John Russell (Andre Deutsch, 1953, sh. 9, 6d., pp. 107)

"I do not give the name of kindness," Benjamin Constant wrote at the end of *Adolphe*, "to that ephemeral pity which cannot dominate impatience, or prevent it from re-opening the wounds which a moment of regret has stanching. The great question in life is the pain that one causes, and not even the most ingenious metaphysics can justify the man who has broken the heart that loved him." That was the tragedy of Gide and none was more acutely conscious of it than the author of *L'Immoralist* himself.

People may or may not admit at this moment but the value of a man like Gide, the extent of his influence, and his historical importance, may be measured by the *passivity* of those who defend orthodox morality against the audacity of his ideas and the unpunished perseverance with which he has expounded them throughout the world.

Notes On Andre Gide is a faithful record of a friendship rare in this age of intellectual intolerance—a portrait of an artist by an artist.

R.H

The Tale of the Tub

By Geoffrey Ashe (Newman Neame Ltd., London, 1950, 6 sh., pp. 64), with Drawings by Sprod.

IN pursuance of the adage that cleanliness is next to godliness, Man through the ages, by methods varying from the very primitive to the luxuriously ornate, tried to get next to the powers that be above us! In *The Tale of the Tub* Mr. Geoffrey Ashe surveys the order of the bath from antiquity to modern times. The book has some delightful drawings by 'Sprod' of Punch, which are entirely in keeping with the spirit of the writer.

F. S. N.

C. C. F. NEWS

There has been established at Santiago de Chile a Chilean Committee for Cultural Freedom, under the presidentship of Prof. G. Nicolai.

A message to the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom from this sister committee says:

"We hope we can create good relations with all the other Committees in the world, in order to establish constant contact and exchange of important cultural documents for the edification of all free men of goodwill.

We address to you in the name of the Chilean Committee our greetings and best wishes."

Encounter

Edited by Stephen Spender and Irving Kristol. Published by Martin Secker and Warburg Ltd., London, for The Congress For Cultural Freedom. Vol. 1, No: 1—October 1953. Annual Subscription for India: Rs 10/-.

WELL nigh three years ago, the Paris Bureau of The Congress for Cultural Freedom launched a literary monthly organ in French, *Preuves*, which has since issued 32 issues. Now, at a time when we are deeply concerned with untrammelled exercise of freedom in cultural pursuits, designed to reduce hitherto existing lacunæ in the interchange of ideas in the English speaking world, *Encounter* appears as a handsome answer for many an unacknowledged prayer.

Edited by British poet Stephen Spender and Irving Kristol, erstwhile managing-editor of *Commentary*, *Encounter* regards "literature and the arts as being values in themselves, in need of no ulterior justification." In its first issue, apart from Nicolas Nabokov's survey of music in Sovietland, it carries fiction and poetry by writers from six countries, including the hitherto unpublished diary of Virginia Woolf, essays by Albert Camus and Christopher Isherwood, poetry by C. Day Lewis, Edith Sitwell and Alberto de Lacerda.

Russian Formalism has often been represented as merely a refurbished version of the late 19th century "art for art's sake" doctrine. This notion is largely misleading. For one thing, the Russian Formalists were not primarily concerned with the essence, or purpose, of art. Avowed champions of "neo-positivism," they sought to steer clear of "philosophical preconceptions" as to the nature of art; they had little use for speculations about Beauty, or the Absolute. Formalist aesthetics was empirical rather than metaphysical.

The driving force behind Formalist theorizing was the desire to bring to an end the methodological confusion prevailing in traditional literary history and to evolve a system of literary scholarship as a distinct and integrated field of intellectual endeavour. It is high time, argued the Formalists, that the study of literature, so long an intellectual no-man's land, delimit its area and define unequivocally its object of enquiry. And this was precisely what the Formalists set out to do. They started from the premise—today widely accepted — that the literary scholar ought to address himself to the actual works of imaginative literature rather than, to quote Sir Sidney Lee, to the "external circumstances in which literature is produced."

It is in the light of understanding of the Russian Formalist movement that we have to evaluate the unhappy lot of Prokofiev, who has recently been elevated to the status of a "great Soviet classic," and whose indomitable figure was subjected during his life-time to the stigma of "formalism."

Dismissing the superficial explanation "that subservience to orthodoxy in the sphere of musical composition is only a special case of the wider servitude to reactionary dictatorship which is characteristic of the Soviet regime" as "quite simple," Nicolas Nabokov, Secretary General, The Congress For Cultural Freedom, traces another more "fundamental and complex" reason for the return of Russian music to the conventional idiom, and for the abandonment of all innovation and experiment as rooted "in the radical transformation which has taken place in the social structure of the Russian state since 1930."

Raising a rhetorical poser: "Where are the funeral cantatas of Stalin?" Nabokov in his extremely readable piece on the state of music in the USSR during three last decades, discerns signs that the "immense refrigerator in which Stalin has confined the life of the Russian people" has a door slightly ajar "for some of the atmosphere to reach the frozen regions of the interior." With uninhibited glee Nabokov reports the "complete disappearance of portraits of Stalin and all the other so-called 'composers' such as Mao-tse Tung, Zhdanov, Voroshilov and Beria(!) which used to appear periodically in the pages of *Soviet-skaya Muzyka*."

"Before the eyes of the world an opportunity was lost," observes Leslie A. Fiedler in his searching analysis of the Rosenberg case, euphemistically ascribed "A Postscript," "to assert concretely what abstract declarations can never prove: that the suffering person is more real than the political moment that produces him or the political philosophy for which he stands." Perhaps this could be our epitaph.

Of particular interest to Indian readers of *Encounter* is Denis de Rougemont's "Looking For India," a kind of how-others-see-us portrayal. Ending though his delightful little study does on a ponderous sounding note of "The West has problems. India is problems," de Rougemont, in a typically tender moment, feelingly confides: "I do not know if I have ever seen anything more touching, or a group of men more simple and dignified in the act of hearing a poem."

Verily, *Encounter* is more than a literary feast of Samarkand in this emaciated age of sleek magazine fodder. We will do well to greet this new spokesman of all that we value and cherish in the words of last lines of Wordsworth's *To Toussaint L'Ouverture*:

...thou hast great allies;
Thy friends are exaltations, agonies
And love, and man's
unconquerable mind.

R.H.

To The Editor

Sir,—I have just seen a copy of the May edition of *Freedom First* and find myself extremely puzzled by the review of *Perspectives*, a quarterly published by Hamish Hamilton Ltd., London, and by the malice of the reviewer who calls himself "Agni." His opinions, however ill-founded, are, of course, his own affair, but I do think it worth while to correct one or two of his facts. He claims, for instance, that "Intercultural Publications Inc., New York" (a phrase which he feels murders the King's English) is a synonym for the Ford Foundation. Either the impulse to murder the King's English is strangely contagious, or "Agni" doesn't know the meaning of the word "synonym", or else he genuinely believes that the Ford Foundation sends no agricultural aid to countries requiring it, subsidizes no foreign students, offers no fellowships, sponsors no projects to promote international understanding (which, to judge from "Agni" is badly needed), in short, confines its activities to the running of Intercultural Publications Inc. I am sure it would surprise the Ford Foundation trustees to know that they are, after all, only publishers, but if "Agni" takes the trouble to write to them I dare say they could send him a bulletin to give him a clearer idea of the scope of the work of the Foundation.

Secondly, since "Agni" apparently sets himself up as a judge of writing, I feel he should know that his phrase "say plenty" is not seriously in current literary usage in America. He himself apologises in the next sentence—but unfortunately for the wrong thing. He writes, "Dear, dear, your reviewer has fallen into the error of Transatlantic expressionism." Possibly he has fallen into error—that is something about which he must consult his own conscience—but certainly he is in no danger approximating American expressionism, or even of American expression.

Obviously so limited an acquaintance with the American language or literature has its advantages. "Agni" is not, for example, hampered by knowledge in damning *Perspectives* as the work of "the lunatic fringe, the jargon slingers." However, in one thing at least, "Agni" excels. Not even the "mere Europeans" with whom he likes to class himself, could surpass the snobbishness with which he marvels at the "profoundity" of American culture, and calls it "one of the world's most astonishing developments."

Perhaps the thing that surprises me most of all is that "Agni's" review should have appeared in *Freedom First*. It seems to me very odd indeed that a magazine dedicated to "Cultural Freedom" should welcome such prejudice and ignorance in its pages.

Santha Rama Rau.

Having invited "Agni" to review Perspectives, the Editor felt that "cultural freedom" called for the publication, rather than for the suppression of the review, just as it calls for the publication of this criticism by Santha Rama Rau—Editor

ENCOUNTER

Literature — Arts — Politics

Edited from London by
STEPHEN SPENDER and IRVING KRISTOL

and sponsored by
**THE CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL
FREEDOM**

Encounter will draw on the best European, Asian and American writing. It will contain about 80 double-columned pages or 50,000 words of reading matter, with four pages of illustrations.

The first two numbers of

ENCOUNTER

feature hitherto unpublished excerpts from

VIRGINIA WOOLF'S JOURNALS

and contain contributions from:

W. H. Auden
Albert Camus
Eric de Costa
Leslie Fiedler
Christopher Isherwood
Arthur Koestler
Melvin Lasky

Malcolm Muggeridge
Nicolas Nabokov
Raja Rao
Denis de Rougemont
Bertrand Russell
Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

**ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION in India Rs 10/-
for 12 issues.**

Please send your Subscription to:

**ALLIED PUBLISHERS
& STATIONERY MFRS. LTD.,**

15 Graham Road	17 Chittaranjan	Munshi Niketan
Ballard Estate	Avenue	Near Kamala
Bombay 1	Calcutta 13	Market New Delhi

I. C. C. F.—Rules

- Membership:** Membership of the Committee shall be open to any adult person resident in India who (a) shall adhere to the Declaration on Cultural Freedom adopted at the Indian Congress for Cultural Freedom in Bombay in March 1951, (b) shall apply in writing in the prescribed form, (c) shall pay the prescribed annual subscription in advance, and (d) whose application shall be accepted by the Executive Committee.
- Local Groups:** Where there are in a locality more than ten members of the Committee, the Executive Committee may authorise the formation of a local Group and such Groups shall function in an autonomous manner in accordance with bye-laws framed by the Executive Committee.
3. (a) *Annual General Meeting:*
 - i) There shall be an Annual General Meeting of the Committee at the time and place decided upon by the Executive Committee, provided that not more than eighteen months shall elapse between two successive Annual General Meetings;
 - ii) Notice of such meetings shall be addressed to every member at the address given in the membership application, or as changed thereafter, thirty days before the date of the meeting. Non-receipt of a notice, either absolutely or at the proper time, due to accidental reasons, shall not in any way invalidate the Meeting or any decision taken thereat;
 - iii) The agenda for the Annual General Meeting shall be prepared by the Executive Committee and circulated to every member along with the notice of the meeting;
 3. (b) *Extraordinary General Meeting:*
 - i) Every other general meeting shall be an Extraordinary General Meeting. It may be summoned by the Executive Committee for a specific purpose, which in its opinion cannot wait for decision till the Annual General Meeting;
 - ii) Fifteen days' notice shall be given to every member of the Committee of the time, place and agenda of the Meeting. At such a meeting no subject other than that specified in the notice shall be taken up for discussion or disposal.
 4. *Voting at General Meetings:*
 - i) In the event of voting being necessary at an Annual or Extraordinary General Meeting, it will be by local Groups;
 - ii) Each Group shall meet at least fifteen days before the General Meeting and shall nominate one representative for every ten members;
 - iii) Each Group shall be entitled to cast as many votes as the number of representatives it is entitled to. Other members present from such Groups at the General Meeting shall have no vote;
 - iv) Members present from places where Groups do not exist will form an electoral group who will have votes in the proportion of one for each ten members present, with a minimum of one vote to be cast.
 5. *The Executive Committee:*
 - (a) The Executive Committee shall consist of not more than twenty members;
 - (b) Every member of the Committee who is on the list of members by the prescribed date shall be eligible for election to the Executive Committee;
 - (c) Not more than fifteen members of the Executive Committee shall be elected by the Annual General Meeting of the Committee. The method of voting shall be in the manner prescribed in Rule 4 and by the system of cumulative vote;
 - (d) The Executive Committee may co-opt not more than five members;
 - (e) The Executive Committee shall at its first meeting appoint from among its members such office-bearers as it deems fit;
 - (f) The management, property and funds of the Committee shall vest in the Executive Committee;
 - (g) The Executive Committee shall be generally responsible for the fulfilment of the objectives of the Committee through such policies and measures as it may consider necessary subject to the ultimate authority of the Committee expressed at an Annual or Extraordinary General Meeting;
 - (h) The Executive Committee shall meet at least once every six months;
 - (i) The Executive Committee may appoint sub-committees with powers to co-opt;
 - (j) The Executive Committee shall from time to time frame such bye-laws as may be necessary and consistent with the purposes and objectives of the Committee in respect of all matters not specifically provided for in these Rules.
 6. *Office:* The Committee's office is situated in Bombay.
 7. *Affiliation:* The Committee is affiliated to the Congress for Cultural Freedom with its headquarters in Paris.
 8. *Amendment of Rules:* These Rules may only be amended by a decision of an Annual or Extraordinary General Meeting arrived at after fifteen days' prior notice of such amendment and by a two-thirds majority.
(Adopted at the Annual Conference in Madras.)

With Many Voices

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

—Tennyson.

He (Mr. C. Rajagopalachari) compared the communists to "bugs which gave trouble mostly during the night."

—*Times of India*, October 8, 1953.

"Any Secretary of State who must try to please both Senator McCarthy and Pandit Nehru can be forgiven an occasional attack of schizophrenia."

—William R. Frye, U. N. Correspondent of *Christian Science Monitor*.

He (Dr. B. R. Ambedkar) had no doubt that India would soon become a communist country.

—*Times of India*, September 19, 1953.

"If all the schools were owned by the State then there would be no freedom in the system of education. Nobody would be able to freely use his brain as was the case in Russia."

—Acharya Vinoba Bhave, in *Times of India*, October 22, 1953.

"Perhaps the most prominent protagonist of Egyptian and Arab neutrality is the fellow-travelling Indian Ambassador, K. M. Panikkar, India's former envoy to Peking, who has been aided by crypto-communist Indian journalists in Cairo."

—Mark Alexander, in *The New Leader*, September 7, 1953.

As Pandit Nehru would say, four years is enough to make any agreement an anachronism.

—'Dim', in *Current*, October 21, 1953.

Of the U.S. Point Four Programme of technical assistance to backward nations, he (Mr. Chester Bowles) said: "Point Four, at least in South Asia, Africa and South America, ought to become Point 1."

—*Times of India*, October 21, 1953.

INDIAN COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

127, Mahatma Gandhi Road,

BOMBAY 1.

Please enrol me as a member of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom. I remit the annual membership fee of Rs. 3/- by.....

Name :

Address :

Date:.....

Signature

Mr. Menon fills in the gap left by Mr. Vyshinsky.

—*The Baltimore Sun*, quoted in *Hindustan Times*, October 3, 1953.

"It was high time also for certain political parties in India and elsewhere to cast off prejudices against communism."

—Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, in *Free Press Bulletin* October 16, 1953

When Disraeli was cheered by the opposition of the day, he looked round and sardonically remarked: "Have I said anything particularly foolish?"

—Sir Stanley Reed, in *Times of India*, October 17, 1953

Far more often, the fifth amendment has been the favourite hide-out of Communists, whose devotion to the American Constitution is limited to this article.

—Alistair Cooke, in *Times of India*, October 17, 1953

Wiley, who is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relation Committee, called the word "underdeveloped" a misnomer and said: "Who can term 'underdeveloped' diverse cultures—Hindu, Moslem or Buddhist which hit the peaks in artistic achievement centuries before the United States had even come into being?"

—*Bombay Chronicle*, October 1, 1953

Colombo, October 15: Ceylon's new Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala, declared here today that it would be one of his foremost duties to stamp out communism from this country.

—*Times of India*, October 16, 1953.

"Reliable sources" were generally not more creditworthy than barbers, who are traditionally considered to have a high sense of humour.

—*The Indian Express*, October 10, 1953

"Remember that nowadays the glittering prizes are given for feats of demolition, not of construction. Lord Mountbatten was made an earl for getting us out of India in record time; Lord Halifax founded a career of immense distinction on a capacity to be on good terms with Gandhi and with Goering. Every diplomat carries a peerage in his knapsack, provided only that he keeps retreating."

"To be invited to tea with Mr. Vishinsky is triumph, as is a smile won from Marshal Tito; but political exiles must ever be anathema to you."

—Malcolm Muggeridge, Editor of *Punch*, in an article, "How to be A Successful British Diplomat."