

Kerala: the Cockpit

by M. A. Venkata Rao

AS the storm clouds of the general elections lift, the country has been startled by the appearance of the red star, clear and baleful, over the southwestern part of the country. The CPI has won sixty out of one hundred and twenty-six seats in the Kerala assembly which, with five of the six independents, give it a majority, though a bare one. The PSP has made a poor showing with only nine seats. Eight members have been returned by the Muslim League. This does not mean however that communism has secured a bigger hold on the voters than last time, for the increase in returns has been facilitated by the removal of the Congress dominated T.T.N.C. districts and the addition of the communist-dominated Malabar district consequent on States Reorganisation. Besides, the verdict of the electorate is in a sense negative. They have been dissatisfied both with Congress and PSP administration in the recent past. The State has a higher proportion of educated persons, men and women, than in any other part of the country and they have been so disgusted with the corruption, unimaginativeness, crass vulgarity and selfishness of the political tribes set in power over them that they seem to have made up their minds to give a chance to a new group who out-heroeed them all in the matter of "socialist pattern of society" or "people's government" as versions of an earthly paradise.

It is a measure of the immaturity of the Indian political world, particularly its political intelligentsia, that such a "sportsman-like" chance should have been given to the CPI so soon after the blood-curdling revelations of the horrors of Stalinism by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the CPSU last year and so soon after the ruthless suppression of the Hungarian national uprising by Russian imperialists.

Largely out of a blind deference to the authority of Prime Minister Nehru, the Indian public has learnt to discount the authentic accounts of the dark and dismal nature of the system of terror prevailing in Soviet Russia and its satellites in Europe and Asia. Even the revelations of Khrushchev and the story of the atrocities in Hungary perpetrated by Stalin's successors have slid over the back of the Indian intelligentsia (with notable exceptions) like water down a duck's back. Hence the news of the imminence of the CPI coming to power under the Constitution over

a state of the Indian Union does not seem to startle the public and cause heart-searching, as it should.

It is necessary and urgent that those in the know of realities of international communism should publicise their view of the danger inherent in a communist government ruling a State of the Union. What can be expected of such a government by way of subversion, and preparation for subversion, of the democratic order of state and society established by law? And what are the precautions that need to be taken to neutralise the probable subversive trends that will be released by the processes of communist rule, albeit under the limitations of the Union Constitution and the supervision of the Union Government?

The greatest danger of the situation stems from the grim fact that the CPI is a limb of international communism and is bound to follow the behests of its Stalinist masters in Moscow. It is well-known that the leaders of the CPI have disappeared underground whenever they were at a loss in the conduct of party affairs, or in the interpretation of policy to be followed so as to toe the Moscow line faithfully, and have emerged in Moscow and returned to India with instructions from their masters. Before the Madurai session of their Party Congress in 1953-54, they brought the notorious document known as the Tactical Line. It gave them a blue print of the campaign they were to follow in India combining legal and extra-legal, violent and non-violent methods in a judicious mixture for creating "partisan armies" out of urban and rural elements of the population. It gave them advice as how to conduct their work of agitation to secure "mass support" for the communist cause through a skilful exploitation of the grievances of different sections of the people.

This background will enable us to realise that the greatest danger to be anticipated by a term of office of a Red Government in a State of the Union is psychological. It will confer respectability and prestige on the CPI. It will blur the sharp distinction that should exist in the public mind between genuinely democratic parties and parties selling their goods under false labels. It will assimilate "proletarian" or "people's democracy" to the genuine article in the public mind. This is the height of communist ambition in the present phase and our ruling party and Government are allowing them with open eyes to have an opportunity of realising it.

The democratic republican Constitution of our Union is or ought to be no suicide pact. Democracy cannot be fairly called upon to permit freedom to undemocratic parties and groups to destroy it body

and soul, even as the rule of law does not, in a well-conditioned State, permit the rise and growth of law-breakers, robbers, murderers, house-breakers etc. Conspiracy against life, liberty and property has to be traced and scotched by the police as part of their routine duties. So in a democracy, conspiracy to subvert the State, albeit under democratic and philanthropic names, should find no quarter. But today India has rightly or wrongly accepted the CP as a legitimate democratic political party and even though it has succeeded by dint of falsehood and deceitful propaganda in obtaining the suffrages of the people to a large extent, it has to be allowed by the rules of the game to have its innings as a government. Meanwhile, it becomes the inescapable duty of those aware of the drama behind the scenes to intensify their educative publicity regarding the dangers of international communism and the links of the CPI with the world policies of the Kremlin.

The greatest danger to the health of our democratic policy stemming from the communist government in Kerala lies in the crucial change in the political climate of the country, in the confusion of conscience it is sure to engender in the public mind.

While officially the Red Government may keep within the limits of the Constitution and may seek to carry out its characteristic programmes of intemperate change and destructive "progress" it is highly probable that it will fill the administration, particularly the police department, with its trained disciples. While it is negotiating with the Central Government over the extent of the compensation to be given to British planters, for this is the first item in their programme as is evidenced by its rehearsal by way of Mr. Gopalan's Bill in Parliament, we shall not be surprised if mass demonstrations are organised stirring the plantation coolies to revolt by way of strikes and demands for higher wages. Orgies of emotionalism under cover of nationalism calling upon the public and the Central Government to drive the foreign exploiters out, compensation or no compensation, may be stage-managed. If the hectic hate campaign in-

tensified by racialism (though communism is supposed to be free from racialism in theory) generates attacks on British and Indian managers of plantations and other prominent persons in the planting field resulting in the murder of a few of them, the Government will disavow all responsibility and make a scapegoat of the mass of the people. The function of the police in a communist State is not to book those guilty of offences against the law or against life and liberty, but only to book capitalists and other "counter-revolutionaries, reactionaries, Bukarinites, Trotskyists and other question-begging divisions.

"Soviet legality" with its illegal doctrine of the supremacy of the one-party Government and "partisan" in all things demanding that judges should interpret the law always in favour of the Government, the police and "revolution" will make an effective entry into our country through Kerala.

The CPI is committed to totalitarianism in its view of society and state. It will therefore seek to remodel education in the direction of indoctrination. The new schools in Kerala will be filled by communist disciples as teachers whose sole stock-in-trade will be Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, jettisoning the entire body of knowledge prevalent in the free world and held subject to continual verification by savants. The main motive of the new revolutionary interpretation of things will be a "scientific" hate of the capitalist class and all classes other than the "destiny-carrying" proletariat.

Kerala has a well-organised Christian Church with clear notions of the dark features of international communism and a fully developed consciousness of the need to defend Christian or humanist values with which it largely agrees. If the rest of the population can be roused to a clearer awareness of the truly subversive character of communism, subversive of culture as well as lawful government of democracy and human dignity as well as of education, religion and morality, on account of the probable commissions and omissions of the Red Government in Kerala and the defenders of democracy are at hand to cross the t's and dot the i's, defeat may be turned into victory.

In regard to actual reforms by way of administrative action, we may expect the Red Government to put through its schemes of land reform. It will impose a ceiling on land holdings and sweep away the historic system of landholding and pauperise a whole class of landowners. The tillers to whom land will be given will no doubt be grateful in the first instance. But they will be dependent on Government aid for all things to make their new possessions good. And here the communist government will turn the opportunity to good account and obtain a hold on the peasantry.

They may go slow with the next step of cooperative or collective farming and when do, they may please the Prime Minister more than other State Ministers, for he is so enthusiastic, uncritically as those in the know might think, about them. The time is coming for true democrats and lovers of the free way of life to put before the peasants an alternative way of land

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Notes

Strains In Russo-Yugoslav Relations

THE relations between Soviet Russia and Yugoslavia are once again at breaking point. They were, in fact, never mended fully after the Russo-Yugoslav rift, which lasted from 1948 to 1955 in its acutest form, inspite of the later shift in the Russian policy towards Yugoslavia and Khrushchev's anxiety to woo Marshal Tito, which resulted in a visit of Russian leaders' delegation to Belgrade. Of late, however, Yugoslavia has once again come under fire in the communist press all over the Iron Curtain countries. On March 11, *Pravda* accused Yugoslav Foreign Minister, Mr. Koka Popovic, of "monstrous and revealing blasphemy" and charged him with attempting to "weaken the socialist camp." A few days earlier, Mr. Popovic had admitted on the floor of the Yugoslav Parliament that Soviet-Yugoslav relations had worsened. Recently the official organ of the Yugoslav Communist Party, *Borba*, also accused the Russian press of waging a widespread anti-Yugoslav campaign and at the same time warmly praised Yugoslav-American cooperation as a successful and concrete example of peaceful co-existence. These attacks, *Borba* said, amounted to a "widespread campaign against Yugoslavia and her forms of internal social organisation and especially against her independent foreign policy." *Borba* also reminded Moscow of their relations in 1948 and bluntly warned that if the Kremlin persisted in its devious game it would have to face similar heavy consequences once again. With a sense of injured innocence, *Borba* asked: "Why is it done? Where is it leading?" The answer is not far to seek. What is Russia doing is actually to tell Yugoslavia that there is no room for co-existence in the field of ideology.

It is thus obvious that Russia demands complete submission of the "socialist" countries to the dictates of Moscow. If that submission is not forthcoming, Russia will leave no stone unturned in maligning and subverting the stability of the defaulting "socialist" countries. All this goes to prove that the Kremlin's faith in the principles of Panch-sheela is only skin deep.

India is on the friendliest of terms with Yugoslavia and Marshal Tito is a personal friend of Mr. Nehru. The present Russian hostility against Yugoslavia should serve as an eye-opener to those naive Indians who still cherish the illusion that the Soviet Union is a friend of all independent nations and that Khrushchev's recent declaration that there is "more than one road to socialism" is genuine.

Infiltration At Congress H. Q.

NOW that the excitement over the intemperate language and bad taste shown by the editor of the A.I.C.C. *Economic Review* has died down and the

record put right by the handsome apology to the Queen tendered by Prime Minister Nehru, it might be well worth the trouble if the Congress President and members of the Working Committee were to consider whether this gaffe was just an unfortunate accident or the reflection of an un-Indian and un-Congresslike point of view held by the writer of the note.

Readers of the *Economic Review* have for many months clearly discerned a communist hand editing this Gandhian bulletin. There is any amount of evidence to convince a careful reader of the files of the journal over the last year or two that a consistently fellow-travelling strain underlies a great deal of the political and economic comment. Blatant support for the mass liquidation of peasants resisting collectivisation of land in China is only one of the shockingly anti-Gandhian attitudes repeatedly displayed in that journal. As far back as the late thirties, Mr. H. D. Malaviya was known to hold communist views. It would appear from his recent exercises that the cure, if any, is very incomplete. This is only one example of the insidious infiltration of governmental and political institutions that is proceeding. The least that the President and members of the Working Committee can do is to place the A.I.C.C. Bulletin in more dependable hands.

Communist Attack On Ghana

THE communists have already launched an attack on Ghana. The Bulgarian communist youth organ *Norodna Mladezh* said in an article published just a few days before March 6, the independence day of Ghana, "Dr. Nkrumah began to persecute the progressive forces of the country and to seek collaboration of tribal chiefs, the upholders of feudal relations and a great majority of whom are tools of the British authorities." The article did not mention who these "progressive forces" are, but in the communist parlance none but Moscow's stooges deserve this appellation. The article ended by saying: "The struggle for the complete national independence (of Ghana) is not yet over." Anyone familiar with communist tactics will at once discern the sinister implications of this Red attack. The communists in Asia followed the same treacherous line immediately after some of the Asian nations like India, Burma and Indonesia became independent. They considered these nations to have achieved "not real but fake independence" and launched the struggle for their 'liberation' with the objective of establishing "people's democracies" in these countries. As a result until 1952, when there was a sudden switch-over to the "new look" in Moscow, the communists in Asia were busy plotting armed insurrections against and undermining the stability of these governments.

The similar language used in this Bulgarian attack on Ghana portends an outburst of similar subversive activities by the communists in Ghana. Besides it clearly indicates that the communist organisation in

Ghana had already received its orders when Ghana's independence became a formal fact.

President Magsaysay

IN the sudden death of President Magsaysay of the Philippines in a plane crash Asia, and the Filipino people in particular, have sustained a grievous loss that will be keenly felt for years to come. Since its birth as an independent nation in 1946, the Philippine Republic has had to defend itself against a communist revolt similar to those in other south-east Asian countries. It was Mr. Ramon Magsaysay who, as Secretary of National Defence, saved his country when the Philippine Government was on the verge of collapse under the assault of communist guerilla fighters. By combining effective military force with constructive friendly programmes, he succeeded in winning the people away from communism.

After his election to the office of President, Mr. Magsaysay addressed himself vigorously to the task of countrywide reforms—abolishing corruption, giving land to the landless, and ensuring a fair deal to the masses. By identifying himself with the common man and by implementing his programme based on the mature understanding of the communist threat, he successfully demonstrated that an experience in democracy is the real weapon against communism.

In international affairs, Mr. Magsaysay championed the policy of "freedom and friendship in Asia" with the right of self-determination and independence of all Asian nations. He was one of the few statesmen in Asia who showed a lively awareness of the danger of international communism. At the Bandung Conference he showed a rare courage of conviction in attacking world communism as a major threat to Asia.

With the death of Mr. Magsaysay, the Filipino people face a heavy responsibility of carrying on his tradition of incorruptibility and efficiency which is vital for the strength of democratic institutions.

B. G. Kher

IN the death of Mr. B. G. Kher India has lost a great patriot, eminent scholar and social reformer. Mr. Kher served the country in varied capacity. He was one of the ablest chief ministers whose administration could gain the reputation of being a sound one. After retiring from active politics he devoted himself almost exclusively to social welfare work. A devoted and trusted follower of Gandhiji, he was always willing to entertain fresh ideas both in politics and social reform. A great scholar and educationist himself, he laid the foundations of the present educational structure in the Bombay State. By his charming manners and disarming simplicity he endeared all those who came in his contact. His multifarious activities in the field of social work earned him a place of respect in all strata of society. He will be remembered even by his opponents for his honesty, humility and selfless service.

C. C. F. NEWS

The Congress for Cultural Freedom has received a \$70,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to aid refugee Hungarian musicians and actors.

Distribution of the grant will be handled by *Forum Kulturhilfe*, a Congress subsidiary in Vienna set up for the purpose of helping refugee Hungarian intellectuals re-establish their careers in the West.

A Selective Commission named by the Congress is conducting interviews of prospective recipients. Among the members of the commission are Dr. Karl Bohm, conductor of the Vienna State Opera; Austrian composer Gottfried von Einem, and Nicolas Nabokov, composer and Secretary-General of the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

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On the initiative of the Italian Association for Cultural Freedom, a group of 24 prominent Italian lawyers have sent the following telegram to the Ministry at Budapest protesting against the proceedings brought against the arrested freedom fighters by the Hungarian Ministry of Justice:

"Italian public opinion greatly upset by new political trials against heroic defenders of Hungarian liberty and Independence. We demand that eminent democratic lawyers from abroad be permitted to attend trials."

* * *

An International Exhibition of Asian Paintings, the first of its kind, is being organised by the Japan Cultural Forum (affiliated to the International Congress for Cultural Freedom) and the *Yomiuri* Newspaper, from the middle of July 1957, in Tokyo. The purpose of the Exhibition is to further cultural exchange among Asian Countries through the medium of the arts. Among the countries expected to participate in the Exhibition are Japan, India, Burma, Thailand, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia and Philippines.

Artists desirous of participating in the Exhibition are requested to communicate with Mr. Ichiro Fukuzawa, Committee for Exhibition of Young Asian Artists, c/o Cultural Freedom House, 11, Shin Ryudocho, Azabu, Minato-ku, Tokyo, Japan. The participating artists should be of 30 years age or under and the size of the paintings should not exceed 90 by 116 cm. Each entrant is allowed to send not more than two pictures. Any picture in oils, water-colours, pen and ink, wood block etchings, etc. done within the one year preceding the public call for entries, is open for admission.

Awards will be offered to the paintings adjudged best by a panel of juries consisting of: Rinmei Kawakita, Takachiyo Uemura, Koichi Tokudaiji from the Japan Art Critics League and Julius Fleischmann (if present) and several others. There will be 5 Fleischman Awards of approximately \$300 each and a Young Artists' Award (from the International Congress for Cultural Freedom, Paris) for one year's residence in Paris. Besides these, there are awards and presents from *Yomiuri* Newspapers. Entries should reach Tokyo not later than 15th of June 1957.

Signor Nenni's Change Of Heart

by Ida Dhami

ONE of the most spectacular indictments of Soviet policy has been the recent decision of the Italian Socialist leader, Signor Nenni, to break his alliance with the communist party. In the course of his ten years of stubborn collaboration with the communists, this shrewd and subtle politician had, on several occasions, criticized the stand taken by the rulers of the Kremlin. The publication of Khrushchev's report had given rise to serious doubts among the Italian leftist movement. But Russia's ruthless repression of the Poznan strike and, finally, of Hungary's popular uprising, destroyed Nenni's last illusions. At the recent Socialist Congress at Venice, to which the presence of Mr. Bevan and Morgan Phillips lent special significance, Signor Nenni announced to his 700,000 followers that he was prepared to consider reunification with the rightist socialist wing of Mr. Saragat and to create a socialist alternative to the present coalition government which has been in power in Italy since 1947.

The first reactions to Mr. Nenni's startling proposal seemed to be uniformly favourable. There was general support for his plans to frame an autonomous socialist (though not necessarily anti-communist) policy, based on democratic principles and advocating reforms by parliamentary means. His followers were ready to line up more closely with other socialist parties of Western Europe. Despite their frankly critical attitude of the compromises which Mr. Saragat had been forced to make as a result of his alliance with the Christian Democrats, Nenni's party seemed willing to enter into an association which, they realized would stand a good chance of winning the next elections. They approved of Nenni's plans for the creation of a neutral socialist bloc in Italy. They were anxious to support closer economic integration of Western Europe and even ready to consider joining NATO provided its objectives were merely defensive.

Mr. Nenni had carefully prepared the ground for his split over a period of several months. But, although there was no overt opposition to his stand during the discussions, it became obvious at the end that he could not count on the unqualified support of his party. For when it came to the nomination of members to the new Central Committee, Signor Nenni found himself outnumbered by about two to one. Many members of the Italian Socialist Party, and particularly the Pertini group, seemed doubtful about the effectiveness of their leader's change of methods, even though they accepted his change of policy. And Mr. Saragat who had been lukewarm to the idea of fusion, found his hesitation justified by the lack of unanimity in the ranks of the Nennites.

It is likely, therefore, despite the dramatic initial impact of Mr. Nenni's decision, that the full weight of this break is not going to make itself felt for some time. The Communists and the Christian Democrats

each heaved a sigh of relief when it became apparent that Nenni had lost at least some of his grip on his party. The former feel that the threatened split is as yet neither final nor complete. And the latter think that no basic change has yet taken place and that their own position remains unchallenged. Both may well turn out to be mistaken in the end. For the time being, Nenni will remain Secretary General of his party's central committee. And, being a very shrewd tactician, he will probably be able to swing his followers around to accepting his new approach. Mr. Saragat, too, may not be able to delay the process of reunification very long merely because of the lack of complete harmony in the Nenni camp. Some of the younger Social Democrats have for some time been straining at the leash imposed upon them by their coalition with the Christian Democrats and may prefer to accept Nenni's overtures. When that day comes and the two socialist movements in Italy join forces, they will form an opposition whose electoral appeal will be very strong indeed.

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ownership and of providing land to tillers. The instinct of the peasant for land and undisturbed ownership of his plot, home and cattle can be appealed to in a powerful and constructive manner.

It is quite on the cards that the technique of *Fronts* will be used in a systematic manner to sweep all classes of the people into the net of communism. Students, women, educators, lawyers, printers, journalists, peasants, cottage industry workers, weavers, coir workers, small tradesmen, will all be infiltrated successfully since Ministers will have something to give all of them.

Banks may be nationalised and transport already nationalised will obtain a great fillip under State auspices.

Thus the transition between current usages and laws and the new order of socialism (communism) will be greatly abridged. If the CPI leaders are wise and can hold themselves to moderate measures, they may bring about an order in Kerala which will seem to fulfil the goals of Nehruist socialist pattern itself more logically and sincerely. Then will subversion be complete or in the alternative the process may import a keener realisation of the truly evil character of the regime imported by socialism and cause a great revulsion of feeling against it. This will offer a great opportunity to cure the country of the *malaise* of half-digested and extreme ideas which is leading it to disintegration.

The Red Government in Kerala thus brings into focus all the contradictions and dangers of the world crisis to the Indian scene and constitutes a challenge to those able to influence the destiny of the country at the present juncture.

Student Discontent Behind Iron Curtain

by Saadi

FROM the reports that emanate from behind the Iron Curtain it is obvious that the student discontent against the communist regime is becoming a matter of course and that greater the government oppression of the students in the universities and higher-grade schools, deeper is their contempt for the communists and intenser their feeling of disgust against communist philosophy.

Student discontent has been admitted by communist leaders all over the Iron Curtain countries.

Herr Ulbricht of Eastern Germany recently announced "counter revolutionary demonstrations by the students of Berlin University. . . . were only averted by the watchfulness of the Communist Party and by reminders to students of where power lies." The last part of the statement is a clear indication that repression was let loose against the students. (Otherwise, how could the students be reminded where power lies?) Further Ulbricht admits that one of the most brilliant of the younger Marxist professors had been arrested as "an enemy of the state."

The communist government in Hungary under Janos Kadar has unleashed a reign of terror against what are described "the unruly university students". Many younger professors have been arrested. Students are constantly searched for "dangerous" literature. Even police are stationed in the lecture rooms of the colleges. Of the 17,000 people now undergoing various terms of imprisonment, it is reliably understood, 15,000 are students. Similar is the case in Poland and Rumania. Even the Soviet Union is not immune from student agitation.

The *Trud* from Moscow recently referred to the "crude and slanderous" attack against the communist party and its regime in the Moscow University wall-newspapers. It referred to the meetings of students in Leningrad and Stalingrad which denounced the communist regimentation and demanded the elementary right of the freedom of expression. *Pravda* has suggested "intensification. . . . of political work" in the universities as a counter-measure against the student unrest. *Komsomolskaya Pravda* has warned the communists against the "lively discussions" which have included "attacks on the achievements of the Socialist camp". Mr. Khrushchev has also not kept quiet. He wants to impose still greater regimentation on the Soviet students. He stressed the need for "more vigilance and more attention to the current training of youth."

In China too, the Peking regime is facing student resentment. The People's Daily of Peking has complained that university students are not only indisciplined but betray "doubts arising from the current confused world situation." In order to meet the student unrest in China, the communist authorities have intensified their policy of indoctrination and brain-washing in universities and high schools.

All this goes to show that the hold of the communist regime over the loyalty of the younger generation is being shaken to its roots, and the young communists have begun to question the basic tenets of the communist philosophy.

Particularly in Soviet Russia the student resentment against the communist regime is so intense that some students belonging to well-to-do families in Moscow have gone to the extent of breaking the communist laws. This shows the desperate condition the Russian students find themselves in. Recently sixteen youthful boys of quite influential families of Moscow were arrested for what was described as "armed robbery." These boys coming from well-to-do families had no reason to commit "armed robbery" (if the charge is true); the fact must obviously be that these young men might have thought that even "armed robbery" is no crime if it was going to help to overthrow the communist regime. Even influential young ladies have participated in the students' attempt to break and undermine the communist laws. Last August *Komsomolskaya Pravda* reported the arrest of three such ladies—the daughters respectively of a General, an Air Force Colonel and a high-ranking officer of the Political Police—on charges of theft and depravity. Their male associates were identified as Evgeny Kabanov and Sergei Petukhov—both the sons of ministers and members of the Central Committee. At the trial last October the two boys got off scot-free, while the girls received one year sentences under an article of the Criminal Code which normally lays down a five year minimum penalty. The two boys, who were acquitted, had not appeared in the Court at all, and their record has not been discussed at Moscow University—a fact which throws a revealing light on the existence of the unofficial privileges in the USSR. Hundreds of other young men and women—not merely university students but young workers and employers—have been detained by Militia on the charge of drink.

The ferment among the Soviet students found dramatic and, from the view point of the authorities, disquieting expression in the elections of Komsomol functionaries which took place in most Soviet institutions of higher learning during December 1956. From accounts published in the Soviet Press it appears that the "election campaign" among student Komsomol groups had a character "not experienced before," in view of the "democratisation of life" (*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, December 15, 1956). General criticism was voiced with regard to the Komsomol's work in the past and in many cases—probably a majority—there was pressure to elect new local leaders. In response to this ferment the Party authorities urged that established functionaries should not be condemned out of hand, but should be given another chance even if they had made mistakes. In this connection "demagogues" and "phrase mongers" among the students "who do not

want to advance the common cause, but are trying to spread criticism" came under fire. (*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, December 15.) They were charged with voicing general demands (presumably for a lessening of the political controls) instead of urging specific remedies for practical problems. The tendency to boycott political indoctrination courses which is reported to have spread in recent months, is reflected in the editorial pen-picture of a typical student demagogue:

"He may propagate a boycott of communal dining room, instead of joining the commission for improving the food. He may demand the discussion of some problems, and then participate not in order to clarify the subject, but to cause disturbances and spread confusion. He tends to shirk lectures, and at the same time complains about the unsatisfactory state of teaching."

Behind these manifestations of student unrest lies the ideological trouble to which the Soviet press began to draw attention in mid-December with a series of reports on "unhealthy, ideological tendencies". *Tass*, (December 14,) reported a special resolution of the Leningrad Komsomol executive referring to certain unidentified incidents at the local pedagogical institute. Two days later *Pravda* in its turn complained about unhealthy symptoms in a number of other institutions of higher learning such as the Leningrad Polytechnic, the Conservatory and the Academy of Arts. In the latter place the students had voiced "mistaken" opinions about the place of the artist in the society. This was due to what was called by the Soviet Press "faulty leadership and inadequate ideological instruction." To remedy these weaknesses *Pravda* hinted at stricter controls and new regulations to ensure the recruitment of a higher percentage of students direct from factories.

Student unrest is also a feature of reports from the Baltic republics and other parts of the Union. In this connection the Minister of Health and the Minister of Justice in Estonia were criticised by the local Komsomol leadership for lack of contact with the students. "Who can doubt that (through direct contact) much confusion could have been cleared up. . . . What could be more important than work among students in a town like Tartu?" (*Partinaya Zhizn*, No. 22, 1956)

The official reaction to this unrest has so far taken the form of an attempt to set the workers against the students. In his address to a youthful audience in Moscow last November Khrushchev referred to an alleged incident in Rumania, where "the workers" were supposed to have told rebellious students, "You are studying at our expense and should behave accordingly," the implication being that something like "workers' control" should be introduced in the universities. This hint seems to have been followed up, for *Partinaya Zhizn* (No. 22, 1956) in an editorial expressing concern at the situation in the universities, stresses the "educational value" of "recent meetings between students, workers and kolkhozniks." The journal mentions the 'invitation' extended to a group of workers by the students of the Ural polytechnic institute, and a similar meeting in Moscow, where the

students were lectured on their responsibilities. Editorially, the same paper makes the familiar plea for stricter discipline and more political education. The complaint is voiced that some professors and teachers are indifferent to ideological matters, while others confine themselves to quoting from the approved texts and dismiss as "non-Marxist or anti-Party" all critical questions, or take refuge in the past and decline to deal with topical problems. A letter from a Leningrad lecturer is cited as evidence of systematic evasiveness on the part of the academic staff when confronted with awkward questions. The editorial sees a danger. "If the student is given no answer to his enquiries on matters that interest him, he will nonetheless continue to search for one. To avoid answering questions, on subjects of concern to students is to open the way for all kinds of false rumours, to weaken the struggle against the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology which reaches the country by way of the radio, the press etc. That is why it is necessary to take up the questions raised by our youth and where necessary . . . to unmask publicly the inner inconsistency of mistaken views." But the editorial fails to realise that no Marxist answer to the question will satisfy the students. Marxism and Communism are obviously losing their appeal to the Soviet students and intelligentsia.

I. C. C. F. NEWS

Mrs. Rita Hinden, Editor, *Socialist Commentary*, and a noted socialist thinker from Great Britain, delivered a lecture at the office of the Indian Committee on February 28. The subject of her lecture was "Recent Trends in British Labour Party Thinking." Prof. G. D. Parikh presided and Mr. V. B. Karnik introduced the speaker.

Mrs. Rita Hinden was in Bombay for five days, while she was passing through India on her way to attend a Seminar on "Problems of the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries" which is being organised by the Congress for Cultural Freedom in Tokyo in the 1st week of April. While in Bombay Mrs. Hinden also addressed a meeting of the workers of the Praja Socialist Party and discussed with them the problems of the Indian socialist movement.

From Bombay Mrs. Hinden went to New Delhi, where she delivered a lecture under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs. The Asian Office of the Congress for Cultural Freedom held a reception for her. She also initiated, while in Delhi, a discussion on "What is Socialism." Calcutta was Mrs. Hinden's last stop in India. There also she was met by the members of the Indian Committee and she discussed with them about the problems of cultural freedom in India.

* * *

The Indian Committee accorded a reception to Prof. Francisco Ayala of the University of Puerto Rico on March 14. On the occasion, Prof. Ayala gave a talk on the political and economic conditions of Puerto Rico.

Parliamentary Democracy In Asia

by Raja Kulkarni

PRESIDENT Sukarno of Indonesia in his Broadcast to the nation in the month of February last, announced that Western type of Parliamentary democracy is not suitable to Indonesia. His proposal of "Guided Democracy" conveys that the concept of Parliamentary Opposition should be discarded in favour of a 'new style Government' which settles all national problems by consultations among all segments of society. He wants an All-Party Cabinet where parties are represented on the basis of their elected strength in the House of Representatives. Such a Cabinet should act on the advice of a National Council to be set up under the President's leadership representing functional, religious, and special regional interests.

Dr. Mohamed Hatta, the former Vice-President of Indonesia, and the second most influential man in that country, has observed that idealists who fought for the freedom of Indonesia have been relegated to the background, while political and economic profiteers are coming to the fore in the political system. According to him, Indonesia is witnessing, in the development of her political party system, a stage where parties are being made the objective and the state the instrument to attain. Assignment of posts, economic assistance, concessions and patronage are determined on party affiliations at the cost of skill, efficiency, ability and other qualities.

Dr. Hatta does not agree with President Sukarno's concept of "Guided Democracy". He thinks that the present political crisis in Indonesia could not be settled by setting up super-organisations like 'National Council' and 'Planning Board'. What is needed, Dr. Hatta asserts, is political morality and honest leadership.

Political observers feel that underneath the political crisis in Indonesia, lay the following currents:

- (1) Politics was introduced in the Army. Military reforms were subjected to group politics which process ultimately resulted into military revolts.
- (2) Regional rivalries between Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes etc. culminated into a struggle against Centralism.
- (3) Lack of impartial and experienced Civil Service.
- (4) Polluted and corrupt public life. Absence of democratic values and traditions in the day-to-day life of the people.
- (5) The scraping of the Federal constitution and declaration of unitary form of Government in August 1956.
- (6) President Sukarno's insistence on the inclusion of Communists in the Government. The Communist Party of Indonesia is the fourth leading party in the country and polled 20 percent of the votes during the General Elections in September 1955. The Masjumi Party and the

Nahdut-ul-Islam Party, two major Muslim parties — are steadfastly opposed to the inclusion of Communists in the Cabinet which is at present a coalition of the Nationalist Party and of the above two Muslim parties. The attitude of the Nationalist Party, which is the single majority party in the Government is lukewarm towards the inclusion of the Communists.

In Thailand, Field Marshal Pibul Songgram, the Premier, proclaimed on March 2, a state of emergency because of the tensions that arose from previous week's hotly contested elections. The ruling Party, Seri Manangasila Party, won absolute majority but only by a small margin of 5 or 6 seats over the seven opposition parties and independents in the February elections. Serious charges were made against the ruling party about irregular methods, corruption and counterfeit ballots. Political storm broke out in Thailand over this issue. Violent demonstrations took place demanding investigations into those charges.

It is regarded that parliamentary democracy in Thailand, unlike that of Indonesia, is not exposed to the pressure of Chinese system of "Government without opposition" and the present crisis, though might affect the relative strength of the parties, would lead the Government towards better democratic traditions and forms of representation.

The ruling party received reverses on a big scale for the first time in the last February elections. The second party is the Democratic Party which gained in the elections. It had focussed the attention on the need to abolish the system of nomination of members in the National Assembly by the King. Out of 246 members of the National Assembly, half the number is nominated by the King.

A new element in Thai politics is introduced by the Socialist Front—an Alliance of four leftist and socialist parties. In the elections it stood for a policy of non-alignment in foreign relations and demanded that Thailand should quit SEATO.

Thailand has been pro-West because it was never conquered by any Western power. It has always been an independent country. Its nationalism is, therefore, not the outcome of anti-imperialist struggles. It has developed out of the needs of national integration. Basically, it enjoys political and economic stability. The threat that it expects to its freedom is from Communist China.

While President Sukarno in Indonesia wants to eliminate constitutional opposition, U Nu in Burma is pursuing a policy of converting the lawless insurgent elements into a constitutional opposition working within the framework of democracy. U Nu wants Karen rebels to abandon methods of violence and sabotage that lead to disruption of not only

transport and communication, but also of national solidarity and spirit.

Outlining Government's policy, as Prime Minister, U Nu has urged the opposition to overcome temptations of party interests and take stand purely based on national interests. He pointed out that opposition parties should support the ruling party in problems, not only of foreign relations such as Sino-Burmese frontier demarcation, but also of education. Educational issues like inadequacy of school accommodation, teaching staff and school textbooks, lack of discipline among students, should not be approached from partisan view. Country wants its youth to become good and efficient men and women able to shoulder responsibilities of the nation with efficiency, skill, loyalty, courage and honesty.

Parliamentary democracy in Pakistan is paralysed since its inception in 1947. Continued political instability in this country, like that in Indonesia, has not only thwarted the economic development of the country, but has aggravated conflicts creating dangerous situation to the existence of democracy itself. Absence of strong political parties, corruption in administration, lack of national unity and dominance of feudal elements in the society have given rise to regional conflicts similar to those in Indonesia, short of military revolts.

East Pakistan, the region rich in jute area, has been accusing the Central Government at Karachi, not only of neglect in economic development of the region, but also of denial of proportional share in the administrative matters. Different provinces in the Western zone of Pakistan were brought together under one administrative unit only a year ago. But this one-unit West Pakistan Government could not function smoothly. It now stands dissolved and President's Rule has been proclaimed. Regional rivalries in the Western zone developed into powerful political groups, some of which are openly opposing the merger of former provinces into one administrative unit.

In India, parliamentary democracy brought political stability, became an instrument of economic national planning, and proved effective to maintain national unity. The recent General Elections, however, have introduced new changes which touched not only the party system and relative strength of parties, but brought on the surface of the body politic of India, some new elements.

Since Independence Indian National Congress enjoyed unlimited and unhindered political power in this country. Opposition was very weak and had not taken a definite shape and character. In the recent elections Congress was, no doubt, voted to power in the Central Government at New Delhi and in 11 out of the 13 States. In the State of Orissa Congress did not secure absolute majority though it came out as the single majority party. In the State of Kerala, the Communist Party secured a working majority to form the State Government.

Jayaprakash Narayan, the Praja Socialist leader said, before the elections took place, that the building up of Opposition in India is as essential as

economic planning for the growth of democracy. According to him strong democratic Government implies strong opposition and not only strong party in power. Weak opposition is bad even for the ruling party.

Opposition has now emerged from the elections as a significant factor in the Indian political system. But it would be premature to say that it is strong since it is not a homogeneous group. The only unity of purpose, that opposition parties have, is that they are all "anti-Congress." Among themselves, they are a bundle of paradoxes. There are rightists and leftists, democrats and totalitarians, socialists and anti-socialists and communists; religious and regional separatists as well as nationalists. None of the opposition parties and groups put before the electorate any alternative socio-economic programme. No problem of a nationwide character was focussed by any of the opposition parties. Nationwide opposition parties such as Praja Socialist Party, Communist Party, Socialist Party and Jana Sangh, are by themselves in minority inside the opposition at the state level with the exception of the Communist Party in Kerala and even at the Centre. The opposition is dominated by regional political groups, parties and individuals.

The gains of regional forces such as Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa, Zharkhand and Janata Parties in Bihar, Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and Mahagujarath Janata Parishad in Bombay, Dravida Munnetra Khazagam and Congress Reforms Committee in Madras, stand as the main feature of the Indian elections.

What are the political lessons of this trend? It indicates that politics of Left and Right has gone. Politics of ideological polarisation is no more. Party system based on economic class interest appears to be unfit for Indian situation.

Regional forces which have emerged through the demand for the creation of linguistic states will as it looks, introduce a conflict of permanent nature between forces of national sovereignty and regional independence, between national economic development and regional economic progress, between social integration and disintegration, between centralism and decentralisation, between individual freedom and collective security. Indian political party system is likely to evolve, in future, round the problems of such nature.

On the issue of relationship between the party in power and the party in opposition Mr. J. B. Kripalani, the veteran PSP leader has given a new concept of relationship during his election campaign. He said, "If I request my powerful and rich neighbour to keep his house clean, it is because the flies and mosquitoes bred there, make it difficult for me to keep my humble cottage in hygienic conditions." In another speech he said, "To keep my party pure, I want the Congress to be pure." He is also reported to have said that the Second Five Year Plan is the problem of the nation as a whole and should not be made a party issue for partisan warfare.

There are two more concepts of the intra-party relationships prevailing in this country. According to one, the ruling and the opposition parties are like 'rivals' in the game of sports. Both agree on the fundamentals and abide by the rules which lay down conditions of

fair and unfair practices of the participating groups. Such sportsmanlike opposition—opposition on specific issues but cooperation on fundamentals of economic and social development of the country—is according to this concept, an essence of democracy.

Another and the third concept is that of an 'enemy'. Enemies believe that for the existence of the self, total annihilation of the other is necessary. According to this concept, opposition to the ruling party can be vigorous, only if it is total—from Family to Parliament. This concept is based on the unscientific notion that "will to power" is hampered in its growth by talk of cooperation or support to the ruling party on any issue.

The third concept has been discarded by the electorate. Communists made no secret of their support to Pandit Nehru's foreign policy and to the basic and general approach of the Second Five Year Plan. And yet, the people in Kerala have voted the Communists to power.

Communist Government in Kerala State when Congress is in power at the Centre and in eleven states, is a new kind of experiment which has never been tried elsewhere. Communists have come to power through ballot in Kerala where they will have to work under the All India policy of the Congress and within the bounds of the existing constitutional set up of the

Indian Republic. Are communists subjectively and organisationally tuned for constitutional working which is not of their making. Some time ago, the Communists had captured some municipalities in India, but could do nothing spectacular and ultimately they lost the majority in the subsequent municipal elections. Will the Kerala Communist Government be such a passing phase or will it be a thin end of the wedge? If the Communists find that they cannot do better than their predecessors—the Congress and the PSP Governments—will they hesitate to inject politics into the civil and military services of this country? If that happens, Kerala Communist Government would be the beginning of the disintegration of India.

For it is to be remembered that Communism in Asia is advancing not with cannon and bayonets, but by the subtle subterranean passages of infiltration and subversion that lead through tangled domestic politics and the minds of the hungry, ill-educated men and women.

These are the different segments that have been put together to have a glimpse of the parliamentary democracy in Asia. If Parliamentary democracy fails to satisfy the urges of the Asian people, the Chinese pattern of "Government Without Opposition" will find adherents in this part of the world.

D. R. S. NEWS

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Review

Six Keys to the Soviet System

by Bertram D. Wolfe. Published by The Beacon Press, Boston, 1956, pp. 258+xxv

Khrushchev and Stalin's Ghost

by Bertram D. Wolfe. Published by Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., New York 22, N.Y., 1957, pp. 322.

IT is a strange irony that the free world unable to learn anything from the history of the Soviet Union is often condemned to repeat it. It has many a time allowed itself to be deluded by false hopes of liberalisation or democratisation of the Soviet regime whenever there occurred any shift in Soviet tactics. The death of Stalin gave rise to a fresh wave of similar hopes and expectations and Khrushchev's sensational speech at the twentieth Congress of the CPSU enforced them further only to be rudely disappointed by the recent reversals in the Kremlin policy. The main reason for this habitual self-delusion on the part of the free world lies in its failure to understand the real nature and aims of the Soviet system. These two books by Bertram D. Wolfe are, therefore, a timely and valuable contribution to the study in the nature of the Soviet system especially in the post-Stalin era. They offer a penetrating insight into the real nature of the totalitarian dictatorship and provide a method of analysis which has been corroborated by subsequent events.

The first book appropriately entitled *Six Keys to the Soviet System* includes the studies of various aspects of the Soviet system done over the years from 1940 to 1955. Though written on different occasions, these essays serve to underline the fundamental theme which runs consistently throughout these pages. These six keys are but different facets of the same theme—the totalitarianism which constitutes the essence of the Soviet system. The Soviet state is a total state which tries ruthlessly to impose its will upon every institution and every form of human expression and turns them into instruments for further consolidating its strangle-hold over its subjects. Its aim is totality and permanence, to embrace and dictate the whole of life—past, present and future. Mr. Wolfe offers a glimpse into the working of the totalitarian system in various fields like those of culture, science, industry, education, historiography, and even in such an innocuous field like that of lexicography. Here everything, including the human mind, must subserve the State or perish. Mr. Wolfe in these essays records concrete facts from the Soviet life and draws his conclusions and inferences from them which serve as a guide to the future. He sums up his observations in the final chapter on the nature of totalitarianism, and aptly states “totalitarianism is not a mere epithet, but a serious philosophy of government with a corresponding governmental structure.... The purpose of the state is to own everything, not only material things, but men themselves—to own them body and soul,” that is, to reduce them to mere slaves, mentally and physically. He therefore concludes: the real problem of the

twentieth century is not “socialism versus capitalism” but “total state or limited state”—whether the State should continue to exist for the People or the People exist for the State.

The essence of totalitarianism is the control of absolute power. This total power generates its own monolithic logic in which the struggle for survival coincides with the struggle for power. Whoever captures the absolute power controls totally the lives of the people in the state. The state becomes the highest value in itself and the dictator comes to achieve all divine attributes. But at the death of a dictator there can be no legitimate heir to his throne nor can there be any provision for peaceful succession because, as Wolfe states, dictatorship comes to power by destroying the very fabric of consent, consensus and lawfulness. Lenin's will could not survive his grave. After his death there followed a prolonged period of ‘collective leadership’ during which Stalin slowly but surely manoeuvred his way to absolute power liquidating his rivals one by one. At the death of Stalin the Terrible the wheel has come full circle.

Wolfe follows this struggle for power among Stalin's disciples and analyses it with relentless logic. He analyses the events with meticulous attention to details and brings out clearly their power implications. As regards the collective leadership he remarks: “As long as the power question is not settled and the pyramid of power is without any apex these men will jealously watch one another and make promises of reforms to their subject.” From this uncertainty springs the need for internal relaxation and concessions in foreign policy. But this cannot last long, because in a system founded on the absolute power of a single individual there can be no scope for collective leadership.

But these orphaned disciples of Stalin in the past moved continuously under the dwarfing shadow of the mighty Stalin. By constant adulation, glorification and idolisation they had enlarged Stalin's person enormously and diminished their own stature to the point of nullity. This had made the problem of succession difficult as they could not establish their claims to leadership. It was therefore necessary, as Wolfe argues, to cut Him down to their own size. Hence the necessity of de-Stalinisation.

This brings us to the second book *Khrushchev and Stalin's Ghost*. In this consistent, logical and documented study Wolfe traces the events since Stalin's death which culminated in Khrushchev's secret midnight address indicting the cult of Stalin's personality. Mr. Wolfe also provides a detailed commentary on Khrushchev's speech and the necessary documents relating to it which help to place the speech in the proper perspective. To be sure, the process of de-Stalinisation started immediately after Stalin's death, “even before the corpse was cold.” But for Stalin's orphaned sons to wrestle with his ghost was not an easy task because, as Wolfe says, “the exorcists are the Ghost's disciples, close comrades-in-arms, his creators and creatures, his helpers and accomplices, his flatterers and favourites, his beneficiaries and heirs,

and some say, his murderers.” Besides they were still following the same Stalinist line in agriculture, in industry and even in their foreign policy. The so-called ‘new look’ was really initiated by Stalin at the 19th Congress. Even the novel pronouncement at the 20th Congress that war is not inevitable was taken, as Wolfe shows, from Stalin’s statement made in 1931 and the pronouncement on “an alternative peaceful road to socialism” was a “deliberately fraudulent quotation” from Lenin’s article.

As regards the suddenness and the drastic character of Khrushchev’s indicting speech Wolfe has no convincing explanation to offer. He notes that as late as December 21, 1955, *Izvestia* had paid exalted tributes to Stalin and only in mid-January did the Presidium seem to have made up its mind to Khrushchev’s midnight address. He puts forth seven hypotheses as possible reasons for this drastic switch. But none of them is convincing enough. However, Wolfe conclusively shows that much feverish work of preparation and implementation has gone in the making of the speech.

Wolfe in his commentary shows how Khrushchev’s list of Stalin’s crimes is strangely selective. There is really very little in his speech which serious historians of Stalin’s regime did not know. The speech really reveals more by its omissions, approbations and distortions than by its denunciation. Wolfe pursues them to their logical conclusion and analysing them provides a clue to the real nature of this “new look”.

For Khrushchev, Stalin’s crimes do not begin until after 1934. The cult of Stalin’s person began, according to him, after 1934. But, as Wolfe points out, it really burst into flower in 1929 when, with the political destruction of Bukharin, Stalin succeeded in eliminating all his rivals in Lenin’s Politbureau. Similarly Stalin’s cruellest crimes, those that massacred millions of defenceless citizens, were committed by him and

his associates, between 1929 and 1933. But Khrushchev notes the forced collectivisation of agriculture as among Stalin’s achievements! Similarly the dark pages in the Soviet history, those relating to Hitler-Stalin pact in World War II and the numerous heinous crimes during this period—from partition of Poland to the officer’s corpses in the Katyn forest—are passed over by Khrushchev in silence!

Khrushchev on the contrary applauds some of the crimes of Stalin as his achievements. For example, he himself denounces Trotsky, Bukharin and others as “anti-Leninist”—the very terms which Stalin first used to destroy them. He approves Stalin’s crimes against peasants and against non-Communists. His indignation is reserved for those “honest communists who never committed any crime against the party who bore the heavy load of the first and most difficult years of collectivisation and industrialisation, who actively fought against the Trotskyists and the Rightists for the Leninist line.” In short, as Wolfe remarks, he would keep the criticism of Stalin a matter of Stalinists only.

This precisely is the clue to the nature of this process of de-Stalinisation. Khrushchev utters the cry of anguish as a Stalinist and for the Stalinists only. He has no tears to shed for those millions of innocent human beings who were massacred for no fault of theirs, before 1934—the year of his election to the Central Committee. Even after 1934, he feels no compunction for Stalin’s crimes which were not directed against “honest” Stalinists. He denounces Stalin for using periodic purges, or frame-up system as a convenient handle for liquidating his comrades. But Stalin inherited these evils from Lenin himself. Even the term “enemy of the people” which Khrushchev credits to Stalin’s evil imagination as an invention of his after 1934, was, as Wolfe notes, used by Lenin five weeks after he seized power. Stalin only developed Leninist norms into totalitarianism of one party state. Even the cult of his person was inherent in the monolithic logic of the totalitarianism. So was the reign of terror and suspicion. But Khrushchev does not want to change fundamentally the nature of the totalitarian system; on the contrary even now he still praises and builds upon the worst of Stalin’s crimes. Therefore Wolfe concludes, “by labelling all the major crimes ‘achievements’ and by having participated in all the crimes within the party and outside, Khrushchev and his associates are estopped from calling these crimes by their true names and the criminal by his.”

Even though Khrushchev was careful enough to leave untouched the fundamentals of the system which perpetrated such monstrosities and to make the list of Stalin’s crimes conveniently selective, the ghastly tale of nightmarish bloodbath unfolded by him constitutes an indictment of the entire system of totalitarian dictatorship. It really proclaims the moral bankruptcy of communism. By providing the necessary background to, and filling the important gaps left in Khrushchev’s speech, Mr. Wolfe has greatly contributed to our understanding of the real nature of the Soviet regime.

B. K. DESAI

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