

The Challenge Of The Sputniks

by M. A. Venkata Rao

WHAT do we do about Sputnik?", cried the American writer Clare Booth Luce, "We take our hats off to the Soviet moon and our coats off to Russian rocketry. We collect our wits and dig into pockets. It is twelve years from Hiroshima to the moon. Six of them were Democratic and six Republican. Let us say no more."

Shri C. Rajagopalachari's advice that the one affirmative 'yes' to the Soviet proposal, so often made, for the ban on the use of all nuclear weapons is worth a dozen reorganised programmes of research to catch up with Sputniks is hardly sufficient and is of a piece with his recent support to the Soviet 'Peace Campaign'. Its naivete in ignoring the Soviet refusal for accompanying the ban on nuclear weapons with effective inspection, rightly insisted upon by Western negotiators, is astonishing in so experienced and acute an observer as Shri C. Rajagopalachari.

What then is the answer to the challenge of the Sputniks? It depends on the extent of the damage done by them to the military and political aspects of the defence relied upon by the United States and her allies. The military part of it is twofold—the ring of bases round the Soviet orbit and nuclear weapons delivered by long range bombers in strength on attack by the communists. This is the deterrent part of the strategy. The positive side of it had the two aspects of containment and liberation. Due to shortsighted public pressure, the programme of liberation of the captive nations from the Baltic to the Dardenelles was hardly launched. It became abortive and was confined to propaganda efforts like those of the Voice of America. Containment as a policy was maintained through diplomacy and through economic and military aid to States on the border of Soviet Russia, States from Korea through the SEATO and BAGHDAD Treaty areas to Morocco and Tunis across the Middle East.

The military part of the strategy is in ruins because of the Soviet mastery of the intercontinental ballistic missile and the Sputnik technique of launching space satellites. If they could do this, it is clear that they

could send nuclear warheads to any part of the world. Also, the American bases round the Soviet perimeter from Nato to Korea become vulnerable to Russian medium range rockets. Of course, there is some safety in the margin of error to which such rockets are inevitably subject.

This means, on the political side, that the policy of containment of the Soviet flood within its present borders has failed. Even before the launching of the Sputniks, Soviet penetration into Egypt and Syria had underlined the limitation of the Eisenhower doctrine in the Middle East. The Syrian case is a typical example of how international communism can take over the administration of a country through its local fellow-travellers and the Communist Party. If a people have leaders either ignorant of or indifferent to the danger of Soviet penetration, it is clear that outside agencies from the free world cannot save them. Syria is an example more nearly affecting us in India in as much as she has succumbed without the actual presence of the Soviet Army, which was the deciding factor in East European States. India may have the unenviable distinction of fulfilling the estimate or prophecy of Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that in consequence of the present global position of the Soviet camp, consequent on the victories of the war of 1939-45, it is possible for Communist Parties in the uncommitted nations of the world, particularly in Asia, to achieve through peaceful propaganda stable parliamentary majorities. The State of Kerala has had the doubtful honour of making a beginning towards the fulfilment of this prophecy.

The refusal of the U.S.A. and the free world to assist Hungary last year even with arms supplies sounded the death-knell (or registered publicly the death that had taken place long before) of the policy of liberation. The situation before the Sputniks was, therefore, the reluctant and tacit acceptance of the enemy's suggestion of the policy of co-existence. Of course *de facto* co-existence as between the Soviets and the free world is different from the utter unpreparedness and pathetic trust in the bonafides of the most ruthless imperialism in history, an imperialism, moreover, committed by its own founding doctrine to world revolution and world conquest. For two years now, the Soviets have confronted the world with the challenge (or offensive) of economic aid and peaceful competition with the West for the soul of Asia which has strangely enough coincided with an era of withdrawal and isolationism in American circles, though the State Department is striving valiantly to step up a fitting

answer to the challenge of the Soviets in the matter of aid to the backward peoples. The Sputniks have administered a resounding blow to this shrinking attitude of the American mind as well as a blow to their scientific prestige and self-confidence.

In fact the Sputniks have brought complete ruin to the whole scheme of American defence in all its sectors, military, economic, scientific, political and psychological. And what is unsettling to American defence and self-confidence is *ipso facto* alarming to the free world. Hence the wisdom of Macmillan's move for a frank recognition of the fact of interdependence of the nations of the free world. It is clear that America and the free nations have the inescapable duty of rethinking the whole of their policies from the ground upwards. The global implications of the situation not merely from the geographic point of view but also racial (to include Asia and Africa) need more than ever to be taken into account in any effective reconstruction of strategy and policy. There should be radical change both from a long-term point of view and from a short-period outlook.

From the long-term view-point, American foreign aid, military, economic and cultural needs transformation into something like Truman's Point Four. The principle is the development of a new global partnership between advanced and backward peoples in all ways in science and technology as well as in economic and cultural pursuits. It should be a partnership in which all nations take part and the distinction between giver and receiver is blurred, for all will give and all will take in accordance with their competence and opportunity. If Indian scholars study in America, American students might learn in India whatever India might have to teach. And aid might take international channels, through the U.N. or associations of citizens to take the sting out of such aid derived from its association with diplomacy and the cold war. All economic aid will be administered through international agencies to which weaker countries could make their

own contribution as in the Colombo Plan. The stigma of one-sidedness, patronage on the one hand and subservience on the other, should be removed through such international administration and insulation from politics. If the Asian and African countries need Western aid in capital and know-how, the West needs mineral and other raw materials as well as expanding markets from their weaker brethren. The dependence is mutual. The colonial channel of such interdependence as in the past and still surviving in some areas should be transformed into an equal partnership.

Foreign aid as give away free gifts need not figure much in this programme of world partnership. Economic aid can be put on a reciprocal basis like the iron ore and textile machinery deal of India and Japan. World Bank loans can be put on creditworthy basis in respect of actual projects like harbour, railroad, fertiliser, tractor service in untamed, wild land etc. The steel projects in India with Russian, British and German teams erecting plants for us on a long-term loan basis are other examples. CARE gifts and the enterprising aid by Norwegian fishery experts on the Indian West Coast are other pioneers. What is needed is a world plan in which worthwhile projects in all parts of the world will be assisted from the funds and techniques from all parts of the world which will remove the isolationist reaction of USA investors and legislators. The analogy is not Marshall Aid but the Indian examples quoted above.

Shri Rajagopalachari is gravely mistaken if he thinks that the mere abandonment of nuclear weapons and other military measures is enough to meet the challenge of the Sputniks. The policy of negotiating from strength cannot be given up without disaster in view of the character of the Soviet regime. But it must be recognised that military containment is *not enough*. Liberation of the captive peoples not only of East Europe and of the Baltic Gulf but also of Soviet Russia herself is essential. The Russians are suffering from a lack of essential liberties. The ability of the masters of the Kremlin to force their subjects to support ever-increasing military armaments by means of cultural and economic straitjackets cribbing, cabinning and containing the normal life of the Russian and other peoples under their sway is the real source of the tension today in the postwar world.

Khrushchev himself declares that co-existence does not imply a cessation of the propaganda war. The disbandment of the Cominform in deference to Nehru (it is said) has not entailed the abandonment of international infiltration through local Communist Parties. So the free world is at liberty to carry on its propaganda war in favour of universal democracy and human rights. This should be done on a far greater scale than at present. As Mr. Gaitskell said after the Hungarian uprising, let us make every person in the world realise the monstrous character (self-confessed, vide Khrushchev's attack on Stalin) of international communism. World partnership in world reconstruction and a crusade for democracy are the twin aspects of the answer to the challenge of the Sputniks that have any chance of success.

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Notes

Dancing A 'Gopak'

ONE more purge has taken place in Soviet Russia, the victim being on this occasion the Defence Minister, Marshal Zhukov. He has been deprived of his ministership as well as his membership of the Polit Bureau and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Marshal Zhukov was the representative of the Army in the Government and in the policy-making bodies of the Communist Party. After the elimination of Molotov and Malenkov, he was the second most powerful person in the country and, with the backing of the Army that he was supposed to enjoy, many had tipped him for the first place. But the first most powerful person, Khrushchev proved too subtle and clever for the Marshal. Feelings of gratitude for the help that the Marshal had rendered in dismissing Molotov and Malenkov did not bother Khrushchev. He seized the earliest possible opportunity to make short work of the only remaining rival to undisputed supremacy.

As is usual in Soviet Russia, the decision to purge Marshal Zhukov was unanimous. True to form, the victim admitted his mistakes and shortcomings and joined in his own condemnation. In equal conformity with the usual practice, his erst-while friends, colleagues and subordinates vied with one another in denouncing him once they came to know of the decision to purge him. Marshal Konev's article in *Pravda* is a good example of the denunciations that are now being heaped upon Marshal Zhukov. The victor of Berlin and the most successful General of the second world war is now being denied any share in the victories that he was reported to have won and is being condemned for his "errors in military science" and the unpreparedness of the country on the eve of the war.

Confessions by victims and their denunciation by their friends and colleagues have been so common in Soviet Russia that they have ceased to cause any surprise. All the same, it is, indeed, a sickening sight. Khrushchev has told how Stalin once compelled him to dance a 'Gopak', a Ukrainian folk dance. Having climbed into his place, Khrushchev is now compelling the Marshals of the Red Army to dance a 'Gopak' around him. The Marshals have proved themselves as obedient as Khrushchev was to his dead master.

Sputniks And Purges

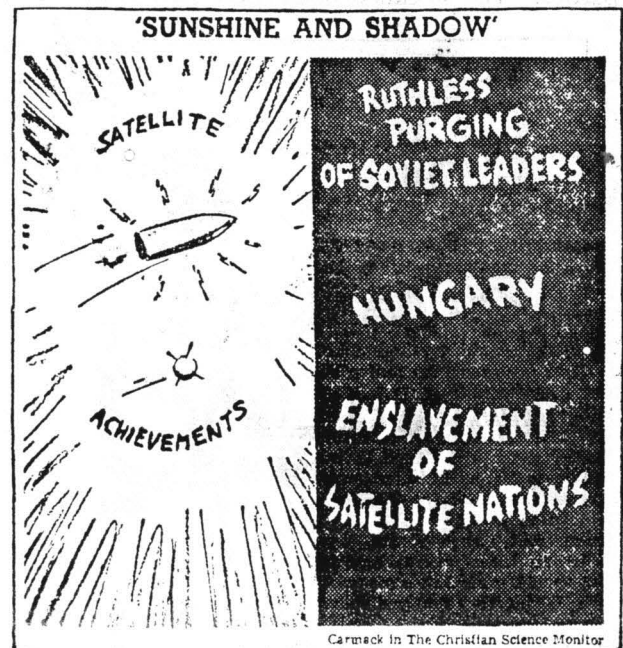
THE Zhukov incident proves how, in spite of the tremendous progress in science and technology, Soviet Russia yet continues to be at a primitive stage in the sphere of human relations and in the field of public administration. She has not yet been able to evolve for effecting changes in the personnel or the

policies of the administration any method other than the savage and crude method of purges and denunciations. And loyalty and friendship and truthfulness are still such a rare virtue under the communist regime that there is no dearth of friends and colleagues to denounce a person once the all-powerful leadership of the Party decides to take action against him.

The launching of the Sputniks is a feat of which Russia can be legitimately proud. It is a triumph of human intelligence and ingenuity. But it is an achievement of the entire human race and not merely of a particular nation. The accumulated store of knowledge and technic gathered by humanity through ages is the basis of Russian scientists' success. In one particular field they have scored a spectacular success for which they deserve the congratulations of the whole world.

But this scientific and technical success need not blind us to the political and social conditions as they exist in Soviet Russia. As pointed out by the Prime Minister in an important speech that he delivered in Hongkong, "All technological advance does not make evil good or good evil." He said: "Science progresses, technology progresses at a record pace, but the power of our minds remains behind, unable to catch up with it." The Prime Minister therefore, urged upon the nations of the world to develop "the fourth dimension", the dimension of an "ethical" outlook. With its launching of the two Sputniks, no country is to-day in greater need of that advice than Soviet Russia.

The Sputniks and the purges are a curious combination of scientific genius and political primitivism. The elimination of Molotov and Malenkov and the more recent ouster of Marshal Zhukov prove that it is the law of the jungle which still prevails in Soviet Russia. A struggle for power is raging in the topmost



—Reproduced from *New York Times*

ranks of the Party and the Party has never made any secret of its ambition of world domination. The technological progress is, therefore, being utilised not for improving the conditions of the Russian people but for augmenting military strength. The Sputniks are an extension of the intercontinental ballistic missile. An event which would have heralded man's liberation from bondage to earth has, as a result, merely intensified the threat of destruction. Under the circumstances, who will not agree with President Eisenhower when he said, "What the world needs today even more than a giant leap into space is a giant step toward peace"?

Clearing The Air

NO student of Chinese affairs was taken in by the communist stunt of allowing a few so-called democratic parties some share in the administration of the country. They knew that the parties did not enjoy any real power and were allowed to remain in existence and occupy some government posts only for the purposes of propaganda. Many naive persons were, however, taken in by this communist stratagem.

They must have received a rude shock when the newspapers published a new order of the ruling Communist Party asking the eight "democratic parties" to undertake "self-remoulding of their political outlook and transform themselves into Socialist Parties". Mr. Li Wei-han, Chief of the United Front Work Department, severely castigated the parties for sitting on the fence and told them: "Democratic Parties have only one path, that of actively accepting Socialist transformation".

It appears from the new order that the communists find it difficult to tolerate even lifeless democratic parties. The so-called democratic parties of commu-

nist China are caricatures of a political party. They are not allowed to approach the masses, to carry on propaganda about their views or to state openly their differences with the ruling party. Their only purpose is to act as a facade for the rule of the Communist Party.

Some members of the "democratic parties" who had been Ministers were foolish enough to take seriously Mao Tse-tung's slogan proclaimed early this year: "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend." Mistaking the slogan as an invitation to a free discussion of national policies, some of them expressed critical remarks about the Government's actions and policies. It was not long before they realised that they had committed a grave blunder. Their own parties were asked to condemn them and the unfortunate persons were hounded out of public life. The incident may have convinced the communist rulers that even lifeless non-communist parties may prove inconvenient and they have now decided to put an end to the inconvenience. The development is not unwelcome as it clears the air. It proves, if fresh proof were needed, that even subservient non-communist parties have no place in a communist regime.

President Diem's Visit

LAST month India had the rare opportunity of welcoming President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Viet Nam who, together with the Prime Minister and U Nu of Burma, is one of the unchallenged leaders of the resurgent and liberal Asian nationalism. The arrival in India of the Viet Nameese President provided a unique opportunity for Indian leaders to acquaint themselves with the views of the high-ranking South-East Asian leader, whose country is more directly involved than India in the global struggle against communist expansionism by direct and indirect methods of aggression and subversion.

The exchange of views, therefore, between the two leaders, who look at the world through different sets of Asian glasses must have been quite useful in providing the proper corrective to India's thinking on international affairs which is suffused with a kind of poetic glow with regards to friendship of the Red bloc. The visit had a special significance because in addition to the historical and cultural ties that bind the two countries together, India has a vital stake in preserving peace and democracy in this war-torn South East Asian country, unfortunately divided into two parts because of cold war power-politics. India has diplomatic relations with a communist North Viet Nam as well as democratic South Viet Nam and has a special place in Viet Nameese affairs because an Indian representative serves as the chairman of the international commission set up by the 1954 Geneva Agreement.

At first there had been a certain amount of political friction between South Viet Nam and India and there was a time, when not only India but practically the whole world gave up all hopes of South Viet Nam surviving the chaos and anarchy in which it was left



"Comrade, only communism could have raised us to such power."

—Reproduced from *New York Times*

after the French left that country. That South Viet Nam was able not only to survive but to consolidate herself into a stable democratic nation was largely due to the selfless and devoted leadership of President Diem. Mr. Diem's work in South Viet Nam has won the admiration of democrats all over the world. The warm welcome extended to the President was a tribute paid, though belatedly, by Indian leaders to the courageous leadership and democratic aspirations of the South Viet Nameese President.

Mr. Diem during his stay in this country made it amply clear that South Viet Nam would not countenance any talks with the North Viet Nameese communists to bring about unification so long as that regime did not respect the freedom and the dignity of the individual and did not give up its "terroristic methods". Also in the final communique before his departure, Mr. Diem made it quite clear that though South Viet Nam was not a member of SEATO, its territory was covered by that organisation and that he considered being covered by SEATO was of great advantage as his country had to defend itself against "subversive manoeuvres" of the communists.

• New Danger In Kashmir

MR. G. M. SADIQ, who lost his battle with Bakshi Gulam Mohamed, Prime Minister of Kashmir, in the Kashmir National Conference has organised as its rival his communist-inspired Democratic National Conference. While inaugurating a recent convention of his party, Mr. Sadiq let loose a volley of wild abuse against the Prime Minister and Bakshi Gulam Mohamed and also against the democratic Powers, and waxed eloquent over the Russians and the Chinese. The deliberations of the convention also gave clear evidence of the communist leanings of the Democratic National Conference. It is reliably reported that members of the Communist Party from New Delhi went to Srinagar to work for the success of the convention as if "the Democratic National Conference were an extension of the Communist Party of India." A communist book-stall did roaring business on the convention ground. It is said that in this bookstall one could get any book on Russia, China and East European satellites, but not a single pamphlet about the Democratic National Conference, not even a copy of the constitution of the new party—in fact, it was not available anywhere within the precincts of the convention. The absence of a copy of the constitution is, however, understandable, since communists not only do not believe in a constitution, but take the first opportunity to wreck it the moment they are in a position to do so! Mr. Sadiq indulged in usual communist vituperation by calling for the "liquidation" of Mr. Bakshi and others by the dismissal of the Ministers and the imposition of the President's rule. He even advocated the independence of Kashmir in principle, although he said, it may not be practicable in view of the "imperialist designs" of Western countries!

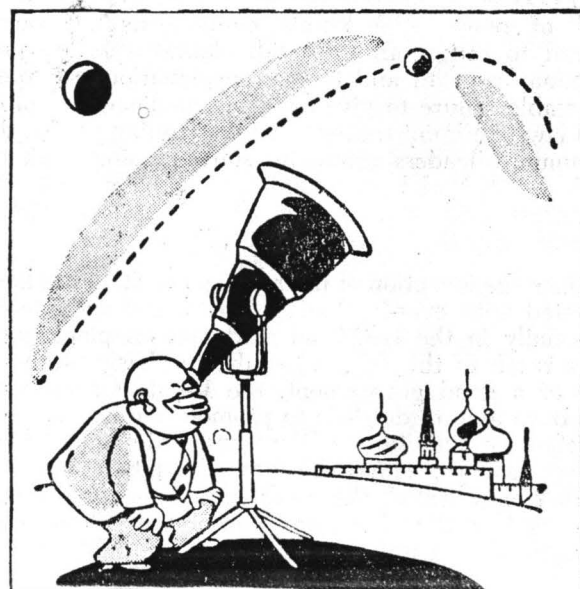
Mr. Sadiq and his group undoubtedly constitute a grave danger to the stability of Kashmir, due to their

extra-territorial loyalties. The real character of the new organisation should be always made clear to the people of Kashmir so that they may not be taken in by its verbal professions.

Dravida Kazhagam Agitation

THE anti-Constitution and anti-Brahmin agitation carried on by the Dravida Kazhagam has created a delicate situation in the State of Madras. At a recent Dravida Kazhagam convention held in Tanjore, Mr. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker poured venom against the makers of the Constitution, and called upon his listeners to burn it and kill the Brahmins. His complaint was that the Constitution sought to perpetuate caste distinctions and the domination of Brahmins. The Convention fixed November 26, the date on which the Constitution was adopted by the Constituent Assembly, to burn it in Madras city and six other districts of the State. All this is a move which deserves to be strongly condemned by all, especially by non-Brahmin Tamilians themselves. This, however, is not to deny that Dravidian grievances against caste-distinctions are genuine, but to point out unequivocally that to "burn the Constitution" or "kill the Brahmins" are not the right methods of changing the status quo and doing away with caste-distinctions. These methods will fail to achieve their objective. Only democratic and peaceful methods can generate such social consciousness as will put an end to caste distinctions and the domination of one caste by another.

It must be, at the same time, stated that the step that the Madras Government has taken of enacting a law to prevent the burning of the Constitution and effigies and portraits of national leaders is also short-sighted. The Act will only aggravate the already tense



"At last a satellite that follows the line."

—Reproduced from *New York Times*

situation. The Madras Government, on the other hand, must rely more on the methods of persuasion and tactful handling of the situation. The Government must, also as far as possible, take effective steps to redress the grievances of the agitators. It will be wise to deal with the problem at its roots.

Socratic Midwife

IN a thoughtful address as the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the thirteenth session of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference, Mr. Eric da Costa has done well to draw pointed attention to the role that newspapers have to play in the new era that has opened in the country. He said: "The Fourth Estate of the Realm needs to become the Socratic midwife, bringing to life in a complacent society the constructive elements of new, and possibly passionate, thought".

The skill at reporting, he said, has been a great feature of the Indian Press. But that will not be enough, Mr. da Costa pointed out, "We can no longer remain merely the channel of interpretation or communication of the thinking and acting of representatives of the people". He advised: "We have to change ourselves from being reporters to becoming both historians and political and economic scientists".

To become "the Socratic midwife" is a high ideal that Mr. da Costa has placed before the Indian public. It is to be hoped that the Press will keep that ideal before itself and try its best to reach it.

Communist Performance In Kerala

WITHIN six months of their taking over the reins of power, the Kerala communists are being forced to recant all their tall claims made in pre-election speeches and to offer explanations for their miserable failure to give even the modicum of stable and lawful administration. After assuming power, the communist leaders gradually started going back on their words and began talking of implementing the Congress programme more efficiently and expeditiously. But they have failed to do even that.

Since the inception of the regime, the State has been infested with ever-increasing lawlessness and unrest, especially in the industrial field and on plantations. As a result of this failure to fulfil the basic prerequisite of a good government, the Kerala Government has been able to do little to promote industries. Unsatisfactory conditions of law and order and labour unrest have prevented the flow of capital. This has further aggravated the problem of unemployment. The food position has also deteriorated. Serious allegations of corruption and misuse of public funds are being freely levelled by responsible persons in the State against the Government and some of the Ministers. The State's rice purchase deal with Andhra through private agencies, it is alleged, has resulted

in a criminal waste of over Rs. 16 laks. Names of some Ministers are being mentioned as being involved in this fraudulent deal and, it is moreover alleged, that the Communist Party has profited by the transaction. Charges of corruption and nepotism levelled by the opposition leaders against some Ministers have remained unanswered to this day. It is alleged that the functioning of the communist cell courts and the working of the communists as the second line of police force are the order of the day.

Public discontent against this sorry performance of the Red regime is growing day by day. The Government is trying to curb this growing discontent by resorting to lathi charges and other repressive measures. At Cannanore sixty persons were injured, including two PSP members of the Assembly, as a result of a lathi charge. The Kattampalli Harijan Satyagraha has torn all democratic pretensions of the communists to shreds.

In their relation with the Centre, the Communists are playing the double game of professing cordiality when making statements outside the State and making adverse comments and putting all the blame on the Central Government when addressing the people inside the State. This performance is, to say the least, far from edifying.

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Another Turn Of The Wheel

by Richard Lowenthal

ON the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the Bolshevik seizure of power in November 1917, the Soviet Union has been launched on yet another social revolution—on yet another turn of the wheel, that is, of that permanent revolution from above by which the rule of the Communist Party is maintained. That and nothing less is the meaning of the dramatic victory scored by Khrushchev over his opponents in the presidium of the party.

It is obvious to all that, by eliminating his chief rivals, Khrushchev has ended the fiction of "collective leadership" and restored the primacy of the head of the party machine, familiar to us from Stalin's time. It is equally obvious that he has done so in the name of new policies—policies which, he claims, represent neither a return to Stalin's system, nor a repudiation of the main line of the Stalinist tradition, but a bold advance forward from Stalinism. What is not yet generally understood is just what these new policies are.

Yet it seems to me that the signs are plain enough for all to read. Khrushchev's primary objective is neither "de-Stalinization" nor "decentralization," least of all "democratization." It is nothing less than the ending of the dualism of party and state machine by which the Soviet Union has been governed for the past four decades—the institution of direct rule over the country, including direct management of its economy, by party secretaries. The Soviet state is to "wither away" at last, as Lenin promised—but only in the technical sense of having its bureaucracy no longer controlled but replaced by that of the party.

For the past two months, the Soviet Union has been without a "government" in the traditional sense of the term. Not only have twenty-five industrial ministries been dissolved; not only have the prime ministers of the sixteen constituent republics been granted membership in the all-Union government, thus making it a representative rather than an executive body; but the life and soul of the government, the "inner cabinet" of deputy prime ministers, has disappeared, and nothing has taken its place—nothing, *i.e.* on the governmental plane. Some of the former deputy premiers have become sectional heads in the reorganized Gosplan (State Planning Commission); five leading ones, who were also members of the party presidium, have been demoted as a result of Khrushchev's purge. Only the everlasting Mikoyan and the new head of Gosplan, Y. Y. Kuzmin are left with the title of "first deputy premier."

It may be objected that the real policy-making body was the party presidium. It has now been inflated to comprise 15 voting members and 9 candidates—including all the 8 members of the party's central secretariat. Only once before had the presidium been larger—after Stalin's last party congress, in November 1952, when 25 full members and all candidates were elected. But in that body of 36, the 10

members of the secretariat and 3 provincial party secretaries were balanced by 12 deputy premiers and four other ministers of the Union government, with Premier Stalin and Deputy Premier Malenkov combining functions in the government and the party secretariat. In the new presidium of 24, the 8 members of the central secretariat, together with the first secretaries of Leningrad, Gorki, and Sverdlovsk, of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Latvia, Georgia, and Uzbekistan, add up to 16 representatives of the party machine, while the Union government is only represented by Premier Bulganin, Deputy Premier Mikoyan, Marshal Zhukov, and Ministers Pervukhin and Kosygin. The balance is gone; the men formally charged to carry on the government are not in a position decisively to influence policy.

The disorganization and demotion of the government is, of course, the direct consequence of Khrushchev's scheme for the reorganization of economic planning. The need for such a reorganization was recognized on all sides; its direction was bitterly contested—indeed it formed one of the two central issues in the struggle between Khrushchev and his opponents. It was the critics of Khrushchev who first raised the demand for an overhaul of the planning machinery (as well as a revision of current plans) last December, when Khrushchev's authority stood lowest on the morrow of the Polish and Hungarian events. They called for more realistic targets, better co-ordination, and less disturbance of the plan by sudden "campaigns"—in fact, for more rationality and less propaganda; and they won, besides some investment cuts, the creation of a greatly strengthened "State Economic Commission" of high-powered economic administrators which was to submit its reform proposals in February. Yet by February, Khrushchev was politically on top again; he and not Pervukhin, the chairman of the commission, proposed the reforms, and got approval for an outline suggesting the creation of regional planning organs under control of the party.

But does the revolution itself make sense? Khrushchev is turning the top-heavy administrative machinery of a gigantic command economy upside down. He is breaking overnight the customary links, thus clogging the well-worn channels of command; he is driving all the most competent higher administrators into frantic opposition without arousing enthusiasm from the managers in the field, who will still be under strict orders, but from new and usually less competent, though somewhat nearer people. He is, in short, running the risk of destroying the over-complicated mechanism of detailed planning from the center, without daring to replace it by bold reliance on market forces and managerial initiative within a broadly planned framework. And he is taking sole responsibility for the consequences—even to the point of appointing one of his assistants from the party

secretariat, a man without high-level experience of decision making, as head of Gosplan and first deputy premier!

At the December plenum, Malenkov and the Stalinist "conservatives" seem to have united in blaming Khrushchev's rash advances to Tito and his "de-Stalinization" speech at the 20th Party Congress for having lowered Russia's international authority and produced the upheaval in Eastern Europe. Khrushchev had his back to the wall, and may have been saved only by Chinese support for his view that the unity of the Soviet bloc could not be restored by a simple return to Stalin's "Great Power Chauvinism," and that a precarious compromise with Gomulka which maintained unity in foreign policy was preferable to another Hungary nearer home. He saw that unless he got rid of his opponents, his opponents would sooner or later get rid of him; and just as Stalin took the great foreign policy defeat of his early years—the break-up of the alliance between the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang in 1927—as a signal to force the surrender or expulsion of his critics in that same year, so Khrushchev may have resolved to force an issue of his own choice as soon as he got a chance.

On the morrow of Stalin's death, the party was at its lowest point in vitality and prestige; Malenkov, when faced by the "collective" with the choice between leadership of the Government or of the party machine, seems voluntarily to have preferred the premiership; and initiative passed for a time to state organs. In the party presidium as then reconstructed, there was only one member of the central secretariat among its 10 members and 4 candidates—Khrushchev—and only 2 provincial secretaries, while besides premier Malenkov those 14 included 4 "first deputy premiers," 3 other deputy premiers, and one more minister—an imbalance as strong as the present one, but in the opposite direction.

But while Malenkov busied himself to restore confidence and keep the economy going by material concessions, Khrushchev set to work to revive the party. The most urgent condition for this was the downgrading of the secret police, which, by being used as the instrument of Stalin's personal rule, had come to exert power over the constituted party organs. The execution of Beria and Abakumov and the accompanying campaign enabled Khrushchev gradually to reassert the primacy of the party machine, to oust Malenkov from the premiership, and finally at the 20th Congress to pack the Central Committee with his own nominees.

Yet at this very same congress, Khrushchev was made aware of the extent of the accumulated social pressure for greater security and stability—a pressure that had got a chance to make itself felt after the downgrading of the secret police, and that was now turned on the party itself—largely from inside. Would not the revival of the party, and of the control of the First Secretary over the Central Committee, eventually lead to the rise of another Stalin with all the well-remembered horrors of his rule? So strong was this fear that Khrushchev had to appease it with a triple moral guarantee. First, by his "secret" speech

he "disclosed" Stalin's methods and explicitly disowned the doctrine on which the blood purges were based—the theory of the "sharpening of the class struggle with every progress in the construction of "socialism," which could conveniently be used to discover new "class enemies" for every new phase in the permanent revolution. Second, he allowed opponents whom he had already defeated politically—Malenkov over the question of economic policy, Molotov over the concessions to Yugoslavia and the satellites and the partial disavowal of Stalin—to be re-elected to the party presidium, although in his new, hand-picked Central Committee he could have prevented their election even then. Third, he had the head of the army, Marshal Zhukov, (who had become deputy war minister when Stalin died and war minister when Malenkov fell), elected to the presidium as a candidate—an unprecedented concession to the political weight of the army.

The essential point is that all these concessions were not made for strictly inner party reasons: they amounted to a peace offer to the nation's leading strata, and to the other pillars of the administration, by the party machine. They were, in fact, assured that if they put up with the restored primacy of the party machine, there would be no more insecurity, no more hunt for "enemies" no return to paranoia as a system of government; there would, on the contrary, be a respectful hearing for the spokesmen of the economic bureaucracy and the army within the highest party councils. The "compromise", such as it was, reflected in the balance within the new party presidium; among 11 members and 6 candidates, there were 8 government members (Bulganin, 6 deputy premiers, and Zhukov) 5 members of the central secretariat, and 2 provincial party secretaries.

It is this compromise which Khrushchev has now torn up, this balance which he has shattered. The truce between the party machine and Soviet society is broken: the permanent revolution is on again. Rather than submit to the gradual erosion of the party's primacy by the economic bureaucracy, which a rational solution of the planning problems would have implied, Khrushchev has preferred to declare war on the economic bureaucracy and attempt direct party rule in economic life.

The risks of this arrangement are obvious. They must appear even greater when it is recalled that the unity of the party leadership is by no means assured even now. One of the most sinister consequences of Khrushchev's costly victory is the breakdown of the mutual amnesty which the leaders had originally granted each other for their participation in Stalin's crimes. As late as Khrushchev's "secret" speech, the role of the other surviving leaders in Stalin's murderous purges was hushed up almost as well as Khrushchev's own. Now, Malenkov has been attacked for his share in the 1949 "Leningrad affair", and Molotov and Kaganovich for their participation in the purges of the 30's. These look like opening moves in a struggle to the death; and they may well be supplemented by new charges of sabotage if Khrushchev's scheme results in economic breakdown.

—Condensed from *Commentary*, New York.

Humanist Specter In Eastern Europe

by Thomas P. Whitney

TWO great conflicts condition the life of everyone now living on the planet. The first and more fundamental is the tension between the rapid changes being wrought in human culture by unlimited technology, on the one hand, and the slowly changing forms of social and political organization, on the other. The second, more obvious but secondary, is the race for world leadership between two superpowers representing different attitudes towards social organization—the United States and the Soviet Union.

In the face of these conflicts and of the omnipresent fact that this is despite its divisions, one world, there are people everywhere who are groping for some set of principles which can furnish a basis for future unity. It can hardly be surprising that in their groping some of these people often turn to the word humanity itself to express their feelings.

Thus, Andre Piettre of the University of Paris writes in the magazine *Realites*: "To oppose a vision of the world that is total even though out-dated, we still lack a new humanism, also total, to express the future of our era. But the stones to build it are ready. To those who will be able to raise them, the future is open." In the same issue of the same magazine, J. Robert Oppenheimer seeks to find a word to express the universality of science, and turns up the classic concept of *humanitas*.

It is not my primary purpose here to discuss humanism in the West. It is, rather, to show that the ideas of humanism—often called "socialist humanism", "humane socialism"—are afoot in the realms of Communism—with dangerous implications for totalitarian dictatorship.

"At least through all of Eastern Europe there roves a specter, the specter of humane socialism, and it frightens not only the capitalists but also the Stalinists," wrote the Polish journalist Edda Werfel last November, paraphrasing the first words of the Communist Manifesto.

Edda Werfel was right. The theoretical magazine of the Soviet Communist Party, *Kommunist*, in its issue No. 5 of 1957, devoted a portion of its lead editorial and an entire article to an attack on humanism. The editorial claimed a Leninist monopoly on humanism, declaring that "the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society on Communist foundations" is the "highest expression of love for human beings, of genuine humanism." Clearly Moscow recognizes and fears humanism. But it is not so easy to kill it off.

Another Polish Communist expressed the idea of humanism in this way: "Concern for a human being may be something fairly primitive in the theoretical sense," wrote Jerzy Urban in *Poprostu* of June 10, 1956. "But nevertheless it's a basic part of a big idea: the idea of humanism. A start in concern for a human being is answering his material needs."

The concept of humanism is, indeed, a key which

unlocks the door to understanding of an entire movement among Eastern Europeans and Soviet citizens as well. One finds the ideas implied in the word humanism in many different forms in different places. Here are some examples:

Few East European appeals calling for a new concern for human beings have contained quite so much passion as the famous "Poem for Adults" by Adam Wazyk, published in Warsaw's *Nowa Kultura* on August 19, 1955. Here is the poem's ending:

"We make demands on this earth,
for the people who are overworked,
for keys to open floors,
for rooms with windows,
for walls which do not rot,
for hatred of little documents,
for holy human time,
for safe homecoming,
for a simple distinction between words and deeds.

"We make demands on this earth,
for which we did not throw dice,
for which a million perished in battle:
for a clear truth,
for the bread of freedom,
for burning reason,
for burning reason.
"We demand these every day,
We demand through the Party.

A poem by Zoltan Zelk in *Irodalmi Ujsag* of May 5, 1956 testified vividly to the passionate desire of poets to regain their dignity as human beings:

"I am not worthy of praise.
Believe me, my friend, it chills my bones
When you praise my courage.
"I am not a tiger; I am a human being.
My worn heart is a nest of fears,
Believe me, I am scared. I am scared.
"I am a human being. I live like a human being.
How can I be brave?
I fear only that I may be worthless.
Of this I am more afraid than death."

The new note of humanism, of concern for human beings, also turned up in the Soviet Union, glimmering through the pages of the most important Soviet novel of the postwar era—Vladimir Dudintsev's *Not by Bread Alone*.

Khrushchev called Dudintsev's book "slandrous." Dudintsev is not the only Soviet author who has raised his voice for a humanist outlook. There have been many others, some of them equally able and vivid.

One could go on almost indefinitely citing such examples of the humanist trend in writings from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. What has been presented here is only a random sample. It repre-

sents people with widely different views in many respects, some of whom would no doubt resent keenly being grouped with some of the others. Nevertheless, there is a common denominator which puts them all in irreconcilable opposition, whether or not they themselves realize it, to Soviet Marxism-Leninism.

The humanism for which they speak is no closed metaphysical system, to be sure; but its disparate elements add up to a definite and coherent view toward the moral and social problems which now grip Eastern Europe. The humanist point of view is not only a matter of basic attitude toward life's problems; it carries with it certain fairly clear political, social and economic corollaries.

Its foundations are clearly idealism and love of personal freedom—an idealism intimate, simple and concrete, rooted in love for human beings and faith in them. Its motive forces are courage and compassion.

The methodology of humanism is clearly expressed. There is the forthright, universal and vehement rejection of the thesis that the end justifies the means. There is the oft-repeated demand for unconditional adherence to the truth in all of life. Finally, there is the confidence, stated most precisely by Dudintsev, that victory will come only after long and patient struggle.

When one takes all these elements together, they constitute the formidable beginning of an idea-system unalterably and bitterly in conflict with Soviet Marxism-Leninism. To be sure, as *Nova Kultura* recognized, there is not one brand new idea or emotion in all of this. These have been basic ideas of Western civilization for thousands of years, expressed in considerable detail by democratic and social democratic movements in the last century. Yet that is precisely where they derive their strength, in the historical context of an Eastern Europe struggling to emerge from Stalinism.

If the new humanism constitutes a challenge to Soviet Marxism-Leninism, it also constitutes a challenge of a different type to the West. It is a challenge to thinkers in Western countries, whose scope is not limited by totalitarian controls over expression, to carry this torch, to develop this idea-system further and faster, to add to it the new concepts and ideas born in Western freedom—with the ultimate aim of reconciling and reuniting mankind. It has always been apparent that Leninism could never be defeated by mere negativism. The West has had a good many decades to elaborate a non-totalitarian scheme of ideas which would endow the social development of humanity with a human purposefulness which could inspire men in East and West alike with the vision of the future. If now some beginnings have been made in this direction in the East, coming out of the hearts of people who have experienced the bankruptcy and degradation of Stalinism, it should shame Western thinkers into action, challenge them to develop old and new humanist ideas further. After all, humanism can have as much meaning for the West as for the East.

—Condensed from *The New Leader*, New York.

I. C. C. F. NEWS

The General Meeting and Conference of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom will take place in Patna on December 14 and 15. Mrs. Rukminidevi Arundale M.P., will preside. On the occasion of the conference there will be two seminars; one on the Democratic Alternative and the other on the Problem of Integration of Tribal People in Indian Society.

A Reception Committee has been formed in Patna to make arrangements for the conference. Mr. Mahavir Prasad, Advocate General, is the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

All members of the Committee are entitled to attend the General Meeting and the Conference. But delegates alone will be entitled to vote. Delegates are elected by Local Groups at the rate of one delegate for every ten members. Those intending to participate in the General Meeting and the Conference are requested to write to the Reception Committee, c/o Mr. Raman Desai, Bihar State Financial Corporation, Fraser Road, Patna-1.

* * *

A young American flutist Miss Gratel Shanley gave a performance on her flute in the Office of the Committee on 8th November, 1957. The performance which was accompanied by exposition, was attended by many persons interested in music.

D. R. S. NEWS

"Russian Revolution and Human Freedom" was the subject of the two-days seminar on Nov. 26 and 27. Mr. M. Harris, the PSP leader, was in the chair. Two papers were written for the seminar, one by Mr. Adam Adil on "Russian Revolution: A New Civilisation?" and the other by Mr. S. R. Mohan Das on "Proletarian Dictatorship and the Proletariat." Besides, two other articles, one by Mr. Bertram D. Wolf on the "Durability of Soviet Despotism" and the other by Mr. Sydney Lens on the "Second Communist Revolution" were also distributed for discussion. Over thirty persons attended the seminar. Among those who participated in the seminar were Mr. Adam Adil, Mr. S. R. Mohan Das, Mr. V. B. Karnik, Mr. Sitaram Goel, Dr. Fredi Mehta, Mr. Ashok Desai, Mr. P. Chatterjee, Mr. Parry Dholakia, Father Masca-renhas, Dr. A. J. Shelat and Mr. Abu Saleh.

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Review

Imre Nagy on Communism

Frederick A. Praeger, New York, pp. 304+44, Price: \$5.50.

THE author of the above work is none other than the ill-fated Prime Minister of Hungary. His sudden rise to power on the crest of a wave of revolt that swept Hungary, his brief hour of glory followed by an equally abrupt fall when he was overthrown by the invading Russian forces for attempting to set up Hungary as an independent, neutral State on the Austrian model, and his ultimate arrest and deportation to Rumania by the Soviet Security Police in defiance of his puppet successor's guarantee of safe conduct—all this is recent history. Until the spring of this year, however, when a copy of Nagy's book was smuggled out of Hungary, the background to the revolt had remained something of a mystery. Now the mystery is cleared up. The intrinsic value of the book is that it provides the "inside information" right from the horse's mouth.

It is not a denunciation of communism or of Soviet domination of Hungary. On the contrary! A devoted communist, Nagy swears by the Holy Trinity of Marx, Lenin and Stalin to carry conviction with Khrushchev to whom his work is principally addressed. It is essentially a defence of the liberal "New Course" he had chalked out for Hungary and a damning indictment of his formidable rival, Matyas Rakosi, for wrecking it and driving the country into a state of economic chaos, financial bankruptcy and unmitigated corruption.

The book is significant in other respects too. It exposes the inner workings of the Party and the methods of terror and torture to which its leaders resort in an unabashed attempt to flatter their overlords in Moscow by imitation. And all this in the name of Party unity to cover a multitude of sins. Says Nagy: "They forget that the Party is not a den of criminals, the unity of which must be maintained by making a secret of crimes. What kind of unity is it that is held together by knowledge of and participation in crime?"

Then again, Nagy's enunciation of a foreign policy for Hungary is remarkable for its daring and candour. "It is the sovereign right of the Hungarian people", he writes, "to decide in which form they believe the most advantageous international status will be assured and in which form they think that national independence, sovereignty, equality and peaceful development will be attained. The Hungarian people have become convinced by the terrible experience of the last two world wars that they cannot and must not become participants in the rivalries of free power groups". Such utterances in the Soviet Empire are nothing short of high treason. It is surprising that these should not have been seized upon in good time to liquidate him!

In the Introduction, Prof. Hugh Seton-Watson traces the sequence of events that culminated in the Hungarian uprising and gives a penetrating analysis

of them. And towards the end the book is rounded off with an Epilogue by an eminent Hungarian writer who brings it up to date with an enlightening survey of the villification campaign in the communist press against this most tragic personality in contemporary history.

AZIZ MADNI

Towards Pluralist Society

K. K. Sinha, 211, Park Street, Calcutta 17. Price Rs. 8/-.

THESE are stray essays written from time to time. The author has left them as they were written. As a result there is many a time a repetition of the same argument and a restatement of the same point of view, which detract from the merit of the book.

The topics discussed in the book are many and varied ranging from the country's foreign policy to the declaration of faith of a humanist. Having chosen a very wide canvass, the author has not been able to devote concentrated thought to any one of the various topics discussed by him.

In the essay "A Pluralist State" appearing towards the end of the book, the author has broached the novel suggestion of a "triangular state based upon three separate assemblies at the top and the bottom dealing with three different types of functions," namely political, economic and educational and cultural. One would have liked the author to discuss the idea in greater detail. One fails to see how the election of three separate assemblies by generally the same mass of electorate will either lead to greater efficiency or vest more power in the hands of the people.

The central problem discussed in the book is how to make democracy more effective, a real government of the people, by the people. In discussing the problem, the author has made use of the new light thrown on the working of the human mind by the recent studies of psychologists. This has enabled him to highlight the deficiencies of the party system and to suggest the solution of a partyless democracy. The arguments on these points are similar to those first advanced by the late Mr. M. N. Roy.

The essays are thought-provoking. They embody the reactions of a sensitive and intelligent person to the complex problems which face the country and the world. The merit of the book lies in the fact that the author is not wedded to any set ideology and has considered himself free to suggest solutions that he considers best.

V.B.K.

Chinese "Panchsheela" in Burma

BY GIRILAL JAIN

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With Many Voices

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

—Tennyson.

The dog in Sputnik II is no worse off than members of the other Russian satellites inasmuch as it is fed and kept alive, and even has some possibility of escape. This must be some encouragement to Russia's human satellites below.

—Earl Atlee, former Labour Prime Minister, speaking in the House of Lords, November 7.

Soviet scientists suppose that the dog in the second satellite may return to earth alive. Thousands of people deported by the Kremlin did not have this dog's chance of survival.

—Mr. Dodds Parker, M.P., *Statesman*, November 10.

A man-in-the-street interview in Moscow brought this philosophical comment: "Well, up goes Sputnik and down goes Zhukov. That's the way it is."

—*New York Times*, November 4.

Two Sputniks do not make technical harvest.

—Aneurin Bevan, *Indian Express*, November 13.

What the world needs today even more than a giant leap into outer space is a giant leap towards peace.

—President Eisenhower, *New York Times*, November 8.

Zhukov is an inevitable phenomenon in a country in which a professional class achieves power and has not made any provision for different types of ambition.

—*Shankar's Weekly*, November 3.

To the Editor,
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Can anyone vouch for madmen?

—Khrushchev, *Times of India*, November

After the Budapest rising, there is no excuse thinking that Communist practice can not be as its teaching.

—*The Scotsman*, October

Independence would have been an ideal thing for Jammu and Kashmir and most of the people believe in the independence of this state. But in view of the imperialist intrigues in Kashmir it is not practical. It would be very difficult for us to maintain this independence.

—G. M. Sadiq, leader of the Democratic National Conference of Kashmir, *Current*, November

If I am pro-American it is because I am pro-India and sincerely believe my country's best interests lie in closer association with the West.

—Mr. Frank Moraes, *New York Times*, November

The communist regime in Kerala proves how democracy can be destroyed by using democratic institutions. Kerala is not a sovereign state. If this model of communist rule even with limitations is imposed upon it, it is better to imagine what communist rule will be with absolute power in its hands.

—From a Resolution passed by the Kerala Executive of the Praja Socialist Party, *Janata*, October

India's friends in America have found no success in defence against the virus of Krishna Menon. It seems to be as pervasive as the Asian flu, and difficult to cure; and it has been known to a number of Indian and other Asian diplomats as effectively as does Mr. Menon's American T-V audiences.

—*Swarajya*, November

Not many of our big men are so big as to speak their mind at the crucial moment.

—"Junius", *Swarajya*, November

It is high time that our communists realised the fact that they constitute a party with a vested interest in the future history of India and stop making excuses for themselves.

—*Blitz*, November