

Aftermath Of Nagy Execution

by B. K. Desai

THE execution of Imre Nagy and his three associates has rocked the Communist Party of India and once again laid bare the internal contradictions which are bedevilling its politics since its inception. Torn between its loyalty to the Soviet fatherland and the tactical necessity of posing as a constitutional and democratic party faithful to its peaceful intentions proclaimed at Amritsar, the party is still groping its way out of this crisis. It could neither condemn the execution nor could it justify it. The former would mean revisionist blunder while the latter would be a blatant negation of the Amritsar thesis and consequent loss of prestige. As the top bosses, Ghosh and Gopalan, were away in Moscow undergoing political treatment, it was left to the remaining six members of the eight-man Secretariat to decide on the interim line to be followed until the final line could be evolved after the return of the Moscow-wise leaders with instructions about the course to be adopted.

For the first twelve days the party was in a state of suspended animation. Bhupesh Gupta, contacted soon after the news of the execution, refused to comment. There were reports about differences in the party but no communist leader was available for comment in spite of, or because of, strong reactions from every part of the country. Ultimately on June 29, two spokesmen of the party, Dange and P. C. Joshi, came out openly with their views which only proved that the party was split over the issue. Dange, when pressed for his comment, was reported to have consulted a few other members of the Secretariat before venturing to express his view. Expressing his own "personal reactions" in an interview to the *Times of India* he said: "It would have been better if the execution of Imre Nagy and his three associates had been avoided." He also remarked in a somewhat non-committal fashion: "There can also be an opinion that the executions were not absolutely necessary at this stage. Punishment, however, was necessary." He further added: "Nagy was not shot for political or ideological views", thus trying to save the liberal face of the communist movement. He even gave a tip to those who "feel disturbed about these executions":

"Express your dissatisfaction by all means, but do not allow the die-hard reactionaries to utilise this occasion for their game against the forces of socialism."

Joshi came out in *New Age* (June 29, 1958) with an implicit and somewhat apologetic approval of the executions. Interestingly enough, this comment was not made by the journal editorially, but over the signature of P. C. Joshi in the column "Notes of the Week." Thus the personal-reactions-line was continued, while "collective leadership" of the party was silent. Instead of giving an outright support to the execution, Joshi confined his remarks to the denunciation of "imperialist statesmen and their scribes" in India and an attack on the Indian press and politicians who "did not keep their head in the latest round of the internationally organised anti-communist campaign over the trial and execution of Nagy and his accomplices in Hungary." To justify his contention he likened the execution of Imre Nagy by the Hungarian Government with the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah by the Indian Government: "What Sheikh Abdullah and his accomplices are charged with having done in Kashmir was not even a pale shadow of what Nagy and his accomplices really did in Hungary. We rightly resent when the imperialist statesmen and Press raise the Abdullah issue... does it become different when the imperialists raise a howl over the Nagy affair?" He was also furious at the Prime Minister because the latter expressed his "distress" over the executions but "was not distressed over de-Gaulle's rape of democracy in France". He even expressed his apprehension that "with the US aid and loans mounting up he (Nehru) is likely to slip more easily than ever from the positions he has so far held firmly." P. C. Joshi's statement thus hinted a shift in the CPI's stand with regard to Kashmir and Sheikh Abdullah as well as its assessment of Nehru's role vis-a-vis the Western powers. It suggests that CPI might switch over to its pre-1955 stand that Nehru's policies are being influenced by the "Anglo-American imperialist bloc."

Joshi was silent on Nagy's role and the wisdom of the execution of Nagy in the June 29 issue of *New Age*. On July 2, appeared Kadar's speech saying that Nagy violated the oath towards the Hungarian constitution. Taking a clue from Kadar's speech Joshi, in the July 6 issue of *New Age*, came out with more open support for the execution and accused Nagy with "treachery to the Hungarian Constitution" and branded him a "traitor".

In the July 13 issue of *New Age*, Joshi made himself bold enough to give his whole-hearted support

The result of all this was sharp differences of opinion and unmistakable signs of confusion and dismay within the party. The Kerala Communist Party was placed in the most embarrassing position. It was the party in power in the State and as such was vociferous in proclaiming its faith in the peaceful parliamentary road. The need to be respectable was therefore stronger in Kerala than elsewhere and naturally the executions came as a rude shock to the Kerala communists. Namboodiripad declined to comment, but the Kerala Party, it was reported, urged the Central Executive to condemn the executions. The party's dilemma was highlighted by the fact that its precarious majority in the Kerala Assembly is dependent on the support of four independents, two out of whom are included in Kerala

In retrospect it can be said that the execution of Nagy and his associates has had an impact on the public mind more powerful than even the Hungarian uprising had. It could have been still greater and more lasting but for the unfortunate intervention of the Western powers in Lebanon and Jordan which has helped the communists, to a great extent, to save their face at least for the time being by loudly championing the cause of "Arab nationalism and independence." The execution has had a beneficial effect on non-communist parties like PSP in so far as it brought a new awareness to them of the limitations and inconsistencies inherent in their cooperation with the communists in various united fronts. It has helped, to some extent, to restore to them their ideological perspective with regard to the real issues that are at stake in the present world politics. The parties, like PSP, which are much too deeply involved with communists in united fronts are now learning anew a lesson in consistency and beginning to assert their own views and character more boldly and uncompromisingly. It must be said to the credit of the PSP that it took a leading part in educating and rallying public opinion against this treacherous murder and has proved itself strong and firm enough not to compromise with the communists on issues of principles and fundamental faith in democratic precepts. In Bombay city, where the PSP is the major party in the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, a united front of all opposition parties and groups, the PSP was made the but end of a deli-

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• Maneckji Wadia Building, 4th Floor,
127 Mahatma Gandhi Road,
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Notes

Indoctrination Through Text Books

WHEN the communists came to power in Kerala many well-meaning people fondly hoped that they will work within the four corners of the Constitution and prove by actual deeds their democratic professions and constitutional protestations. But the communists were not willing to oblige them. They started burrowing from within as soon as they were in the saddle of power. The Kerala Education Bill was their first such attempt at spreading their tentacles in the field of education, but it received a temporary set-back owing to the verdict of the Supreme Court. Now the communists have found another way of propagating their ideology among students and youths. They have found in the nationalisation of text-books a fertile ground for indoctrination.

A letter written by Prof. Joseph Mundassery, Kerala Education Minister, when he was in Russia, is among the selections in the Malayalam text book for standard ten. In the letter, the redoubtable Professor *inter alia* claims that Soviet education is the most efficient. *Social Studies Third Series* prescribed for the eighth standard contains essays on revolutions, including Russian and Chinese revolutions, with large size portraits of Karl Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung. The Russian Revolution is described as follows: "What a great revolution that was! By an agrarian revolution, an industrial revolution and a psychological revolution, a big community of people was elevated to the modern world within four years as if by magic." The sub-chapter on China, titled "Communist Victory," reflects the very views recently expressed by Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripad namely that China will be repeated in Kerala if the parties in opposition form a common anti-communist front.

In the above selection NATO, SEATO and Baghdad Pacts have been branded as imperialistic and colonial associations while nothing is mentioned about the Warsaw Pact and the communist imperialist hold over Eastern European countries. The book is silent about the fundamental liberties and democracy in Russia but claims that "now there is neither unemployment nor are there beggars in China."

Thus there has been a systematic attempt to indoctrinate the youth by stuffing the text-books with communist propaganda. No one would object to students studying unbiased and objective account and analysis of world events including the communist revolution. But to exploit governmental authority for carrying on party propaganda is, to say the least, criminal. The nationalisation of text books, without any proper safeguards against such abuses, has given the communist regime in Kerala the most dangerous weapon for carrying out its totalitarian designs. It is to be hoped

that democratic parties in Kerala will rise to the occasion and oppose this insidious communist move to fill young minds with their ideological filth.

Prelude To Civil War?

SITUATION in Kerala continues to be alarming. The atmosphere in the State is full of threats and counter-threats. The tone for this portentous development was set by the ominous warning uttered by the Kerala Chief Minister a few weeks ago, when he threatened the opposition parties with civil war if they opposed the Communist Party. Later on in the Kerala Assembly, Namboodiripad clarified his statement and said that unless the Congress and other non-communist parties change their ways a civil war was imminent in Kerala. This only showed that the communists are not in a mood to tolerate opposition. Subsequently the Congress and the PSP in Kerala warned the people against the probable resort to civil war by the communists and exhorted them to be prepared for that eventuality. Now the communists have taken a step further in this direction and called for "people's committees" all over the State to counter "the opposition move to paralyse the working of public offices and schools." At a press conference held recently, the General Secretary of the Kerala Communist Party, M. N. Govindan Nair, disclosed his party's plan to organise people's committees in Kerala "to defeat attempts to wreck the democratically-elected Government in the State," and accused the opposition parties of drawing up plans for "spreading disorder in the country."

This news, disturbing as it is, is fraught with grave perils. The people's committees that are to be formed will surely be the communist instrument to terrorise the opposition with the connivance of the State Government. It is the task of the duly constituted authorities of the State to protect citizens and maintain law and order. This is certainly not a task which can either be assumed by any section of the people or party or one that can be shared by it with those constitutionally charged with the maintenance of law and order. The formation of people's committees is bound to lead to dangerous consequences and the opposition parties will find it difficult to resist the temptation to counteract the communist move with their own committees. This will inevitably result in anarchy and civil war. It may be that convinced of the futility of the parliamentary road to achieve their ends, the Indian communists have decided to go back to their old familiar road. The presence of B. T. Randive, the communist leader and the author of the Telengana thesis, in Kerala at this time may not be without significance from this point of view. But one thing is certain. If Kerala is plunged into a civil war, it will not be confined within the frontiers of that State alone. It is therefore to be hoped that the Central Government will see to it that the situation in Kerala does not take a fatal turn and communists are not allowed to exploit the governmental authority in the State to further their insidious intents.

Matter For Investigation

MR. Harekrishna Mahtab, Chief Minister of Orissa, behaved in an unbecoming and irresponsible manner when he allowed his Government to demand the replacement of the correspondent of three reputed newspapers of the country on the ground that he was on the payroll of a foreign embassy and was deliberately carrying on propaganda against the Ministry and the party in power. The charge was so serious that there was an outcry in the country and demand for proof and action against the embassy concerned if it was proved to be true. In the end, Mr. Mahtab had himself to admit that there was no basis for the charge and the letters that were written to the newspapers were withdrawn. The matter should not be, however, allowed to rest there. There should be an investigation to find out how such a grave charge came to be made and who was responsible for making the charge and writing the letters to the newspapers. This is not a light matter which can be disposed off by merely withdrawing the letters. This is a fit case for an apology to the correspondent and the newspapers and severe punishment to the person, or persons who were responsible for the affair.

One may legitimately ask if the purpose of the whole affair was to influence the press. The leader of the Opposition, Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, has made that charge against the Government. In the course of a statement to the press he wrote: "The real motive underlying this unusual act of the Government of Orissa seems to be to remove the correspondent from the State on the eve of the crucial Assembly session in August, to stifle the press, so that the state of affairs in Orissa is not correctly reported. This is high-handed administrative blackmail to keep correspondents of agencies and national newspapers under surveillance and make them black out the Opposition point of view as well as the defects and shortcomings of the party in power and its madness from public knowledge."

These are strong words. But unless the Chief Minister gives a better explanation of how such an unfounded charge came to be levelled and takes action against those who may be guilty, the people will be left with the impression that it was an unlawful and clumsy attempt to coerce the press. It is in his own interest and in the interest of his Ministry that the Chief Minister should clear up the affair as early as possible.

I. C. C. F. NEWS

The Committee organized a reception on July 16 in honour of two young Bombay artists, Mr. V. S. Gaitonde and Mr. R. D. Sawant, who won prizes in the Young Asian Artists Exhibition which was held in Tokyo in October last year. The reception was attended by a large number of artists and art critics. The wellknown art critic of Bombay Mr. Leyden presided over the function. Mr. Karnik welcomed the guests and Mr. Gaitonde made a suitable reply on his own behalf as well as on behalf of Mr. Sawant.

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berate campaign of vilification and slander by a section in the Samiti led by the Communist Party, because it decided to support a resolution condemning the execution of Nagy and his associates moved by the Congress Party in the Bombay Municipal Corporation. But inspite of this vicious campaign the PSP stood firm not only in supporting the resolution but also in organising a big demonstration against the execution to the discomfiture of the communists. This experience may encourage the party to come out openly with a firm and consistent stand on fundamental issues and clear the confusion widespread in its rank and file caused by its divergent and often contradictory policies in different States.

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A Grave Mistake

by V. B. Karnik

ARMED intervention in Lebanon and Jordan is an action which cannot be supported even on grounds of expediency, let alone the grounds of principle. It has endangered peace and it has set at naught the invaluable principle of non-interference with the internal affairs of nations which has been accepted as the basis of international relations by all civilised countries. To halt the growth of Russian influence in the area was no doubt the purpose of the action. But even that limited purpose will not be served by the action that has been taken.

The intervention is sought to be justified on several grounds. It is true that the armed forces of the United States and Great Britain landed in Lebanon and Jordan on the invitation and request of the legally established Governments of the two countries. But the Government of Lebanon has been in crisis for over two months. A revolt has been raging in the country and the Government has not been able to suppress it. Is it desirable that the United States should use its army to keep in power such a Government? The same question can be asked about the use of British troops in Jordan. At the moment there is no open revolt in the country. But King Hussain feels his position endangered and it is to safeguard that position that he has invited the British army into his country.

In view of this situation, Anglo-American action in Jordan and Lebanon amounts to armed support to established Governments against their own people. The Governments that British and American troops have been rushed to protect are not even democratic governments. In Jordan it is the Government of a feudal prince, while in Lebanon it is a Government which desires to secure for itself a second term in office against the express provision of the country's constitution. Speaking in the House of Lords, Lord Attlee hit the point when he stated; "You have to take very great caution in supporting what you regard as a legitimate Government in places where democracy has not taken any very serious root. You are then liable to be supporting them against the will of the people."

It is therefore the accepted practice amongst civilised nations not to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. It has received international recognition through its incorporation in the Charter of the United Nations. It is also one of the basic principles of the Panchsheel formulated and propagated by India. It is for the people of a country to decide and determine the character and the composition of their Government. No outside authority has any right to interfere with that choice of the people. If it is wrong for communist Powers to seek to subvert established Governments through aggression or internal subversion,

it is equally wrong for others to try to keep them in power against the will of the people.

The United States and Great Britain have also invoked Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. If the Article is properly read it will be found that what it provides for is individual or collective defence against aggression. There is so far no commonly agreed definition of the term "aggression." But no reasonable person will find any difficulty in distinguishing internal revolt from aggression. In Jordan there is so far not even an internal revolt. In Lebanon there is a strange kind of internal revolt, a revolt in which not even the Army is prepared to support the Government. Only a fortnight before the intervention took place, the American Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles stated in his press conference: "The presence in Lebanon of foreign troops, however justifiable, is not as good a solution as for the Lebanese to find a solution themselves." Having accepted that position it is difficult to see why he found it necessary to depart from it. The real argument of the Americans in support of their action in Lebanon is their allegation that the revolt is foreign-inspired and that foreign Powers have been rendering it considerable help through liberal supply of arms and men. Ordinarily people might have accepted the allegation. The report of the Observer Group of the United Nations has, however, disproved it. The Group has found no evidence of "massive infiltration". The Secretary General has moreover expressed his considered opinion that the group is now in a position to watch the entire frontier and prevent the entry of arms or armed men. This knocks the bottom out of any case that the United States may have had in support of its action on the ground of foreign intervention in the internal revolt.

The fact of the matter is that the United States and Great Britain were alarmed by the shift in the balance of power which was taking place in West Asia. They found one pro-Western Government after another being pushed out and replaced by other Governments which were not so friendly. The *coup* in Iraq was the proverbial last straw on the camel's back. The *coup* may, they thought, strengthen the hands of the rebels in Lebanon and may lead ultimately to a change of régime in Jordan. They apprehended the fall of two more friendly Governments, the Government of President Chamoun and the Government of King Hussein. Frightened by that grim prospect, they acted to save the two Governments, hoping thereby to halt the growing influence of the United Arab Republic and Soviet Russia.

Some commentators in the country have characterised the landing of American and British troops in Lebanon and Jordan as "another Suez". Some others have called it "aggression"; while there are

many others, including, of course, the communists, who are utilising the action for their propaganda against Western nations. However undesirable the military intervention may be, one should not lose one's sense of perspective and allow anger or pain to get the better of one's judgment.

There is no similarity between the present action and what happened in the case of Suez. The Suez action was an unprovoked act of war against Egypt. British and French troops carried on at that time war operations against Egypt. There were pitched battles and a vast destruction of property and many were killed and wounded. The present landing of troops in Lebanon and Jordan is not even aggression. American and British troops are in the two countries on the invitation of the two Governments however tenuous or unsound their authority may be. Moreover it is merely a holding action and the Americans as well as the British are ready to withdraw their troops as soon as the United Nations takes over the responsibility of safeguarding the independence and the integrity of the two nations. The action is therefore qualitatively of a different character and that qualitative difference must never be lost sight of in any discussion of the wisdom or otherwise of the step.

There can be, of course, no analogy between this action and what Soviet Russia did in Hungary in 1956 and what she is overtly doing as a regular practice in many other East European countries. Russia is out to expand her totalitarian empire; while the essential objective of the American and British action is to prevent small nations falling a prey to the machinations of Soviet agents. It is a pity that the action that was taken will not, as a long-term measure, serve the purpose that was in view.

West Asia is a strategically important area both because of its oil resources and because of its geographical position. No friend of freedom and democracy would like international communism to get a grip over that area which is so vital to the free world. But befriending feudal monarchs and rushing troops to bolster up their regimes is not the way of saving the region from communist infiltration. Lord Attlee has given a significant warning. He warned Great Britain as well as the United States: "Wherever you step in from outside and try and support rulers, you merely foment nationalist and anti-colonial movements." The policy that the United States and Great Britain have been pursuing of working through and with discredited monarchs and their henchmen and stooges has alienated them from all other groups and whenever either stepped in to support the established Government there has been a resurgence of the nationalist sentiment and movement. The result on this occasion is not going to be any different.

Nationalism is a growing force in the countries of West Asia. It cannot be suppressed. Any attempt to suppress it will make it all the more powerful and deepseated. The Western nations must evolve a new relationship with the forces of nationalism in each Arabian country. One can understand their anxiety about oil. One can sympathise with their desire to secure its regular and uninterrupted flow. But they must realise that times have changed and that they

cannot get the oil that they need so badly on terms and conditions which were laid down a hundred, fifty or even ten years back. The prosperity which oil brings to the region must filter down to the people. It should not be allowed to be swallowed by the feudal princes and their retinues. New social relationships and institutions can alone guarantee that. It should not be beyond the statesmanship of Western nations to co-operate with the nationalist forces and help the evolution of those new relationships and institutions. This will open up a vast field for mutual help and co-operation and will enable nationalism to develop along constructive lines.

Far from following that wise and statesmanlike course, Great Britain and the United States have been following a selfish and shortsighted policy. Nothing could have exposed more clearly the utter bankruptcy of that policy than the course of the *coup* in Iraq. When the *coup* took place nobody stood by King Feisal except a few palace guards. When the crisis developed nobody stood by England or America except a person like Nur-es Said. In all West Asian countries the Army is the only force which counts and it is usually found ranged against the two countries and the political arrangements made by them. The present action will intensify the feeling of distrust and hostility and will make their position still more difficult.

Considered from any point, the intervention in Lebanon and Jordan is impolitic as well as wrong in principle. It has weakened immensely the moral position of the Western nations. The only silver lining in the otherwise dark situation is the fact that neither in Lebanon nor in Jordan the troops have so far engaged themselves in military operations and the likelihood is that in the end the two Governments will bow to world public opinion and withdraw their forces. Another hopeful factor is the criticism and opposition that the intervention has evoked in both countries. In England the Labour Party opposed the move. In the United States also there was criticism of the military action. This can happen only in a democracy. A democracy may commit mistakes, but it can also correct them. A grave mistake has been committed in Lebanon and Jordan. Public opinion will assert itself and compel the two Governments to rectify it.

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Who Are The Aggressors?

by M. A. Venkata Rao

THE reaction of the general public in India to American intervention in Lebanon has taken the usual stereotyped line and is identical with that of the Soviets. It is forgotten that Indian foreign policy is supposed to be neutralist and against all involvement in the vicissitudes of the cold war between the blocs. The Prime Minister has so far been more cautious than usual but everyone knows his leanings. The Indian public is debauched with Soviet interpretations of the world scene and developments and follows them implicitly as if they were pure descriptions of irreducible facts and not glosses put upon events in the interests of Soviet policy. The Delhi correspondent of *The Hindu* reports a general resentment against American action in the capital in official and non-official circles who do not hesitate to compare American action in this case to Russian suppression of the Hungarian freedom fight! When this suggestion was made by a Labour Member of the British House of Commons, the Foreign Secretary Selwin Lloyd dryly mentioned the "slight difference" of the puppet government in Hungary! The Washington Correspondent of the same paper reports the central feeling among the newsmen of the UNO that American action was *immoral!*

It is all important that Indian opinion should be presented with the other side of the medal which in this case is nearer the truth and should be weighed in all seriousness in the light of the proclaimed Indian policy of judging all events on their merits. Today it looks as though India will take up the Soviet point of view with a *naivete* that is truly disturbing.

The nerve of the situation lies in the fact of *indirect aggression* which the Soviets have developed into a fine art. As President Eisenhower pointed out, this art of subterranean subversion and infiltration is not new but has been exemplified since the end of the war in East European countries one by one. That is how Hungary was sovietised. Rakosi, the Moscow puppet, has described in grim detail how he and his friends of the Communist Party of Hungary took over their State through what is known as *salami tactics*. Czechoslovakia was communised in an identical manner under Soviet inspiration and support through "national" communists. The story of this Soviet art of communising a State through coalition governments in the first instance sailing under cover of national sentiment (soon to be transformed into full communist governments by means of popular demonstrations and capture of the police portfolio and so on) needs to be presented to the Indian public in all its naked truth and machiavellian cunning. It is only such a realisation of the "scientifically" developed art of subversion hoisting (Iago-like) innocent and ignorant

peoples with their own petard of noble sentiments for the uplift of the disinherited masses that can supply a standard of judgment and generate resistance to the incessant, strident propaganda of the Soviets and their servants, dupes and fellow travellers.

The tangible spectacle of the American Marines landing in Lebanon offers a formidable appearance of naked intervention in foreign States which bears on its face the signature of aggression not to be ignored or explained away. This is the triumph of the *unseen hand* of Soviet aggression and infiltration functioning much beforehand in the same field. Syria and Lebanon have been subjected to communist aggressive tactics under cover of helping their people to throw off the influence of the imperialists from the West. The Soviet propagandist appears in backward countries from the time of the Leninist Revolution in Russia (1917) as the friend and liberator of Asian and African peoples from the yoke of the West. Now it is not necessary to deny the imperialist character of Western control or influence in these areas. But it would be suicidal to Eastern nations to accept the help and guidance of the Soviets in their effort towards national liberation. The liberation that the Soviet have in mind is not national liberation leading to the independent existence of national States in a world of free nations, but "liberation" from their own national leaders! In the process of achieving such "liberation" under Soviet auspices (albeit under the aegis of their own nationals of the local communist party,) the unfortunate people will find themselves saddled by a collection of puppets who, owing their power to foreign nomination, find it impossible to function as free national leaders and as a free government responsible to their own people. All the paraphernalia of one-party rule—police or terror State, thought-control, secret police, Five Year Plans to subserve Russian economic imperialism, foreign policy echoing the Kremlin, mass liquidations, collective farms forced upon an unwilling and resisting peasantry, faked elections with a single official panel of candidates and so on will appear in due time. The "people's democracy" thus resulting from subversion and foreign intervention under the rose will become a replica of the mind and face of Bolshevism. Any diversion from the Kremlin line will bring the wrath of its ruthless masters on the unfortunate country. The way that Tito is being subjected to pressure tactics and all the satellites are being dragooned to condemn him for his independence of the Soviet camp, (even poor Gomulka having had to express verbal approval of the Soviet judicial murder of Nagy, Maleter and two of their colleagues in the Hungarian freedom fight,) are clear evidence of the impossibility of any real

exercise of national independence by the Government of nations thus subverted and sucked within the armed ring of Soviet "internationalism."

This was how Syria was penetrated by the communists but President Nasser took advantage of the situation for the benefit of the Arab empire of which he is dreaming. It is from Syria that Jordan was about to be overturned last year when the courage and resolution of young King Hussein saved the kingdom.

Lebanon has been subjected to such subversive tactics for some time now. An artificial rebel movement has been created by Nasser aided by the communist underworld in Lebanon. The country is half Muslim and half Christian but both sections are Arab by race. The Muslim half naturally has fallen for Nasser and his charm of Pan-Arabism. The Christians hesitate about their fate under such a Pan-Arab empire under a dictator like President Nasser. They will lose their present fifty-fifty share in power and will become a hopeless minority. Islam in her history has not had much to recommend itself to her Christian and other non-Muslim subjects. Paper constitutions incorporating all human rights that decorate the USA and other modern democracies will not assure them a decent life under the new dispensation—they legitimately fear. So the Christian element looks to the West for the safeguarding of their present position as an integral part of the independent State of Lebanon.

The Cairo radio has been for months now inciting the Lebanese to rebel, overthrow their legitimate government and sweep the country into the arms of President Nasser. The Soviets have been giving moral and arms support on the sly to this penetration of the UAR into Lebanon. The Lebanese communist party has naturally been the spear-head of this betrayal of their legally-founded State. It may be that it is excusable and intelligible in view of Arab ambitions for a united empire of their race but there is no gain-saying the charge that it is treachery to the existing State. Of course the oil interests of the Western powers play a part in this explosive drama. But first things must be put first. American action or intervention today is a counter-intervention to checkmate the earlier *underground intervention and indirect aggression* of the UAR and Soviet Russia.

Now the question of morality. Morality is both a matter of short term legality and long term consequences apart from motives and intentions. In *realpolitik*, motives count for little, for with the best of intentions in the world, leaders in power may unwittingly do things that will inevitably destroy their nation, its self-government and economic opportunity, even resulting in an agonising enslavement of their unfortunate people for long periods. Witness Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and other satellites of communist Russia.

From the standpoint of legality, the existing agreement of the Western Powers, particularly the USA and Great Britain from the days of the post-war mandates in Syria and Lebanon pre-dating the UNO but not contradictory to the Charter, binds the two Western Powers to go to the assistance of Lebanon when called upon to do so in an emergency threatening its

security. No one can deny that such an emergency was created for the unfortunate little country by the ambition of President Nasser and the encouragement of Soviet diplomacy.

Further, the Charter explicitly recognises such contingencies in Article 51 and approves of collective or individual action of member nations in anticipation of UN sanction. The USA has lost no time in putting the matter before the Security Council and asking for its support and cooperation promising to withdraw as soon as effective UN measures are taken to safeguard the integrity of Lebanon. So much for legality.

As for morality, we have to consider long term consequences. If American action had not taken place and the whole Middle Eastern area falls to the sphere of influence of Soviet Russia, the chances of Russian victory in the world struggle become thereby immensely enhanced. The dread contingency of the free world as a whole passing under the control of the Soviets and becoming part of world communism under the leaders of the Kremlin may become a grim reality. Anything that promotes such a dark culmination to human hopes is an unmitigated *evil* of astronomical proportions. And by the same token anything like the present American action that holds the promise of preventing such a triumph of Kremlin-Marxism is a great *good* worth the support of all persons throughout the globe. From this point of view it is but ignorant and even irresponsible trifling with human fate to condemn American action without sufficient reflection as "immoral." The time has come for all persons in the free world everywhere to rise to the *summit of the crisis* and free themselves from the blinding and misleading influence of the world-wide propaganda of the Kremlin.

In India we are confronting the initial stages of indirect aggression in Kerala of the kind that has created the State-dissolving cauldron in Lebanon. The situation in India may become more hopeless, what with the approval of communist doctrine by the Prime Minister and Defence Minister and the governmental status and power of the Kerala Communist Party.

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A Kiss For Big Brother

by Bela Kiraly

General Bela Kiraly was Commander in Chief of the Hungarian National Guard and military Commander of Budapest during the Hungarian Revolt. From 1951 to 1956 he was in prison on charges of having resisted the Sovietization of the Hungarian Army. He had before his arrest been Commander in Chief of the Hungarian Infantry and Commander of the General Staff College.

RECENTLY I saw a number of pictures of Khrushchev's visit to Budapest; there have also been many accounts of the trip in the Western press. The pictures and the reports told of the military honour guard meeting the Soviet Party boss; particularly, they described how Khrushchev broke away from his bodyguard, mingled with the Hungarian crowd and kissed several Hungarian children.

All this brought back a flood of sharp memories. In the late Forties and early Fifties (before my imprisonment) I had been responsible for the military detachments in parades and demonstrations on such occasions. I remembered the routine before such events (as prescribed by our Soviet military "advisers"): on the morning of the show all military detachments taking part were searched, man by man, by political and security police officers. This was to make sure that no soldier carried any live ammunition or explosive. After the search the troops were not permitted to break formation. All the artillery and tank guns were examined to make sure they were unloaded, and were then sealed with heavy steel wire. It was standard practice to warn military units not to approach closer than 30 yards to the stand where the Party and government dignitaries were.

When I looked again at the picture of the military honour guard greeting Khrushchev, I realized that the current regime had not considered even these stringent measures sufficient. Instead of regular troops, I saw that the honour guard was a unit of the AVH, the secret police.

The accounts of Khrushchev mingling with the crowd and kissing Hungarian children (which seem to surprise some Western observers as evidence that Khrushchev, the butcher of the Revolt, was not really hated by the Hungarian people) brought back even more vivid memories of how such things are arranged. I remember especially the incidents surrounding April 4, 1950.

That day was the fifth anniversary of Hungary's "liberation" by the Red Army. An immense military parade and great civilian demonstrations were planned to celebrate the day. The two focal points of the festivities were to be Marshal Voroshilov, head of the Soviet delegation, and Matyas Rakosi, Hungarian Party leader.

As commander of military organizations participating in the parade, I attended the meetings which were to organize the proceedings. Chairman of these sessions was Istvan Kovacs, then a Politburo member

and a leader of the Stalinist-Rakosi group. We met in the Communist Party Headquarters, in Budapest. At the first session a time-table of events was handed out. It went:

8:00 AM—military parade begins.

10:00 AM—military parade ends.

10:01 AM—demonstrators from Csepel factory enter the Square of Heroes and greet the Party and government dignitaries.

10:05 AM—demonstrators from Factory X, District Y, etc., arrive in the square.

11:35 AM—Five young workers spontaneously break through the security cordon and throw flowers at Comrade Rakosi and Comrade Voroshilov.

11:45 AM—Comrade Rakosi kisses children.

11:55 AM—Etc., etc.

Glancing over this, I was particularly intrigued by the spontaneous break-through of young workers, and by Comrade Rakosi's kissing of children. These matters were cleared up in the ensuing discussion between Istvan Kovacs and various functionaries. First Kovacs questioned the man responsible for the large factory delegations as to how their presence in good order was to be assured. "Simple, Comrade Kovacs," the man replied briskly. "All workers must report to the factory first and get special cards. We will collect these cards at the Square after the demonstration. This way we'll know if anyone fails to attend, and they know we'll know."

Kovacs nodded approval and turned to an AVH Major. He asked him about the five young workers who were spontaneously to burst through the cordon and fling flowers. The Major answered: "Comrade Kovacs, with your permission I will call in Comrade Blank to explain the details. He is the leader of the five youngsters."

"Well, who is he?" Kovacs asked.

"His father is the Party Secretary of a Budapest district. All the adult members of his family are in the Party. The young man himself is in our service. Do you want any further information on him?"

"No, no, no," Kovacs answered hurriedly, a bit embarrassed by the Major's truculent readiness to assure him and everybody else that what the AVH does it does thoroughly, and no questions need be asked.

Young Comrade Blank was called into the room and made his report. All of the five youngsters in the group (three young men, two young women) knew

their job perfectly. Nobody else knew about the assignment. They would wear the black uniform of students living in hostels for those of worker-peasant origin. They would hide themselves next to the Yugoslav Embassy at the beginning of the parade. They would mingle with the demonstrators at 11:30 AM. They would move with the crowd toward the reviewing stand, and precisely at 11:35 AM would shove against AVH Sergeants X, Y, and Z guarding that section of the cordon. Passing through, they would approach the stand and fling their flowers.

Further arrangements were noted for photographing the spontaneous incident.

The next item on the agenda was "Rakosi kisses children." This was the most carefully planned. An AVH officer was in charge of the incident. It was explained that the children would consist of a young nephew of Erno Gero (then a Politburo member, Minister of State and close associate of Rakosi), and the daughter of another Communist leader. They would be accompanied by two female Party stalwarts. They would all be carefully rehearsed. For the precise kissing place the meeting selected the stairs on the northern side of the reviewing stand. The children's clothing, that of their guardians, and other details were carefully discussed. There was even discussion of the possibility of arrangements to increase the hygiene of the kissing.

On April 4, the great day, after the parade was over, an aide to Defence Minister Mihaly Farkas came to me and told me to come to the main reviewing stand. He led me up to Marshal Voroshilov, who congratulated me on the success of the parade, and invited me to stay on the stand for a while and watch the civilian demonstration.

The stand was crowded with Hungarian and Soviet officials, who (except for the leading figures seated in front) moved around chatting, laughing, pointing at various figures in the mob of "demonstrating" workers being driven past. There was a steady stream of traffic between the stand itself and the little specially prepared chamber beneath it which was stocked with a wonderful variety of rare delicacies, edibles and potables. The shabby swarms of workers flowed past.

I stood some rows behind Rakosi's chair. At 11:43 AM an AVH officer came and whispered in Rakosi's ear, Rakosi rose and moved toward the stairs. I was puzzled for a moment, wondering if anything important had happened that demanded the attention of the Party leader himself. Then it flashed through my mind—of course, timetable item 11:45 AM is about to take place. Rakosi is going to kiss children.

In a matter of moments the whole thing went off perfectly. Rakosi suddenly appeared at the appointed spot. Two women lifted two small figures, one boy, one girl. Rakosi kissed them. Cameramen worked to catch the spontaneous fleeting moment. It was all over. Rakosi had kissed the children.

These were my memories (half-comic, half-tragic) as, the other day, I looked at the photographs and read the accounts of Khrushchev's visit in Budapest, and how Khrushchev kissed the children.

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NEWS FROM POLAND

A public reprimand of the Polish author Leopold Tyrmand has taken the form of the banning of his latest book and the withdrawal of his passport.

The work in question, which has already been published, is the novel, *Seven Long Journeys* and tells the love story of a blackmarketing smuggler and a girl-student in the Pomeranian port of Ruegenwalde.

Tyrmand's first novel *The Evil One* (in Polish "Zly"), a crime story with a moral turn, described the Warsaw underworld and the lives of its members. It was published in 1955 and ran to several printings. *The Evil One* is to appear in translation in the Federal Republic of Germany and later in the United States.

Politically Tyrmand is close to the Catholic magazine *Tygodnik Powszechny* and the Catholic political group "Znak". During the days of the October Revolution of 1956, he made a public attack against the Catholic group "Pax", which was collaborating with the Stalinists. Tyrmand had promised an article for the *Preuves* survey "Why I am a European!..." He telegraphed the editors to say that it was no longer possible to send the article.

Up to now no official explanation has been given for the withdrawal of Tyrmand's passport. According to the official explanation, *Seven Long Journeys* was banned because of the general immorality of Tyrmand's writings, which in practical terms means a ban on all his works and the end of his career as a writer.

The Catholic movement "Pax", which is close to the government has on several occasions denounced Tyrmand, together with the young *avantgarde* writer Marek Hlasko, as the men chiefly responsible for the decline of Polish youth.

Hlasko, who was sharply attacked in an article in the party paper *Trybuna Ludu* on 12 April, is at present on a visit to Paris where two of his books, which were forbidden in Poland, have been published by *Kultura*.

With this blow against Tyrmand the cultural policy of the Gomulka regime has entered a stage of a sharper struggle against free speech. One of the Party functionaries responsible for cultural policy, Central Committee member B. Werblan declared at a meeting of Party cultural workers, that in future neither time nor money would be wasted on the publication of works of a demoralising character and which do not contribute to socialist reconstruction. Afterwards a substantial number of writers, among them several known as Communists of indisputable loyalty, were told that their already finished or still unfinished works could not be published.

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