

The Elections And After

by V. B. Karnik

THE elections are over and the Congress is returned to power for another term of five years at the Centre as well as in all States excepting one. On the whole the Congress can be said to have retained its hold over the country. It has succeeded in securing a big majority in Parliament and a fairly strong position in all States where it has been able to form Ministries.

The Congress cannot, however, be happy with the results of the elections. It has received some severe jolts which should make it sit up and think. The most severe jolt is the defeat in Kerala where the communists have succeeded in winning a majority of seats and form a government of their own. In Orissa also the Congress was on the brink of defeat and has now succeeded in forming a Ministry only with the help of some members of other parties. In U.P., it has lost its old predominant position, though it still continues to enjoy a comfortable majority in the Legislative Assembly. In Bengal, it lost in urban areas a number of seats to communists and other leftists, while in some areas of Maharashtra and Gujarat it lost heavily to the advocates of the linguistic reorganisation of the Bombay State. These reverses in various States should prove a matter of serious concern to the leaders of the Congress.

In a democracy it is desirable that one single party should not always hold the monopoly of success at the polls. It is desirable that there should be other competing parties and that they should be able to win a fairly good number of seats. It should be possible for some of them to win a number of seats in some of the States and to form their own Ministries. Democracy will not be harmed only because the Government at the Centre and the Governments in the States owe allegiance to two or more different parties. Considered in this light, the success of non-Congress candidates will be welcomed by democrats as a step in the direction of a healthier democratic life, where power is not monopolised by a single political party.

There will be no cause for joy, however, when an anti-democratic party takes away votes and seats from the Congress. The Communist Party of India

is an anti-democratic party. It is wedded to totalitarianism and uses the forms and procedures of democracy only for the purpose of destroying it. The Communist Party has emerged stronger out of the elections. It has become the ruling power in one of the States. The State of Kerala is, no doubt, a small State, but the communists can use it as a springboard for improving their position all over the country. They have also succeeded in maintaining their position in Parliament as the second largest group. They have besides strengthened their position in Bengal. In that important State they have increased the number of their representatives from 28 to 46 and their poll from 8 lakhs to 18 lakhs. In addition, the Party has won a good number of Assembly seats in a number of industrial areas. On the debit side are its reverses in Telangana and Tamil Nad, but they do not materially alter the position of vantage that it has been able to win for itself.

Compared to the Communist Party, the gains made by the Praja Socialist Party are not impressive. The only comfort is that the Party was not wiped out in the elections as it appeared probable at one time owing to the dissensions within the leadership. It has been able not merely to hold its own but also slightly to improve its position. But some of its prominent leaders were defeated at the polls and that may act as a handicap. Besides, the Party had entered into some entangling alliances. Originally it was meant to be only an adjustment of seats. But eventually it turned out to be a full-scale alliance where there was a joint programme as well as joint propaganda. This prevented the Party from appearing before the people in its own name and with its own programme and enabled hostile communist workers to enter, in the name of the united front, the strongholds of the Party and to undermine its position in those areas.

The Socialist Party, on the other hand, adopted a more principled stand. It refused to enter into alliances and contested elections in its own name and on its own platform. The results secured by it are not impressive, but they are also not negligible.

One important feature of the elections was the return of a number of independent candidates. It was expected after the last elections that the independents would disappear from the electoral field and that the contests in the next elections would take place only between organised parties. That did not, however, happen. A number of independents have been elected and some at least amongst them are likely to play an important role in the country's political life.

Another prominent feature was the emergence of

some State parties as strong forces in their respective areas. The rise of the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa was particularly spectacular. There is a tendency in some quarters to label it as a reactionary party of the feudal Rajas. The Janata Party and the Jharkhand Party in Bihar and the Hindu Mahasabha and Jana Sangh are also condemned as reactionary organisations. But they have a sizable following behind them and, whatever the social character of their respective programmes and policies, they are all committed to the acceptance of democracy and have no extra-territorial loyalties. In any case, they are a force in the country and they cannot be ignored in any discussion of the political trends that have emerged after the elections.

The elections have left the Congress as the predominant political organisation all over the country except in the small State of Kerala. Even in Kerala it was not an unqualified defeat for the Congress. A number of incidental factors, such as the transfer of Tamil-speaking areas to Madras, contributed to the defeat. Besides, the total poll of the Congress has increased and not decreased. In spite of these facts, however, it is clear that the Congress is now a much weaker organisation than what it was five years back. It has in the course of years developed a number of fissures as well as lost much of its missionary zeal. While introspecting about the results of the elections, the President of the Congress, Mr. Dhebar, was forced to admit that 'the Congress has a lot of careerists' in its ranks. He warned: "A party which is not prepared to subordinate considerations of comfort and career must be prepared for ultimate extinction." It is yet to be seen if the Congress will be able to undergo that metamorphosis.

What holds the Congress together at present is the imposing personality of the Prime Minister. His magic name brings it votes as well as silences all quarrels and controversies within the organisation. But as a result, blind obedience and conformism have become widely prevalent. There is no scope for independent thinking or popular initiative. No efforts are being made to spread democratic awareness amongst the people or to build up primary Congress committees as alert and conscious organisations. More and more of them are lapsing into inactivity and complacency. Compared to all other political parties in the country, the Congress is no doubt a colossus. But the colossus is losing its mobility and effectiveness. It is necessary to breathe into it a new passion for freedom and democracy to give it the strength to hold back the growing danger of totalitarianism.

Other democratic political parties are not also yet fully aware of the danger around the corner. The Praja Socialist Party, for example, entered into an alliance with the Communist Party in Bengal and Maharashtra. They not only fought the elections hand in hand with the communists, thereby enabling the latter to extend and strengthen their influence, but are also thinking of continuing that alliance in their work in the legislatures. The National Executive of the Party has wisely decided in favour of independent functioning in each legislature and has directed

members of the Party to desist from functioning in the name of united front organisations. It is yet to be seen, however, if the leaders of the Party in the two States will accept the decision. United front activity with the communists will, as usual, enure to their benefit. It will enable them to spread their influence and to undermine the strength and integrity of other parties. The PSP may lose much of its effectiveness as a democratic force if it continues these united fronts with the communists and helps them to appear before the people as the defenders of their interests.

The results of the elections have spot-lighted the growth of the communist danger. The communists are no longer a negligible factor. It is necessary now to take note of them as a serious and growing danger to Indian democracy. It was thought at one time that Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin and the developments in Poland and Hungary had weakened their position and that their strength was on the decline. The elections have belied that fond expectation. There were no doubt some extraneous circumstances like the agitation over linguistic States which were partly responsible for the communist successes. But some such issue will always be there for the communists to exploit. Any movement that may be developed for counteracting the growing strength of the communists must not lose sight of that factor. The cleverness of the communists in utilising such issues for increasing their strength must be matched by a resolute determination of others to foil any such attempt.

The communists have succeeded not because they are strong, but because the democratic forces are confused, supine and divided. They have succeeded because the large masses of the people have not yet developed any democratic consciousness and have not yet learnt to see through the communist game. The urgent task of the day is to spread far and wide the knowledge of and liking for the values of democracy and to tell the people true facts about communism as it exists and operates in Russia, in China and

(Continued on page 4)

FREEDOM FIRST

Published on the first of each month

Annual Subscription: Rs. 3

For members of the Indian Committee for

Cultural Freedom Rs. 2

Single Copy: 25 nP

Maneckji Wadia Building, 4th Floor,
127 Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay 1.

Notes

Bevan's Home Truths

MR. Aneurin Bevan, a leader of the British Labour Party, has told some home truths about the results of collectivisation of agriculture practised in Russia and China. The home truths badly needed to be told as there are some persons in the Government of India who appear to have been impressed by the collectivisation of agriculture in China and desire to impose that hated system upon the rural masses of India.

Mr. Bevan made it clear that China was not doing anything original but that she was merely copying what Russia did some years back at the cost of some of the most devastating famines and the liquidation or expulsion of millions of peasants. Mr. Bevan revealed that as a result of collectivisation 'the entire countryside of Russia seethed with discontent', that 'the number of cattle was less than in pre-revolution' and that 'the production too was less than in 1941.' He referred to the speeches of Malenkov and Khrushchev and pointed out that according to those speeches it was clear that 'the Russian revolution had failed to solve the problem of the countryside.'

In the light of this information given by no less a person than Mr. Bevan, it is strange to read a declaration made by the Chief Minister of Bombay, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, that his Government had decided to consider new ideas in cooperative farming, such as those adopted in China. Mr. Chavan is clearly misinformed about the ideas adopted in China. "Cooperative farming" in China is neither voluntary nor cooperative, it is sheer collectivisation imposed by force upon the peasants. Mr. Bevan's speech should give a clear idea about the methods that have been adopted and the results that have been achieved. The home truths told by him should dispel the illusions about the so-called new experiment of China. The experiment is not new; it is just a slavish imitation of what was done in Russia some years back. Russia is still paying for the crimes of that era through a perpetual and ever-growing agricultural crisis. India will be well-advised to think a hundred times before rushing headlong to imitate the Chinese imitation of the Russian copy.

Wave Of Resignations

THE recent Congress of the British Communist Party was noted for the angry outbursts of its members against the party leaders. Rudely shaken in their faith in the ultimate communist utopia by the recent upheavals in Hungary and Poland, the rank and file of the CPGB seems to have been outraged by the slavish obedience of their leaders to the dictates of their Kremlin masters. Notable among the speeches made by the delegates at the Congress was that of Prof. Hyman Levy, mathematician and philosopher,

who referred to the "terrible things" that had happened in Russia and said that during a two week visit there "I got my bellyful to last me the rest of my life." He spoke of "great positive achievements coupled with a cast-iron bureaucracy, a form of gangsterism that battered on an unassailable Socialist economic basis."

But these outspoken speeches and abuses showered on them by the disillusioned members had no effect on the thick-skinned party bosses who persisted in towing the Moscow line. As a result, hundreds of disillusioned communists, who had been hoping that the Party's Congress would bring success to the rebellion in the ranks, sparked off by the Hungarian revolt, admitted their revolt had failed and "signalled their final protest by tearing up their membership cards."

While the party's journal the *Daily Worker* came out after the Congress with a declaration that "the air has been cleared", the liberal *News Chronicle* aptly commented that these angry scenes were "a reflection of the crisis of confidence and conscience which now afflicts the entire Marxist movement". It further continued: "These angry scenes are a sign of the collapse of communism as a religion. History is passing the Marxists by. Wreckers they may still hope to be. But all over the world they are losing the faith with which they hoped to build a new heaven and a new earth."

Evil Of Hero-Worship

IN a speech made at the annual general meeting of the All India Centre of the P.E.N., the Governor of Bombay, Mr. Sri Prakash, named hero-worship as one of the serious drawbacks which render difficult the successful functioning of democracy. He said: "We have always been worshippers of individuals, while democracy has come to the political world with the special purpose that society should not depend upon an individual." He advised: "Instead of breaking up when that particular individual is no longer there to guide us, the people should be prepared for all eventualities and should be ready to pool all their resources to keep the leadership going."

Nobody can deny that hero-worship is widely prevalent in the country and that people blindly follow certain individuals. As long as that habit continues democracy will not become a meaningful reality. Laws and regulations and forms and formulae are not enough to ensure the successful functioning of democracy. What is more essential is the democratic climate which will inspire everybody to value his own personality and to act on the basis of his own discriminating judgment. It is to be regretted that little is being done to create that climate. Mr. Sri Prakash has done well to point his finger at one of the grave defects of our national character. It is to be hoped that his advice will be taken to heart and vigorous efforts will be made to rid society of the evil of hero-worship.

Sharp Rebuff

THE Hind Mazdoor Sabha, one of the two premier central organisations of the Indian trade union movement, deserves to be congratulated on its decision

to reject an invitation received from the trade union organisation of Soviet Russia to send a delegate to participate in the May Day celebrations as a protest against the brutal suppression of the revolution in Hungary. A similar invitation received from the Chinese trade union organisation was also rejected on the ground that China supported the crime committed by Soviet Russia. The rejection of the invitations is a sharp rebuff to the rulers of Russia and China. In those countries trade unions have no independent existence; they are just agencies of the State. It is right therefore to protest against the actions and policies of the State through the rejection of an invitation proceeding from a so-called trade union organisation.

This action of Hind Mazdoor Sabha should bring home to the rulers of Russia and China the intensity of Indian workers' resentment against the crime perpetrated in Hungary. It also expresses its support to and solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Hungarian workers against Russian domination and communist rule.

Communist Success

IT was till recently held, even by critics of India's foreign policy, that our policy of remaining neutral in favour of the communist bloc has enabled the Nehru government to enhance India's prestige abroad while at the same time to curb the communist influence at home. The idea underlying this fond belief was that by tackling the evil of communism at its source, in Moscow and Peking, it could be possible to arrest its growth in this land. By adopting the policy of friendship with the communist bloc, compelling them openly to profess their faith in the five principles of peaceful coexistence it was hoped that the communist rulers could be persuaded to use their influence to keep their Indian pupils from causing any trouble. This policy combined with the radical programme of economic development designed to achieve the avowed goal of the socialistic pattern of society was expected to undercut the appeal of communism in this country.

This illusion has now been shattered by the results of the recent general elections which have proved that the CPI is steadily gaining strength at the cost of the Congress and other political parties in India. These results have indicated that the communists have improved their position in all the states except in Madras and Telangana and have even come to power in Kerala. If the present trend continues they are likely to forge ahead in the future ultimately becoming the strongest contender for power.

The reasons for this communist success are not far to seek. India's siding with the communist bloc in international affairs, the interminable visits of communist rulers every few months and the continual stream of "cultural delegations" to and from the Red countries have succeeded in destroying the will to resist the march of communism. By befriending them enthusiastically and investing them with respectability Congress leaders have only helped the communists in undermining the faith of the people in democracy.

By their indiscriminate praise of the communist rulers, those at the helm of affairs have only lent their prestige to the communist cause and fostered illusions regarding communist achievements. The failure of Congress leaders to educate the people in the nature of the communist totalitarianism and their unthinking zeal for propagating pious platitudes have resulted in blurring the distinction in the eyes of the people between democracy and totalitarianism as two distinct and mutually exclusive ways of life. This has certainly served the communist purpose.

I. C. C. F. NEWS

The Indian Committee and *Quest* accorded a reception on April 22 to Prof. A. A. Kanekar and Prof. Gangadhar Gadgil. The reception was accorded to Prof. Kanekar on his election as the President of the Marathi Literary Conference and to Prof. Gadgil on the eve of his departure to the United States on a Rockefeller Foundation grant. The reception was largely attended by writers and journalists. Mr. Prabhakar Padhye welcomed the guests and a suitable reply was made by Prof. Kanekar and Prof. Gadgil.

Mr. Daniel Bell, Director of Seminars of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, was also present on the occasion. He spoke and gave information about the various seminars planned by the Congress in 1957 and 1958.

THE ELECTIONS AND AFTER — (Continued from Page 2)

in other communist countries. Side by side it will be necessary to build up democratic groups all over the country as the conscious vanguard of the forces of Indian democracy. The material for constituting these groups is available in all democratic parties and organisations as well as amongst unattached public workers. There is no question here of deriving any benefit for this or that party or organisation. The question involved rises above the particular interests of all democratic parties and organisations. It is the question of the defence of democracy. Those parties and organisations will remain only if democracy survives. It is therefore a question of their survival and of the survival of a free society.

The issue between democracy and dictatorship is yet to be decided. The promulgation of a democratic Constitution and the establishment of democratic institutions has not decided the issue nor is the issue decided by the return of the Congress to power in this election. The country has embarked upon a democratic experiment. But its feet are not yet firmly planted on the road to democracy. Along the road there are many lanes and by-lanes leading in the direction of communist totalitarianism. There is many a siren voice beckoning the country in that direction. There are also some sinister forces which are determined to impose that system. The elections have shown that the strength that they command is increasing. The democratic forces in the country will be guilty of a grave betrayal if they ignore that warning.

Testament Of A Party Rebel

by Wolfgang Harich

The following are extracts from a memorandum written by Professor Wolfgang Harich during the last days before his arrest by the communist government of East Germany. Until his arrest, 36 year old Professor Harich held the Chair of Social Sciences at East Berlin University. Towards the end of March 1957 he was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude for treason. According to the indictment, he was the guiding spirit of a reformist movement among East German intellectuals and party members. The memorandum was received by the Social Democratic Party of West Germany and was published by it.

WE are a group of functionaries of the Socialist Unity Party which represents a broad articulate and an even broader inarticulate following. This following has grown particularly in the cultural institutions of the German Democratic Republic—universities, technical and other colleges, newspaper offices, publishing houses.

We have gone through a long process of ideological clarification, which began shortly after the death of Stalin and received strong impulses through the events of June 17, 1953. After the Twentieth Party Congress we worked out a platform on the special German road to socialism for internal party discussion.

We tried to acquaint the party leadership with this platform but found them unapproachable. Fred Oelssner, Paul Wandel, and Kurt Hager (members of the central committee) refused to receive us, to take note of our intentions, or to read our platform. Hence we felt compelled to hand our "platform" to the Soviet Ambassador, Comrade Pushkin, in order to reach our party leaders through his good offices. Our platform was meant to form a basis for internal discussion about the reformation of the party.

We wanted in a completely legal manner to discuss and to realise our ideas inside the party and the German Democratic Republic. Our legality, however, finds its limits when the present party leadership itself acts illegally. This is, in our opinion, happening now. Despite official assurances to the contrary, our party is systematically returning to the cult of personality.

Internal party discussion is being strangled, the Press muzzled; working-class discontent is, in a completely un-Marxist manner, explained as resulting from the work of imperialist agents. In such a situation, party discipline cannot be an end in itself. We take as our model Karl Liebknecht (German Communist leader murdered by German army officers in 1919), who in 1914 and again in 1918 violated party discipline so as to save the party.

Our break with the present party leadership, therefore, does not mean a break with the Communist Party. The two are not identical. Nor do we intend to turn our backs on the German Democratic Republic or to shirk our citizens' responsibility for its present state.

We hold that capitalism in Western Europe is obsolescent and socialism inevitable, but we do not think that victory of socialism in Western Europe demands a revolution. We think Western European

socialism will take over from capitalism in a peaceful manner.

We are, moreover, of opinion that the transformation process from capitalism to socialism in Western Europe will not everywhere take place under the auspices of the Communist Party, but that in many countries the communists will have no part whatever in its direction.

The transition to socialism is an objective historical process; no party has a monopoly in it. We hold that in Western Germany only the Social Democratic Party can bring about socialism because the Communists have lost all influence on the West German working class. For the same reason in Britain only the Labour Party, in Italy only the Socialist Party, can bring about socialism. In a reunited Germany socialism can be the work only of the Social Democratic Party in alliance with the genuinely socialist forces within the Socialist Unity Party or (about which more later) of a new workers' party which might arise from a fusion of the Social Democratic Party with a reformed Socialist Unity Party purged of Stalinism and Stalinists. In any case, we reject, as far as Germany is concerned, the exclusive Communist claim to leadership in the building of socialism, because this conception is sectarian, unrealistic and doomed to failure.

The realistic possibilities of a socialist development in Europe as a whole we view as follows:

The countries of Eastern Europe are in need of radical political reforms but are in their economic structure ahead of most of Western Europe. Given radical de-Stalinisation, both the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies will gradually influence economic developments in Western Europe by their example. Simultaneously, Western conceptions of liberal democracy will influence the East and step by step enforce a retreat from political totalitarianism.

In this mutual influence and interpenetration we see the true meaning of co-existence, which should end up by giving the East political liberty and democracy and the West structural economic changes, which, at least in the basic industries, will prove indispensable. We intend to accelerate this process in the German Democratic Republic so as to blunt the edge of East-West antagonism and to contribute to the peace of Europe.

Our relations to the U.S.S.R. are determined by the following considerations: the U.S.S.R. is the first Socialist State in the world. Not even Stalinism can change this fact. But the Soviet pattern of socialism

cannot be a model for every other country; indeed, the U.S.S.R. itself will have to change it, since in its present shape it has, even internally, become an impediment to further socialist progress.

This shape which socialism has taken in the U.S.S.R. is historically conditioned. Apart from Russian backwardness and lack of democratic traditions, the overgrowth of the Party and State apparatus which marks it resulted from the need rapidly to catch up with the West in industrial development. This first industrialisation of the U.S.S.R. was necessary; to this extent Stalin was right and Trotsky was wrong.

But the methods and forms by which it was achieved implied a political degeneration of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet State and in seeing this Trotsky was right, while Stalin, in denying it, was wrong. It is this degeneration of Party and State which has led the Twentieth Party Congress to criticise the methods and forms of Stalinism. However, such criticism of Stalin was not a Marxist analysis: it did not even touch the basic reasons of the degeneration of the Soviet system.

Neither did it touch the basic questions of the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies.

After 1945 the Soviet Union has been both a progressive and a reactionary factor in East Europe. It was progressive in ending capitalism and feudalism. But at the same time the Soviet Union exported a political system which had already become an impediment to further progress in the Soviet Union itself: in this, it played a reactionary role. Even worse, it proceeded to exploit the People's Democracies and to disregard their sovereign equality and national independence.

Today it is plain that the policy of the U.S.S.R. towards the People's Democracies is a total failure. It has led to the disintegration and threatening dissolution of the socialist camp. The resistance of the People's Democracies against the hegemony of the U.S.S.R. is part and parcel of the revolutionary class struggle of the popular masses against the Stalinist Party and Government apparatus and its methods.

In the U.S.S.R. itself, the Stalinist apparatus has become aware since the death of Stalin that it is facing a dead end. It resolved to make concessions to the popular masses. Hence both the Malenkov line of economic policy and the Khrushchev criticism of Stalin. The Twentieth Party Congress was an attempt to anticipate threatening revolution from below by revision from above, and to keep control in the hands of the apparatus. It could not succeed in practice because the existence of the apparatus is itself the chief obstacle to revision.

From this reading of the present situation we draw the following conclusions for the Socialist Unity Party and the German Democratic Republic:

(1) The Party—We want to reform the party from inside. We stick to Marxism-Leninism. We reject Stalinism. This means, as regards the theory of Marxism-Leninism: it must be complemented and broadened by taking account of the thought of Trotsky,

and even more of Bukharin (shot during Stalin's great purge), of Rosa Luxemburg (German Communist leader murdered with Karl Liebknecht in 1919) and, partly, of Karl Kautsky (German Socialist leader violently attacked by Lenin and still regarded by Soviet communists as the arch-heretic); it must be enriched by a critical reception of the thought of Fritz Sternberg and other Social Democratic theorists. Marxist-Leninist theory must also come to terms with the experience gathered in Yugoslavia and with the new ideas thrown up in recent theoretical discussion in Poland and China.

As regards organisation, the following measures are called for: the domination of the party members by the party apparatus must be radically broken; "democratic centralism" must be made really democratic.

(2) The State—Following reforms are necessary: production to be replanned with a view to raising the mass standard of living (Malenkov line). No more raising of working norms. Profit-sharing to be introduced in socialist industries and trade. Old-age pensions for workers to be put on the same principles as for working intellectuals. No more privileges for leading functionaries. Workers' councils, on the Yugoslav model, in all socialist enterprises.

Equality of treatment for big nationalised and small private industries.

Ending of forced collectivisation, which is not appropriate to the special conditions of German agriculture; liquidation of uneconomic existing collective farms; agricultural policy to favour the small and medium farmer.

Restoration of complete freedom of thought, Peace with the Church, to end the alienation of the religious-minded parts of the population. Autonomy for the universities.

Total restoration of the whole of law. Abolition of the State security police. Abolition of secret trials.

Restoration of the supreme power of Parliament. Maintenance of the block system (by which all parties form a permanent coalition) under the leadership of the reformed Socialist Unity Party. Elections on the single-list system, but with more candidates and seats so as to give the elector a real choice.

In foreign policy, maintenance of the existing alliances with the countries of the socialist camp, under reservation of full independence and equality; joint policies to be freely arrived at by equal and independent consultation with all other People's Democracies.

If we carry out these reforms and attain an improved living standard (even if this remains inferior to that of West Germany) we claim the right to lay down conditions for reunification for West Germany, too. The principle of our German policy is that reunification must not mean capitalist restoration.

Before we can reunite with West Germany, a future Social Democratic majority in the Bundestag would have to carry out the following measures in the Federal Republic:

Reversal of remilitarisation. Withdrawal from

(Continued on Page 11)

Co-operative Farming In China

by M. A. Venkata Rao

MR. B. J. PATEL, Honorary General Secretary of the All India Cooperative Union and Mr. F. N. Rana, Registrar of Cooperatives, Bombay, deserve thanks and congratulations of the country for their Dissenting Note to the report of the Indian Delegation sent last year to study the much-boasted "Agricultural Cooperatives" in Communist China under the leadership of Mr. R. K. Patil, one-time member of the Planning Commission. As true cooperators they have known what to look for and test in their study on the spot of the Chinese claims in regard to their so-called Co-operative Farming. They have been able to preserve their critical poise in their assessment of the Chinese developments in agriculture. They have been obliged to offer a critical commentary on the majority report which had "slurred over unpleasant facts" and had accepted official Chinese claims at their face value without critical scrutiny. They have shown in unmistakable terms that the "high grade cooperatives" of the Chinese parlance are no cooperatives at all but collectives of the Russian *kolkhoz* variety in which the status of the peasant as an independent proprietor is lost and he is reduced to the helpless position of the proletariat.

The claims that the accession of farmers to co-operative farms is voluntary and that as a result of the rapid rate of increase in the number of such co-operatives, particularly in the last year, there has been a phenomenal rise in agricultural production are shown to be false in the Dissenting Note. The Note begins by pointing out that an estimate of the nature and value of the Chinese policy in this regard cannot be detached from "the dogmatic political philosophy" of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism in which there is no room for freedom. It warns the country against the facile assumption that we in India could with profit adopt similar agricultural policies, particularly collectivisation, without being obliged to abandon our democratic ideals and apparatus. The writers of the Note declare that the execution of the policy based on communist ideology is so dependent on the *means* (i.e. violence) adopted that the end of democracy will be corrupted in the process. They warn the country that the Chinese experiment is too recent and too complex for us to be able to draw reliable lessons for imitation. They point out further that the majority report ignores the democratic experiment of Japan while accepting at face value the official Chinese claims for their collectives with the result that their report presents "an unbalanced picture."

They debunk effectively the claim that the Chinese progress in accelerating the number of cooperatives in such a phenomenal manner (the claim while the Delegation was still in China was that 94% of the farming families had joined the cooperatives) has been achieved through *voluntary methods* and persuasion. They have elicited from Chinese officials themselves

and quote from Chinese papers that the first stage of "land reform" i.e. the stage of destroying the landlord class and distributing its lands to tillers was carried through by violence and terror. They stress the ideology and tactics of Marxism adopted by the Chinese in making use of the poorer peasants to uproot and destroy the richer ones. They point out rightly that the *memory* of this period of ruthless terror has been the principal "argument" persuading the new holders i.e. the poor peasants to accept with all outward shows of "voluntariness" the suggestion of their joining Mutual Aid Teams and elementary or "low grade" cooperatives. They reject the judgement of their colleagues who thought that this memory could not have had much influence in the process.

They reveal the essentially deceptive nature of the communist slogan—"land to the tiller" with the promise of conferring rights of the true land ownership. For the very next step after the destruction of proprietors is to join "cooperatives" in which they lose their proprietary status. They question Chinese officials and elicit the truth that this policy was based on the theory of class struggle and was not necessitated by any economic prospects of increasing production. The motive is really the communist ideological one of creating the *new proletarian man* without property, for property is anathema to the Marxist. Incidentally, the man without property becomes the ideal subject, a veritable robot, who will obey unquestioningly the incessant directives of the communist governing elite. "The policy is designed from the beginning to hoodwink the peasantry into complete proletarianism."

The authors of the Dissenting Note complete the refutation of the claim of voluntariness by describing the milieu created deliberately in the village that makes it well-nigh impossible for the independent peasant to stand out for long against the official pressure to join the cooperative (really collective). The Government favours the cooperatives in everything—in grants of fertilisers, hire of tools, credit and the rates of purchase and sale. In everything the independent farmer is discriminated against. He has to give prescribed quotas of production at prescribed rates. He has no independent free market in which to buy and sell. There is the further psychological pressure of *isolation* from the prestige groups who after all tend to become the majority under such circumstances. Further, the election of the managing committee is by no means democratic, for the list of candidates is made by the authorities. Above all, the State lays down what the cooperative must sow, how much, where and when and at what rate it shall sell products.

"The theoretical freedom of the peasants to keep out of agricultural co-operatives is thus meaningless since it is impossible for them to function indepen-

dently. When the State has a complete monopoly of the purchase of agricultural produce, when it imposes prohibitory taxes and delivery and credit, which are again in the hands of the State, the so-called freedom of the peasants to continue individual farming can only be illusory and temporary".—says the Dissenting Note.

The second claim that collectives have raised production enormously is no less open to question. Messers Patel and Rana analyse the claim and find that the attribution of higher production to the role of collectives is unconvincing. After entering a caveat against the reliability of Chinese statistics, they point out that the extraneous circumstances accompanying the formation of collectives were sufficient to account for whatever increase in production was achieved. For one thing, the stability of Government since 1949 was a major factor in stimulating production putting an end as it did to the disturbed conditions in the countryside stemming from civil war and Japanese invasion covering decades of disorder and insecurity. "Coupled with this the provision of technical advice and improved techniques, greater irrigation facilities, better seeds, implements and better methods of crop protection have a beneficial effect on production." They do not find it necessary to accept therefore the claim of the Chinese authorities that "a small part of the increase in production in 1954, a fair part of it in 1955 and a large part of it in 1956 is due to the cooperative form of production." The hard working habits of the Chinese peasants, (who has to do duty for the bullock as well in the absence of sufficient draft animals), the heavy manuring and fertilising of the soil together with additional facilities provided by the new Government are sufficient to account for whatever increase of production is perceptible in the new era. Further, can it be said that the peasant is actually better off in the cooperatives by way of happy functioning without the risk and responsibility of individualism and by way of higher income? The Note discloses that the work norms imposed on the peasants (who are now mere agricultural labourers under the fiction of joint owners of socialist property) destroy the psychological satisfaction of spontaneity and self-directed activity which are so large a part of the happiness of the individual

proprietor. They split his work into atomic units. Nor are the rates of remuneration allotted to the norms comparable to the rates of piece work under capitalist systems. The member of the Chinese co-operative suffers from the added disadvantage of punishment by lower remuneration for *falling below* the prescribed norms!

The authors of the Dissenting Note agree that favourable institutional arrangements are absolutely necessary for making the farmer interested in increasing production. But they are emphatic in their declaration that collectivisation of cultivation is not the institutional arrangement which is most conducive to this purpose. They record their considered finding that "the Chinese are making very rapid strides in production and they have chosen to collectivise their agriculture *not* because it was necessary for increasing production but because it was necessary for the requirement of their political philosophy."

In this matter India faces today a great Divide and Crossroads in policy. Democratic statesmanship in agriculture envisages agricultural progress in the shape of a number of happy contented and enlightened peasant proprietors in the countryside, who plan their own lives and economic activity. Cooperative will help them to secure the advantages of large scale farming through pooling their resources for wholesale purchases and wholesale marketing and the hiring of scientific advice in regard to crops and farm animals. They would be free men, the supporters and embodiments of a rural democracy. On the contrary, communist strategy and tactics would lead the peasants into so-called cooperative to make them ultimately a class of propertyless proletariat, helpless tools of the communist dictatorship. The writers of the Note have seen vividly the contrasting implications of the two rival policies and have had the honesty and courage to criticise the majority report for failure to make a vital distinction between them. It is to be hoped that public opinion fortified by these and other studies of independent students and bodies will resist the *communising* tendencies of our Government.

Will be out on May 10

INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY DOCUMENTS

Published under the auspices
of
The Democratic Research Service
and
The Institute of Pacific Relations

Available from:

POPULAR BOOK DEPOT
Lamington Road, Bombay 7.

ENCOUNTER

Literature • Arts • Politics

THE REVOLUTION OF THE WORD
by Paul Ignotus

THE WORLD'S CITIES (II): PARIS
by H. J. Kaplan

ON KIPLING'S INDIA
by Nirad C. Chaudhuri

APRIL 1957

43

Annual Rs. 12/-

For members of the I.C.C.F. Rs. 10/-

Communist Mis-education

by Ekalavya

NOT the least of the crimes against humanity being perpetrated by the masters of Soviet regime is their mis-application of education. If the free countries seek to develop the personality of children in their schools through free self-directed activity in kindergartens and Montessori institutions and applying their principles in the secondary stage through various forms of the project method, the communist regimes degrade their education into mendacious propaganda. They use scientific method and applied psychology to warp the mind of children. They have founded their State system on a profound and far-reaching error (or dogma which has the effect of error) which distorts history and goes against the fundamental instincts of human nature. They have built their society and State on the doctrine of irreconcilable class war and the consequent antagonism to the rest of the world. They seek to gain permanence for their regime and gain universality for it by means of the Iron Curtain and an all-pervading attempt to mould the minds of their people in the stereotypes of thought, feeling and conative attitude supposed to support their vision of human destiny.

Teaching patriotism is not enough for communist administrators and "educators." Children should be taught *hatred* of the outside world, particularly of England and America. A Russian teacher's gazette exhorts teachers—"Let our hatred not cool towards the enemy, even when he is cast down. Let it burn with ten-fold ardour. Let it seethe in our hearts against those for whom there is no name in human language." (*Uchitelskaya Gazeta*, 24 January, 1953). Even though there may not be a name in their language for the enemies of Socialism, they must be named so that hatred may gain an edge and point. Patriotism should combine "love of the Soviet Fatherland and burning hatred of its enemies, the Anglo-American imperialists." The system is extended to East European satellite countries. In Czechoslovakia, the school teacher must "instil in his pupils a just hatred of the imperialists and their venomous ideologies of cosmopolitanism and bourgeois nationalism" (*Rude Prave* 16 May, 1952). Similar aims are found in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and the other satellites.

All children's textbooks are composed from this point of view, which is a *party* attitude to all things in heaven and earth—the Marxist world outlook.

In learning English, Soviet children are taught that the "rulers of the United States want a new war. . . ." and that "the normal thing and that modern technique will help them to rob, kill and commit crimes!" In an exercise for translation occur sentences like "In capitalist countries there is one law for the rich and another for the poor. Bourgeois governments *always* break the treaties they sign sooner or later. . . ." It very often happens in bourgeois countries that innocent people suffer for those who are guilty." In an

exercise in grammar requiring the student to insert definite or indefinite articles in the blank space occur the words—"The work of making the banks of a river higher is that of the Central Government. . . . But the Central Government of the USA has no money to spend on such work. It spends nearly all its money on preparations for a new war." In an English textbook for the age group 16-17 the exercise of filling up blank spaces with appropriate words is used for teaching Soviet youth that. . . . "The wages of workers in capitalist countries are very low while food and clothing are very dear. . . ." It is also rubbed in that in capitalist countries, "famous writers find all doors open to them, for the bourgeois world admires riches and success more than personal qualities."

Another English textbook points out that in "the country of the dollar, the life of workers is very hard, that monopolists are in power there and that the rich bosses exploit and enslave them."

The same textbook offers a case study or picture of an American unemployed worker Smith in a series of lessons to drive home the pitiable condition of workers in the USA. He and his companions in distress are shown in rags, pale and emaciated with hunger, bemoaning their lot with no prospect of a job or home while everything was in the hands of the capitalists. After a year of such misery, Smith is still out of a job and realises that the only way is to *fight* the capitalists. He is given a pamphlet by a Red worker which is snatched by a policeman who knocks him down senseless with a swish of his whip. The pamphlet had demanded that military expenditure and profits of monopolies be reduced and wages be increased.

Famous English works like those of Hardy, Dickens and Charlotte Bronte are misused with garbled quotations to create a picture of the misery of the British poor and their pitiless exploitation by their own upper classes. The great movement for amelioration that these works occasioned through an awakening of the national conscience culminating in extensive achievements of social security are carefully left out of the picture.

An extract from Hardy's novel *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* shows Tess's first day at work in the fields digging turnips, slaving away in the morning frost and afternoon rains, she and her companion taking solace from a sip of gin. Bronte's *Jane Eyre* is used to picture the lot of Jane as a governess, a useful servant of the rich and depicts her hardships with little food, being cold and lack of clothes together with a sense of humiliation and helplessness. The same technique of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* is in evidence in the text book of East European satellite countries. An extract from a book of the English writer Jack London gives a sharp picture of the rooms of a poor lodging house where rooms are let—three tenants to a bed—on

a relay system, including the floor space underneath the bed. It is not at all unusual to find three females in one room in the bed and three *under* the bed. In one room were found once one adult male and two children in the bed and two adult females under the bed. The book asks the students to study this passage in connection with the British Communist Party's book, *The British Road to Socialism*. Another trick of these books is to juxtapose descriptions of the good things in Soviet countries with the wretched conditions in the West prevalent more than a hundred years ago, omitting the social progress achieved in the intervening period.

The most ambitious and sustained effort of Soviet mis-education or indoctrination to create and maintain a Marxist world picture in the minds of the Soviet people, young and old, is their official history. This has been re-written from the Soviet point of view in a most systematic manner. The distortion is strikingly evident in the history of the second World War which studiously omits reference to the great assistance given to Russia by the Western Allies, particularly by America in her Lend-Lease programme. It gives full credit for success to Russian effort. It accuses the Western Allies with assisting Hitler by delaying the Second Front and by seeking contact with the enemy for stopping the war while Hitler was still strong.

A book entitled *Secret Weapon of the Doomed* (1952) declares with incredible ingratitude that American Lend-Lease food ships sent to the USSR during the war contained poisonous weeds and seeds harmful to man and beast!

A Film meant for Children shows American scientists using helpless Negro captives for experiment on "radiation dust!" No wonder that the young spectators respond by "clenching their fists and leaping from their seats in angry protest!"

In view of the extensive evidence about Soviet methods of indoctrination seeking to re-make the mind of its citizens, young and old in the image of Marxism-Leninism, the enthusiastic reports of Soviet "Education" brought by naive delegates who visit the Soviet Fatherland are radically misleading. The Iron Curtain is designed to protect the Soviet mind from the unsettling effects of a contact with the whole truth regarding conditions in the free world. With this protective shield maintained through police terror and the dread prospects of slave labour camps, Soviet propagandists (there are no educators in the true sense in Soviet land) find it easy to condition the minds of their people. The conditioning is done on the principles of Pavlov's *Conditional Reflexes* which studied the flow of saliva in the dog! The power of hypnotic suggestion and the techniques of psychoanalysis are also employed in a cold, deliberate manner, not to restore mental health to minds diseased but to inject neuroses and impart a permanent *warp* to healthy minds, destroying the natural impulse of the mind to seek light and truth led by objective reality. There can be no greater crime against humanity and no more convincing proof of the essential falsity of the Marxist system that needs, in the judgement of its own defenders, such manifest dis-

C. C. F. NEWS

On March 15th, the anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, some thirty Hungarian Writers assembled for a three-day conference at the London Headquarters of the International PEN. Those present included young freedom fighters of the 1956 revolution, writers who had recently been released from Hungarian prisons, and who have escaped to the West, and others who fled from earlier Fascist and Communist persecution. Arthur Koestler was among those who gave welcoming addresses at the opening session.

The meeting resolved to form the Hungarian Writers' Association Abroad to carry on the work of the Writers' Association which had been in the forefront of the fight against Stalinism in 1956, and which was suppressed by the Kadar regime in January 1957. Paul Ignatus, the well-known Hungarian writer who escaped from Hungary towards the end of 1956 after his release from prison, was elected chairman of the Hungarian Writers' Association Abroad. Other members elected to the Executive were George Palocz-Horvath (Secretary General), George Faludy, Béla Horvath, Lazlo Cs. Szabo, Zoltan Szabo and Imre Kovacs.

The meeting agreed to publish in London, until such time as its unhampered publication is again possible in Hungary, the Hungarian fortnightly Literary Gazette *Irodalmi Ujsag* which was the organ of the Hungarian Writers' Association in Budapest prior to its suppression by the Kadar regime. George Faludy was elected as its chief editor.

The Hungarian Writers' Association has been assured of assistance by the Congress for Cultural Freedom from funds made available by the Ford Foundation for the purpose of aiding Hungarian refugee intellectuals.

* * *

Ninety-nine Italian painters have donated a total of one hundred and sixty three paintings to an exhibition and sale sponsored by the Italian Association for Cultural Freedom. This exhibition has been arranged as a manifestation of solidarity with the Hungarian people, and the proceeds from the sales of the paintings will be used to provide aid for those Hungarian artists and intellectuals who fled Communist terror in their country, and are now living in Italy.

tortion and "waterproof" shielding of the mind of believers from genuine contact with actuality.

How much of this systematic hatred of the free world and this technique of mis-education will the communist Government in Kerala today dare to introduce into schools under their control? Educators all over the country and the Central Ministry of Education in particular have a heavy responsibility in preventing such attempts at Marxist perversion of education in Kerala. But to be able to prevent them pre-supposes a knowledge of such malpractices in the Soviet world.

TESTAMENT OF A REBEL—(Continued from Page 6)

Nato. Removal of Fascists and militarists from administrative positions in the Federal Republic. Nationalisation of key industries. Agricultural reform: parcelling out of large estates wherever this is economically and politically appropriate. Education reform; higher education must not remain a privilege of the rich.

Given such a policy on the part of the Social Democrats, we would agree to free all-German elections. We are aware that in such conditions, the Social Democratic Party would almost certainly gain a majority in the whole of Germany. A reformed Socialist Unity Party would have unconditionally to accept and respect such a decision of the German people.

Precondition of a future unity of the German working-class movement is a Socialist Unity Party freed from Stalinism and completely independent from foreign parties in its ideology and policy. After our intended reform, the Socialist Unity Party would simply be a left-wing Marxist party, which would have nothing in common with the Communist Party of the old type as it has come about by the Stalinist degeneration. This would remove the chief obstacles to a unified workers' movement.

Since in West Germany the unity of the German working class has been realised inside the Social Democratic Party, a future united workers' movement would inevitably, through the greater weight of the Social Democratic Party, bear more likeness to the latter than to the reformed Socialist Unity Party. But it would doubtless have a stronger left wing than the present Social Democratic Party. However, before we can approach the Social Democrats and make demands on them, we have to look at the beam in our own eye.

We are at present separated from the Social Democrats by much which we criticise in them (bourgeois democratic illusions, tendencies to opportunism, etc.), but the chief thing that separates us from them is our own Stalinism. Hence, the Socialist Unity Party must first make its own separation, from Stalinism before cooperation with the Social Democratic Party can become honestly possible.

The basis of our opposition activities are the party's statute of the Socialist Unity Party, the Twentieth Party Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, and the resolution of the twenty-eighth plenary session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party. On this basis we intend to conduct an open and legal opposition. But we are ready also to use the method of faction and conspiracy if forced to it.

The danger of a popular rising in the German Democratic Republic exists if the Stalinist Ulbricht group continues in power. If we succeed in reforming the Party from inside on the basis of the present platform, there will be no second popular rising in the German Democratic Republic.

Hence it is our duty to do everything in our power in order to cleanse the Party from the Stalinists and to regain the confidence of the working class and the entire people through a changed policy.

EXHIBITION OF ASIAN PAINTINGS

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

Japan is expected to provide 60 exhibits and the sponsors are trying to get between 20 and 30 paintings from each participating country. Artists desirous of participating in the Exhibition are requested to communicate with Mr. Ichiro Fukuzawa, Committee for Exhibition of Young Asian Artists, C/o Cultural Freedom House, 11, Shin Ryduo-cho, Azabu, Minatoku, Tokyo, Japan. The participating artists should be of 30 years age or under and the size of the paintings should not exceed 90 by 11 cm. Each entrant is allowed to send not more than two pictures. Any picture in oils, water-colours, pen and ink, wood block etchings, etc., done within the one year preceding the public call for entries, is open for admission.

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

The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom (Army & Navy Building, 148 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 1) will be glad to help Indian painters to send their paintings to the Exhibition.

The Truth About Stalin

BY N. KHRUSHCHEV

Price Rupee One

Chinese "Panchsheela" in Burma

BY GIRILAL JAIN

Price Rupee One



Available from

POPULAR BOOK DEPOT

Lamington Road, Bombay 7.

With Many Voices

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

—Tennyson.

Many otherwise sensible people have been telling themselves and others in the last few days that the Communist Government in Kerala is a good thing because it will ginger up the Congress Government everywhere else. This is not less foolish than keeping a cobra in the courtyard for the purpose of keeping the lazier members of the family on their toes.

—'Touchstone' in the *Hindustan Times*, April 10.

Steel mills are important, even more important is education.

—*Hindu*, March 30.

"Reasonable Communism" is a contradiction in terms.

—Gerhart Niemeyer in the *Free Spirit*, March 1957.

What the Russians have done in Hungary is an unspeakable atrocity.

—Bertrand Russell in the *New Leader*, February 18.

Peace is in jeopardy and freedom a word of mockery until the divided nations are reunited and the captive nations set free.

—John Foster Dulles in New York on April 22.

None of the evils which totalitarianism (recognisable primarily by a single party and the suppression of all opposition) claims to remedy is worse than totalitarianism itself.

—Albert Camus in *Encounter*, April, 1957.

To the Editor,
FREEDOM FIRST,
C/o Democratic Research Service,
127, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay 1.

Please enrol me as a subscriber to FREEDOM FIRST.
I remit the annual subscription of Rs. 3|Rs. 2 for
members of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom.

Name:

Address:

Signature

Mr. Gopalan will probably shortly issue an invitation reading somewhat as follows:

Mr. A. K. Gopalan

and

The Comrades

of

The Kerala Government
request the pleasure of the
company of

Mr. J. R. D. Tata

Seth Kasturbhai Lalbhai

Mr. G. D. Birla (and brothers)

Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai

Mr. Chinubhai Kilachand
(and brothers)

to

DINNER

and Harakiri soon thereafter.

R.S.V.P.

Communist Party of India.

—*Current*, April 17.

We are not saints.

—Nikita Khrushchev, quoted in *Sunday Standard*, April 21.

Conformism today, it must be admitted, has fastened on the Left.

—Albert Camus in *Encounter*, April 1957.

On account of its vastness and variety India is treacherous ground for all foreign writers.

—Nirad Chaudhury in *Encounter*, April, 1957.

In his spiritual activities the Hindu is like a dynamo generating electricity, in his worldly life a motor that expends it.

—Nirad Chaudhury in *Encounter*, April, 1957.

The man of action at a crisis and the holy man are the same—the distinction is non-existent in Hinduism.

—Nirad Chaudhury in *Encounter*, April, 1957.