

## A Dream Becomes A Nightmare

by V. B. Karnik

**F**ORTY years have passed since the old Tsarist rule was overthrown in Russia and a new revolutionary regime was established under the leadership of the Communist Party. The event was greeted by progressive opinion all over the world as the dawn of a new era. It was expected that the exploitation of man by man would now come to an end and that a new civilization of freedom and equality would be established. The long-cherished dream of poets and philosophers of a free society of free and equal men was supposed to have arrived. The story of the great achievement spread far and wide and secured for the revolution the ardent support and sympathy of men of goodwill from all parts of the world. But the forty years that have passed since then have seen the dissipation of all that support and sympathy. What began as a beautiful dream has turned into a horrid nightmare.

These forty years have been years of growing disillusionment, of a cruel disappointment of the hopes that had animated free spirits all over the world. The process of disillusionment began a few months after the Revolution with the dispersal by force of the Constituent Assembly only because the Bolsheviks had not succeeded in winning a majority of seats in the assembly. Then followed the break with other socialist parties and their suppression and the incarceration of their leaders which gave a rude shock to many. The cruel treatment meted out to Trotsky, one of the twin heroes of the Revolution, convinced several that there was no scope for differing opinions in the land of the Revolution and opened their eyes to the real character of a one-party dictatorship.

The most severe jolts were received in the thirties. There was in the beginning the forcible collectivisation of agriculture with its liquidation of millions of so-called Kulaks, most of whom were no worse and no better than ordinary peasant proprietors. Then followed the Moscow Trials and purges which resulted in the annihilation of some of the best-known Bolsheviks and of many others who had taken a prominent part in the Revolution. The most odious part of the trials and the purges were the abject confes-

sions extracted from the prisoners. They were revolting to the conscience of civilised humanity. And yet there were many in the ranks of socialists and liberals who were prepared to turn a blind eye to all these oppressions and inequities because they were taking place in the so-called land of socialism!

The infamous Nazi-Soviet Pact which unleashed the second world war opened the eyes of many of them. Before they could realise what was happening and effect a fresh evaluation of the Russian reality, followed the partition of Poland carried out in agreement with Hitler and the unprovoked aggression against Finland. These and the coldblooded refusal to rush to the help of Europe when she was being overrun by Hitler's hordes, would have exposed to the whole world the real character of the cynical rulers of Soviet Russia. The process was, however, delayed and obstructed by the heroic resistance that the Russian people put up against the Nazi invaders and the universal admiration and goodwill that it evoked. All the past sins of Russian rulers were forgotten and forgiven and they were admitted into the comity of nations as full and equal partners.

The consciousness of their military strength had, however, whetted the imperialist ambitions of Soviet rulers. They were already the masters of half of Europe, and the dream of world domination that they had cherished since long began to egg them forward towards acquiring control over larger and larger areas through internal subversion and external aggression. This brought to an end the war-time alliance and launched the cold war. The process of disillusionment was again set in motion. The disillusionment was rapid as stories of forced labour camps and their inmates and of the general conditions of life and work began to seep through the iron curtain that had been lowered between the free nations and the imprisoned people of Russia. There was in the beginning a tendency to discount them as interested propaganda. But the stories came in such large numbers and most of them were told with such sincerity and with such a wealth of verifiable details that it was no longer possible to disbelieve them. It became clear that the so-called socialist State of Russia was nothing but the cruellest of police State ruled by an almighty dictator who had sent to death thousands of his trusted co-workers and converted his country into a vast prison house. The truth of all these stories was later confirmed by no less a person than the present ruler of the country, Nikita Khrushchev. Khrushchev's revelations dealt a staggering blow to the naive faith of many a sincere and sensitive communist and fellow-

traveller who had still continued to look at Soviet Russia as the land of freedom and justice. The rape of Hungary completed what the revelations of Khrushchev had begun.

During the last year, the year of Khrushchev's revelations and the suppression of the Hungarian revolution, there have been many defections from the communist movement. The Communist Party of Great Britain was never a substantial organisation. It was seriously weakened during the year by the resignations of many important members. In the United States the Communist Party lost the membership of an eminent novelist like Howard Fast and an eminent journalist like Joseph Clark, who was for many years the Foreign Editor of *Daily Worker*. In France a number of prominent writers, poets and philosophers, who had for long supported the Communist Party and blindly toed the Soviet line, threw away their blinkers and began openly criticising Soviet Russia and its actions. There have been many defections behind the Iron Curtain as well. The entire Communist Party of Hungary revolted against its leaders and their Russian masters and joined the people in their national revolution. Earlier the Polish Communist Party was on the point of taking a similar step. It was the last minute surrender of the Russian rulers which averted an open rebellion. In East Germany there has been a constant ferment and many notable communist intellectuals declare from time to time their loss of faith in the Communist Party and their repugnance of the policies and actions of Soviet Russia.

The process of disillusionment has now advanced quite far. But there will be always some who will insist on holding on to their naive belief in spite of all evidence to the contrary. It is difficult to say what will shake them out of their attitude of worshipful homage. Louis Fischer has given this experience the appropriate title "Kronstadt" on the basis of the disillusionment of a number of ardent socialist sympathisers of the Russian Revolution after the bloody sup-

pression of the revolt of the sailors of "Kronstadt". He writes in *The God That Failed*: "What counts decisively is the 'Kronstadt'. Until its advent one may waver emotionally or doubt intellectually or even reject the cause altogether in one's mind and yet refuse to attack it." "The timing of one's 'Kronstadt', he writes, "depends on a variety of objectives and temperamental factors." Until these believing souls experience their own 'Kronstadt', they will continue aiding and comforting the communists and harming the cause of freedom and democracy. Fortunately the harm that they cause is not now of a serious character. For the facts about Russia are now so well-known that very few people are taken in by the fairy tales that they tell.

While old friends and admirers are thus falling off, friends and admirers who were attracted by the original liberating purpose of the Revolution, Soviet Russia is now acquiring a new host of worshipful supporters and sympathisers. They are attracted to the country not by its social progress or by its advance towards the goals of liberty and equality but by its military and industrial prowess. There is no dirt in the world of the worshippers of power. It is these worshippers of power who are now crowding around the Soviet rulers. They sing their praises and act as their apologists. It is true that Soviet Russia has built up a mighty military machine. It is also true that it has achieved a considerable amount of technological progress. The latest feat of launching the first earth satellite, the *Sputnik*, bears eloquent testimony to these facts.

These achievements are built, however, on the basis of a merciless exploitation of the people that has been going on for the last forty years, on the basis of forced labour camps and police terror. The amount of human misery that has gone into the building up that military and industrial might would appal any person with the least consideration for human happiness and progress. The Bolsheviks did not overthrow the Tsarist system and capture power in Russia in order to build her up as a military power. Progressive opinion all over the world would not have acclaimed their act as a worldshaking event and would not have lent its support and goodwill if that were the objective that they had in mind. The objective that they had set before themselves was to end the exploitation of man and to establish a society of freedom and equality. The State was to wither away and human freedom and happiness were to be the immediate and ultimate end of all activity. What has materialised in Soviet Russia during the last forty years is a cruel caricature of that original objective.

The monstrous police State that the Revolution has produced is not the handiwork of Stalin alone. He may be the father of some of its odious features. His long regime of terror and cruelty may have consolidated its strength. But the root of the evil lies deeper. It is to be found in the theories of Marx and Lenin. Marx who at one time desired to make man the measure of all values ended by making him a

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# Notes

## Milovan Djilas

**M**R. MILOVAN DJILAS has earned a further seven years' term in jail for his new book *The New Class* published recently in the United States of America. The treatment meted out to Mr. Djilas and the additional punishment inflicted upon him prove once more that a communist regime, whatever its colour, cannot tolerate criticism and free thinking. Nobody has suggested that Mr. Djilas did anything more than write a few articles and a book. But even the expression of unorthodox opinion is a grave crime in the eyes of a communist government. Mr. Djilas committed that crime and is now being made to pay for it. His friend and colleague Mr. Dedijar has also incurred the displeasure of the regime and for the same reason. The Yugoslav Government recently refused him permission to go out of the country to deliver a series of lectures at the Manchester University. He is also being denied the academic appointment due to him and is not allowed to carry on his literary activities.

It must be, however, stated to the credit of the Yugoslav Government that it did not slavishly imitate the Soviet method of dealing with political opponents. Neither Mr. Djilas nor Mr. Dedijar has been liquidated or forced to sign an abject confession, as would have happened if they were in Soviet Russia. That encourages the hope that world public opinion may have some effect on President Tito and his Government. The appeal made to President Tito by prominent citizens of the United States of America to release Mr. Djilas and to allow him to speak, write and travel is therefore appropriate. It deserves to be supported by right-thinking men all over the world.

Mr. Djilas is a bold and independent thinker. He has also the courage of his convictions. It is a pity that such a person should have to rot in jail for years merely for saying things which he believes to be true, things, moreover, which require to be said boldly and unambiguously for they throw a revealing light on the problems facing the contemporary world.

## Another Brave Voice

**A**NOTHER brave voice has come out of Yugoslavia. It is the voice of Mr. Stevan Dedijar, the former head of the country's nuclear energy project. He is the younger brother of that valiant Vladimir Dedijar, the one-time official biographer of Marshal Tito, now in disfavour for his fearless criticism of communism and communist regimes. Mr. Stevan Dedijar has written an article in the American monthly *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, published by a committee of out-

standing nuclear physicists. The main point of the article is that true science is impossible without freedom and true freedom is impossible under communism. A communist dictatorship, Mr. Dedijar has pointed out, closes "the channels of communication" and follows under the rule of "inexperienced state bureaucrats a hit-or-miss research policy based on unrealistic, purely political motives."

The closing of the channels of communication has a demoralising effect upon the society. "The intellectuals learned by bitter experience," writes Mr. Dedijar, "that by freezing communication channels the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes a dictatorship over the proletariat, resulting in stagnation, bureaucracy, and degeneration."

"Human beings are the cheapest commodity" in Soviet Russia, writes Mr. Dedijar and points out: "This has resulted in the use of force in internal relations, with the resulting cataclysmic internal convulsions and instability; the incalculable wear and tear of the people in achieving anything and the long-term social consequences of a brutalising mistreatment of human beings."

This is a scathing indictment of the communist regime in Soviet Russia. It requires courage for a person living under a communist regime to give expression to such opinions. By sending his article for publication to an American journal Mr. Dedijar has proved that he is a man of courage.

Mr. Dedijar has thrown some interesting light on the puzzle how in spite of lack of freedom obstructing the growth of science Soviet Russia has been able to develop thermonuclear bombs. He writes: "This is a puzzle only to those who have forgotten that the Soviet Union is the country of Lomonosov, Lobachevski, Mendeleev, Petrov, Sikorsky, Pavlov. In other words, the Soviet Union had a tradition in fundamental and applied research... The present state of research in the Soviet Union should be weighed against the effort spent and the cost paid in men and materials for developing under a dictatorship... The disappearance of one Vavilov and innumerable lesser Vavilovs during the past 20-odd years, the imprisonment of a Landau and the eclipse over the year of a Kapitza and innumerable lesser scientists, the browbeating of a Frenkel and a generation of lesser Frenkels into openly admitting that the state dogmas are essential in scientific research, the fierce political attacks and silencing of innumerable other scientists like Lysenko, with long-term consequences for research, all of these make up the weights that should be placed on the debit side in estimating the efficiency of research development in the Soviet Union."

## Insidious Infiltration

**T**HE All India Congress Committee has been required in the end to dismiss from its service Mr. H. D. Malaviya, the Secretary of its Economic and Political Research Department and Editor of its fortnightly *Economic Review*. The charge levelled against Mr. Malaviya was that he was "behaving in an irresponsible and indisciplined manner by secretly

contributing articles to journals containing false and mischievous statements". The charge, the Committee found, was substantiated by documentary evidence.

Some six months back *Freedom First* had drawn pointed attention to the infiltration of alien political elements into the editorial office of the *Economic Review* and had urged the President and members of the Working Committee of the Congress "to place the A.I.C.C. Bulletin in more reliable hands". We wrote then: "Readers of the *Economic Review* have for many months clearly discerned a communist hand editing this Gandhian bulletin. There is any amount of evidence to convince a careful reader of the files of the journal over the last year or two that a consistently fellow-travelling strain underlies a great deal of the political and economic comment. Blatant support for the mass liquidation of peasants resisting collectivisation of land in China is only one of the shockingly anti-Gandhian attitudes repeatedly displayed in that journal. As far back as the late thirties, Mr. H. D. Malaviya was known to hold communist views. It would appear from his recent exercises that the cure, if any, is very incomplete."

Our warning was not heeded. It took the A.I.C.C. six long months to find out how its own journal was being manipulated by a communist agent and how from the vantage ground of its own office a virulent anti-Congress propaganda was being carried on. The Committee has now removed Mr. H. D. Malaviya. But, as we pointed out then, what happened in the case of the *Economic Review* "is only one example of the insidious infiltration of governmental and political institutions that is proceeding." When will the A.I.C.C. wake up to the real enormity of the problem and detect and root out the infiltration that has taken place in many spheres of public life?

### Literary Exchanges

THE twentieth Congress of International P.E.N. held in Tokyo early in September has drawn pointed attention to the necessity of encouraging literary exchanges between the countries of the East and the West. The symposium on "The Reciprocal Influence of the Literatures of the East and the West on Present-day Writers" which was held along with the Congress brought out the fact that owing to lack of translations of Eastern literature into Western languages the impact of the former on Western writers was slight. The Congress therefore passed a resolution, moved by the Japanese centre, asking the P.E.N. to encourage "exchange between the East and the West on a more mutual basis than hitherto attempted."

Literary exchanges are essential not only between the East and the West but also between the various countries of the East. The latter know very little about each other, many a time much less than about a distant Western country. Translations of the best works of one language into other languages is the most effective way of breaking down the barriers of language and bringing the nations together. The P.E.N. Congress has done well to emphasise the importance

of translations. It is to be hoped that international organisations like the Unesco as well as literary bodies in each country will pay adequate attention to this very important work.

### Our Homage

ON the anniversary of the heroic Hungarian Revolution we pay our homage to the dead and living heroes of the revolution which is and will remain one of the most inspiring episodes in the history of the struggle for freedom. The revolution ended in the tragedy of a reenslavement of the Hungarian people. Communist Russia still continues its monstrous rule over Hungary and the puppet regime set up by it is wreaking its vengeance on those who participated in the revolution. Many have been executed and many more have been sent to jail and concentration camps. But it will be wrong to conclude that the revolution has achieved nothing. It has in the first place dealt a mortal blow to communist tyranny, opened the eyes of many to the real character of communism and destroyed the myth of Soviet Russia as a liberating force. It has in the next place given a convincing proof that no amount of tyranny can forever stifle the human spirit and the desire for freedom. It has lighted a torch of hope that will remain burning for all time. Men and women all over the world will draw inspiration from the glorious struggle that the Hungarian people waged against communist tyranny and Russian imperialism. The known and unknown heroes of the revolution did not die in vain.

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plaything in the hands of impersonal forces of production. The power which controlled the forces of production became the arbiter of his destiny. It was, under Marxist and Leninist dispensation, the State which was controlled by the Communist Party which was, in its turn, controlled by the leader, the *Vozd*. Stalin's rise to the position of the *Vozd* was the direct result of this Marxist doctrine and Leninist practice. Marx, and Lenin who followed him, tended to ignore man and to minimise his role as a social force and his welfare as the only objective of social activity. Following in their footsteps, Stalin ended by establishing a slave State. His successors, whatever their denunciations of their dead master, are busy maintaining and perpetuating that society of slaves. They have effected a few changes here and there but the main structure of the police State remains unchanged.

One need not, however, lose heart. Man's quest for freedom is unconquerable. It cannot be suppressed too long. The force behind the Russian Revolution was that mighty urge for freedom. It gave to the Revolution in its initial years the strength to withstand foreign aggression and to survive the civil war and famine. Later it was distorted and utilised for forging new chains of slavery. But the indomitable spirit of man will rise again and break those chains. What happened in Hungary last year gives us that hope and confidence.

# "No, I Could Stand It No Longer"

by Melvin J. Lasky

WE are witnessing the death agonies of a great ideology. And it is here in Berlin, where the young Karl Marx once sat at the feet of the Hegelians and then turned their idealistic philosophy (and the next century of world history) "on its head", that the spectacle of a crumbling myth, a dying political faith, has been having some of its most dramatic and ironic turns.

With the flight this week of Prof. Alfred Kantorowicz, one of Communist East-Germany's leading intellectual figures, another page in the bitter record of disillusionment has been written. Marx himself once had to flee from the "police-dogs of reaction", and he went from Berlin to Cologne to Stuttgart. Kantorowicz also fled "from Germany to Germany", but he had only to cross a street which divides East from West Berlin. "I could breathe no longer," he said. "I had to put that world of rawness, stupidity, violence, injustice and lies behind me..." In the West there was at least "safety."

His old newspaper, the *Berliner Zeitung*, where he had written so often (and with such party-line loyalty), noted his defection with the judgment: "He has betrayed the best cause in the world..." The feelings were mutual. "Twenty-six years long, in the Communist Party, I held on to a dream..." Kantorowicz explained in his radio broadcast this week. "I have now lost the last hope... the last illusion... that out of such dregs (Abschaum) a new and better world could ever be born..."

Only a week ago Walther Ulbricht, Communist chieftain in East-Germany, stood waiting, confident, radiant, for his visitors from Moscow. When Mikoyan helped Khrushchev cut of his railroad car, Ulbricht embraced him and they kissed. For the East-German intelligentsia this was a symbol of the end. They had taken a new lease of life after the 20th Party Congress in Moscow when Khrushchev had exposed "the terrible crimes of Stalinism." They had taken courage from the "socialist renaissance" in Poland, and Khrushchev's apparent recognition of the possibility of "different revolutionary paths". They had begun to hope for the introduction of longed-for liberties. They spoke of "humanism", and of "liberalization." Kantorowicz himself went so far as to write (in the *Berliner Zeitung*) that "where power degenerates into abuse, into violence, it is the duty and responsibility of the writer rather to remain silent than to join the chorus in the court of the powerful. Even silence can be eloquent..."

The German "renaissance" was not to be. Ulbricht has had Wolfgang Harich, the Soviet zone's leading literary critic, arrested, and along with several editorial assistants sentenced to long prison terms. Bert Brecht, the world-famous playwright, died. (For his political testament there was only the cryptic remark that "even after my death I will find ways to make

things difficult...") Prof. Ernst Bloch, the distinguished Marxist philosopher, was threatened, bullied, intimidated, and forced into retirement. From writers and scholars like Hans Mayer, Stefan Heym and the sightless Arnold Eweig, not a word has been heard. And now Kantorowicz has run away.

The man—he is now 58—belongs to that fascinating pre-Hitler generation of German radicals who, in Marx's own Berlin, came to have so much of that early romantic adventurousness on behalf of "a better world." I remember Arthur Koestler once showing me the *Kuenstlerkolonie* where he, and Kantorowicz, and so many others, used to sit up nights drafting Communist manifestoes and organizing tenants' strikes. In fact we have from Koestler (in his contribution to *The God That Failed*) an interesting snapshot of those days.

"Our *Pol.-Leiter* was Alfred Kantorowicz.... He was then about thirty, tall, gaunt, squinting, a free-lance critic and essayist and prospective author of the *Novel of our Time*, which never saw the light. But he was an exceptionally warm-hearted comrade and a self-sacrificing friend, and he had both dignity and a rich sense of humour; his only short-coming was lack of moral courage. We remained friends all through the Paris emigré years; when I broke with the Party, he was the only one who did not spit at me.

Now (1949) he is a literary big-wig under the Soviets—may his innocence and compliance protect him from ever getting caught in the snares of counter-revolutionary formalism, bourgeois cosmopolitanism, neo-Kantian banditism, or just liberal depravity...."

How grotesque are the turns of political destiny!

With most of his left-wing friends Kantorowicz became a political emigré after Hitler came to power. The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War took him to the fronts of Madrid and Teruel—and not, as he is so eager to point out today, to the GPU-ridden headquarters of Albacete, Valencia and Barcelona—as a "fighter against fascism". The outbreak of World War II found him, for a while, in a concentration camp, but shortly thereafter he made his way to the United States. There he was an active anti-Nazi, worked together with Dorothy Thompson, did commentaries for the Columbia Broadcasting System.

I met him briefly on his return to Germany after the collapse of Hitler's Third Reich. He came first to Bremen, with the help of friends (read: comrades) in U.S. Military Government, and then went on to Berlin with a grandiose plan for editing a magazine with the licenses of all the four Great Powers. He, naturally, got only the Russian. But I did not have the heart at that time to enter into argument with him. The emigrés who came back to Germany from the

West came as Conquerors in Allied Uniforms; those who came back from the East returned to become "natives" and to work for the revival of their old Fatherland. Kantorowicz was one of the few Western exceptions, and although I knew of his Communist loyalties and his sense of secret (even fanatical) mission, I was for a while touched by the spectacle. His magazine called *Ost und West* flourished for a few years. Then he went on to other tasks. In 1949, I recall, he wrote an article on the question of Eastern refugees who were pouring through the open Berlin frontiers into Western Germany. He wrote at that time (will there be no end to the ironies.):

"We should be very happy about this. The more we get rid of people of this sort the better off we will be. That's also a kind of getting rid of the rubble. Things are being cleaned up...."

By 1953, and the revolt of June 16 and June 17, when millions of German workers came out on the streets to demonstrate their libertarian opposition to the Communist dictatorship, things began to be muddled again. When the Hungarian masses did the same, how could there be any doubt that something had gone wrong with the Revolution? Ulbricht insisted on a "Hungarian Resolution" to be signed by all the East-German intellectuals. There were forty signers. Kantorowicz's name, as we noted at the time, was missing. Shortly thereafter in the East-Berlin University the discussion turned to possible candidates for the Nobel Prize for Literature, and what likely candidates from the "camp of peace and progress" could be nominated. Kantorowicz suggested the name of George Lukacs, the celebrated Marxist aesthete, who had just been arrested and deported by the Soviets for his activities during the Hungarian October Revolution.

When does a breaking-point come? When does a man, who "should know better," finally come to see light? Bertrand Russell went to Russia in 1920, took one look, and ever since has treated the subject with slight contempt. What a wise old bird? Franz Borkenau broke in 1928, and treated everybody who went along with the Communist movement after that with acrid impatience. How understandable! So it has gone on for decades. The light fails, and flickers, and goes off and on again. Some "choose freedom" earlier, some later. Koestler finally sees through the darkness at noon in 1938. Milosz takes his mind out of captivity in 1948. In the fall of 1956, in Budapest, it occurs to Julius Hay and Tibor Dery and Peter Veres that they had been wrong, terribly and tragically wrong, and that with one great revolutionary break perhaps their fine hopes could still be made good. My own feeling—and sometimes when I feel it strongly enough, the chaos of utter political despair has come again—is that somewhere right now (it could be Accra, or Ceylon, or Kerala) a young man is going into a book-store to buy a copy of some little Marxist-Leninist pamphlet, and this will be his great illumination, for he will now know the "logic of history" and become possessed by the vision of "a better world", and we, poor helpless cynical wise-acres, will have

to wait some seven (or seventeen) years, and seven months, before he "sees the light," still failing, still flickering.

But just in the face of this nightmare it is worth recording that on 22 August 1957, Alfred Kantorowicz, a life-long Communist intellectual who had fought on the barricades, found the inner courage and clarity to say the following:

"Can't one understand how I postponed my radical decision for years and years in the desperate hope that the rawness, stupidity, violence, lawlessness, the oozing mire of lies, the strangulation of intellectual liberty—that all this was only a transitional convulsion, and that out of these awful labour-pains a new society would still issue, a society in which social justice and personal freedom would be beautifully balanced?"

26 years long, since my entry into the Communist Party in September 1931, I held fast to this dream. From the events of 17 June to the heart-breaking and nerve-wracking (for so many of us, especially old Communists) Hungarian tragedy and the reign of terror against the intellectuals, I have finally had to give up the last hope—what am I saying? to give up the last illusion—that out of such dregs a new and better world could ever be born.

"And now I cannot conceal even to myself that feeling, which always came forward and was always painfully repressed, that tragic paradox, that I, for my own small part, contributed to build up exactly what I had wanted to fight against! I mean lawlessness, exploitation of the workers, the intellectual enslavement of the mind, the arbitrary rule of an unworthy clique who disgrace the name of socialism in the very way in which the Nazis disgraced the name of Germany. No, I could no longer close my eyes to the almost mythological phenomenon of our fighting, as we believed, for freedom and justice and against fascist barbarism and all the while, behind us, fascism and barbarism were emerging again in the words and deeds and spirit of the 'apparatchiks.' In our fight we really meant the Rule of the People, and we found ourselves caught up in the Dictatorship of Bureaucrats...."

"No, I could stand it no longer. In the words of Thomas Mann, whom I have quoted so often in my books, and which came to me a hundred times in the sleepless nights of the last years—I could no longer live, I could no longer work, I would have suffocated, if I could not, in the ancient phrase, wash my heart, if I could not speak out my deepest horror of what in the most miserable words and deeds was happening amongst us...."

"And so, with my 58 years, I leave everything behind me once again and begin anew...."

"Very late" is the reaction in Europe—"too late" I hear the Berliners mumbling. But soon enough, let us hope, for our young man in Accra, or Ceylon, or Kerala.

# Polish Road To Socialism

by Adam Adil

COMMUNIST countries have their own logic of working. However much they may lay claim to liberalisation and democratisation in their internal affairs, they revert back to Stalinism and stricter regimentation of political and intellectual life. They prove two things. First, they prove, with redoubled force, the famous dictum of Lord Acton: power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Second, that unless democracy is full, any semblance of democracy ultimately tends to destroy itself.

For the last several months reports emanating from Poland suggest that all the gains which that country has secured as the result of the mass upsurge against Stalinists and the Russians in October last year, are being given up one by one, either under pressure from Russia or by force of developments taking place in the country.

All this began with the reaction of the present communist leadership to the disillusionment of Polish youths and writers with communism. The old organisation, built and maintained during "Stalinist years", crumbled under the wave of the reforms that swept Poland in October last year. But all efforts to put together a satisfactory substitute without using the old discredited methods failed. During the crisis no one rallied behind the new communist leadership more strongly than the students, writers and young workers. But the students and the writers soon began to realise that the new leadership was in no way different from the old Stalinists, that it was halting the processes of democratisation and "even withdrawing from the positions it occupied in October." This realisation on the part of students and writers was too much for the party leadership to tolerate. Mr. Jerzy Morawski, a member of the Politbureau of the United Workers (Communist) Party, strongly castigated students and writers for finding fault with party leadership. He said only the party could decide upon the "size of democracy". He touched one of the key issues between the youth and the communists—the latter's determination to accord only limited freedom to any youth movement, and to retain the decisive word on country's affairs, even over the Sejm (Parliament), the government and other sectors of elected authority. The Youth Union, M. Morawski asserted could have a voice on many problems, but the voice must be raised "in accordance with the party line". Youth could speak up, even on problems of party policy, M. Morawski said, but only in conferences and contacts "between the party and the Youth Union and not in public protest meetings and could not appeal to non-party opinion through press." M. Morawski's warning, however, fell on deaf ears.

Immediately after, Moscow warned the youths in no uncertain terms. *Pravda*, delivered a stinging rebuke to them for spending too much time on "futile"

arguments and for advocating "independence" from communist direction. Speaking of the events at the time of Gomulka's rise to power and of the revolt in Hungary, the Communist Party organ said that "The ferment typical of that period" had ruined the Polish Youth League and led to its extinction. The result was that new youth groups had sprung up in Poland "like mushrooms after the rain" it added.

This was followed by Gomulka's own warning to the rebellious members of the liberal wing of the Communist Party. He asked them, frankly, either to fall in with the party-line or face expulsion. He told them that the "democratic freedom in Poland could be granted only in proportion to the Party strength." "No party member can accept only one part of democratic centralism, that is accept democracy and reject centralism." Mr. Gomulka, however, conceded that "bourgeois democracy granted its opponents more freedom than socialism gave its opponents."

The thread from Gomulka was taken up by his trusted colleague, M. Morawski, who denounced "Revisionism" in most vehement terms. Revisionism was defined to mean in the words of Morawski "actively undermining the very foundation of our movement, drawing us back towards the bourgeoisie." Morawski described the revisionists as "liquidators" advocating surrender of Party's power and ruling position. These liquidators, said Morawski, "claim that it is necessary to expand the October revolution and to push ahead. If we, however, ask where to, there is usually no answer besides generalities. The more open among them say plainly, that they are advancing a negative programme. A negative programme does not solve anything but it complicates a lot."

No serious member of the left wing has advocated the surrender of the party power as M. Morawski has sought to charge them with. What the revisionists do say, however, is that the Party leadership's wooing of the neo-Stalinists and the reimposition of a strong censorship was a retreat from the gains of last October's bloodless revolution.

Members of the left-wing—the so-called "revisionists" or "liquidators" formed the vanguard of the October revolution against the Stalinists and Russian domination. Today, they are being shunted aside. M. Morawski himself was one of the most important leaders of the October movement. But he has found himself equally at home in the role of chief public prosecutor of those who want to maintain October's gains and, as he described it, "to push ahead."

Besides attacking and denouncing the left-wingers, the communist leadership of Poland is seeking to impose stricter control on the press, and dismiss the dissenting editors and force closure of inconvenient newspapers and magazines, inspite of the fact that Polish editors and newspapers played a prominent part in

leading the October revolution to successful conclusion. One of the first to be dismissed was Mme. Edda Werfel, the Deputy editor of Polish illustrated weekly magazine *Swiat*. Her dismissal was made the subject of a special resolution by the secretariat of the Central Committee. The resolution which has not been published, is said to condemn her for opposing Party-policy. She was charged that in her article entitled "To the Comrades of the Fraternal Parties", she accused the communist leadership of deliberately misrepresenting the events of last October in Poland. Her use of the term "human socialism" to describe what the rank and file of the Polish Communist Party were fighting for, drew particular abuse from the leadership. The term "human socialism" was denounced as a "bourgeois reactionary expression" and Mme Werfel was called a "renegade" seeking to liquidate communism. Others dismissed included Wladyslaw, editor of *Trybuna Ludu* and Elegiisz Lasota, who had gained international renown as editor of the crusading youth weekly *Po Prostu*. Not only was the editor of *Po Prostu* dismissed, but subsequently the magazine itself was forced down. This action evoked intense student agitation. Yet, the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in a communique, quoted by Warsaw Radio, accused the newspapers' editorial board of "having lost faith in the reality of socialist construction." It alleged that "for many months they had been acting against the realisation of decisions adopted by the top organs of the Party. It added that in spite of the intervention by the Press Control Office, the newspaper had continued to publish "many harmful items causing social and political damage."

It is, thus, clear that all these recent events in Poland demonstrate that there has emerged a deep cleavage between the communist leadership on one side and the intellectuals, students and youths, on the other. And the cleavage is due to the fact that the communist leadership, in order to consolidate its power, is throwing overboard all the gains of the October revolution, denying, in the process, democratic rights and freedom of thought and expression to the people. This in a way is inevitable. It is the same dilemma faced by Tito in Yugoslavia or Khrushchev in Russia that is confronting Gomulka in Poland and threatening to undermine his strength by alienating him from the Polish intelligentsia. There can be no democratisation or liberalisation under a communist regime. Once it is attempted to be introduced, liberalisation threatens to exceed the limits set by the communist rulers and in the process to undermine the dictatorship of the Party. The communist dictators are, by the inherent logic of their own position and power, forced to shed their pretense and revert to the crude Stalinist methods of suppression. There is really no half-way house between communism and democracy; as Arthur Koestler has put it, the alternative is between relative freedom and total unfreedom. The experiment of "Polish road to Socialism" demonstrates once again that there can be no real and lasting liberalisation so long as the rigid framework of the communist system is left untouched.

## I. C. C. F. NEWS

A public meeting was held in Bombay on October 18, to protest against the Separate University Education Bill proposed to be enacted in South Africa. Prof. G. D. Parikh, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, University of Bombay, presided over the meeting. Mr. R. S. Pandey, General Secretary, Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, Mr. Rohit Dave, Chairman, Praja Socialist Party, Bombay and Mr. Adam Adil addressed the meeting. The meeting unanimously adopted the following resolution:

This public meeting held under the auspices of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom expresses its strong disapproval of the separate University Education Bill proposed to be enacted by the government of South Africa. The Bill seeks to introduce Apartheid in university education and to impose rigorous government control on higher education of non-whites. Apartheid is a policy which is opposed to all canons of civilized human behaviour and as such has been disapproved by civilized men all over the world. This meeting strongly protests against this further extension of the policy which virtually negates the principle of academic freedom. It also expresses its support to the universities and other organisations in South Africa which are resisting the introduction of Apartheid in the field of university education.

\* \* \*

Two prominent Hungarian Writers, Mr. George Paloczi-Horvath and Mr. Paul Tabori, were in Bombay from 1st to 3rd October. On the 1st they addressed a public meeting under the auspices of the Indian Committee at Indian Merchants Chamber Hall on "The Hungarian Revolution." Mr. Frank Moraes, the Editor of the *Times of India*, presided. Mr. J. B. H. Wadia, Honorary Secretary of the Indian Committee, thanked the speakers and the President.

On the 2nd October they addressed a public meeting at Dadar held under the auspices of Dadar Yuvak Sabha. Mr. M. V. Donde, Mayor of Bombay, presided over the meeting. On the same day the the Screen Writers' Association of Bombay held a reception in honour of Mr. Tabori who is the International Secretary of the British Screen and Television Writers' Association.

The Press Guild of Bombay held a reception in honour of the two writers on the 1st October. There were besides several private and semi-public functions at which the Hungarian writers got the opportunity of meeting prominent citizens of Bombay.

From Bombay the Hungarian writers went to Delhi where a reception was held in their honour on Friday, 4th October, under the auspices of the Asian Office of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. They also addressed a public meeting held under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs. Earlier they passed through Calcutta where they met a number of prominent intellectuals and writers and talked to them about the Hungarian Revolution.

# Review

## BATTLE FOR THE MIND:

by William Sargant; Published by William Heinemann Ltd., London 1957; Price 25s. Pages 248.

THIS book is valuable from many points of view — and will interest students of many disciplines — of law, of education, of physiology, of psychotherapy, of religion, of psychology, of psychoanalysis and of politics. Above all, it is of the utmost significance to the democratic citizen and the student of contemporary world struggle between totalitarianism and the free way of life. This crucial setting is indicated by the title — *Battle for the Mind*. The battle is the battle or war going on today in every sphere of life and culture between the masters of the Kremlin and the leaders of the free world. The mind is the mind and the spirit of humanity that is at stake in the present tremendous chess play between them.

To envisage the situation in this way may strike the ordinary citizen as melodramatic but those who are aware of the evidence on the subject and can judge it without prejudice, but with some insight into the background of the world drama and into the unspeakable tragedy for man's future if the struggle should go against the free world, will realise that there is no exaggeration in the terms of this description.

The sub-title of the book: "A physiology of conversion and brain-washing" indicates the substance of the study and its point of view. The aim is scientific without any propaganda "strings" — all the more effective by reason of its strict objectivity. The author is a practitioner in psychological medicine in a leading London hospital and has had exceptional opportunities of treating cases of war neuroses in Britain during and after the war. The point of view is physiological — the influence of brain mechanisms and disorders on the mind. He has been impressed with the work of the Russian psychologist Pavlov whose second series of studies on dogs became available in English in 1941. Dr. Sargant found a remarkable approach and similarity in the physiological aspects of the behaviour of Pavlov's dogs under experiment and of the phenomena of mental trouble. He found a further revealing similarity between these mechanisms of the brain in dogs and neurotic patients and those exhibited in cases of religious conversion, particularly of the revivalist experiences of religions evangelist like those of John Wesley. He carries the study of analogy further into primitive religion like the African Voodoo. He adduces examples from the abnormal movements of orgiastic ecstasies common in the Middle Ages. He has added a chapter by his friend Robert Graves on similar ritual experiences in primitive Greek Mystery religions.

In war neuroses we find normal persons suddenly losing their 'minds' or souls or behaviour patterns under the stress of fear or excitement and collapsing into a state of nervous exhaustion. The treatment by which many of them are brought back to normalcy in modern psychotherapy is based, in Dr. Sargant's

view, on a grasp of the physiology of the brain and a fruitful use of its mechanisms.

Pavlov's dogs were subjected to different stimuli under different conditions of hunger or fear. If there was an abnormal or unwonted change in the stimuli the dogs could not respond in the normal way. Fear and hunger and confused stimuli would throw them into excitement and their power of reaction would be confused.

Dr. Sargant has arrived at a generalised schema of the physiological mechanisms of conversion in the diagnostic phases of which there is a close analogy between animal and human reactions.

In religious conversion, we have a sense of shock or paralysis induced by a consciousness of sin or guilt and of anxiety, after which there is a feeling of ecstatic release and serenity often lasting for life, a feeling of divine grace and acceptance or of sanctification. The book gives dozens of remarkable plates of conversion meetings, Eur-American and African. The emotional expressions on the faces of white people in American sects, like those who handle snakes as part of the ritual and on those of African primitives are a grim reminder of the physiological identity of animal and human nature.

These aids to conversion through fear and excitement are being made use of to elicit confessions by the police in many countries of the modern world. Dr. Sargant gives a vivid account of the process of third degree methods violence used even by the British police. The method consists in the main of tiring the prisoner out by continuous interrogation, by refusing him sleep and rest and creating an exhausting state of anxiety and fear of punishment. He points out how under these conditions even innocent men might be induced to confess to crimes that they have not committed. The most dangerous thing is that even the officers come to believe in the truth of their own hypothesis.

Dr. Sargant is rather sceptical of the high claims made for psychoanalysis and quotes from Dr. Freud himself when he came to doubt the truth of his analysis towards the end of his career. He had hypnotised himself into believing his theories on insufficient evidence into universalising the influence of sex in the causation of neuroses.

If even the police of democratic nations can be led or misled into misuse of physiological and psychological pressure (though in the service of legality and justice), how much greater is the tragedy when such misuse becomes the accepted method in Communist States of remoulding the mind of the entire people committed to their care!

The world was astonished and bewildered when in the pre-war era, Stalin's victims among the front rank Leninists of the Revolution era like Kamenev made abject confessions of incredible crimes and treacheries and disloyalties and collaboration with the Western enemies. But today we have adequate evidence of the process by which confessions were elicited, of which Dr. Sargant gives a convincing analysis in psycho-physiological terms. He shows how the pro-

(Continued on Page 10)

# West Bengal Bank Employees' Strike

(Contributed)

**T**HE Bengal Provincial Bank Employees' Association which sponsored the strike of the Bankmen in West Bengal, has called off the strike.

Now that the strike is over, it is possible to do a little introspection and see if the policy which they were compelled to follow was in their own and country's interests.

An important fact that has to be borne in mind is the political affiliation of the people who control the Bengal Provincial Bank Employees' Association and the All India Bank Employees' Association whose leaders were in active charge of the movement. They are full-fledged members of the Communist Party of India. It is well known that communists engage themselves in Trade Union Work as a part of their political activity and to subserve the interests of the communist movement.

There is every reason to believe that the leadership of West Bengal Bank employees overestimated their bargaining power. This is indicated by the fact that the annual conference of the A.I.B.E.A. which was to be held on 16th, 17th, 18th, Sept. 1957 at Benaras (U.P.) was postponed by a week in order to enable the delegates from Bengal to participate in the conference as otherwise they would have been unable to do so with the strike scheduled to come off on 18th Sept. 1957. But when they found that the strike was going to be a long drawn out one the Conference was postponed indefinitely.

The leaders of the B.P.B.E.A. dragged the bank employees into the vortex of direct action in order to retain their leadership. In Bengal a section of the

*(Continued from page 9)*

cess has become the normal method of indoctrination of the whole population in Communist States. He adduces sufficient evidence of the even more thorough way in which the Chinese Communists use these Pavlovian - cum - Freudian - cum - Evangelist Jesuit methods to remake the minds of the cadres and of the whole population.

The new Soviet Man is being created before our eyes by brutal methods embodying the latest discoveries of human physiology and psychology.

One gets the impression that if the atom and hydrogen bombs are one species of the misuse of science threatening the future of humanity, this cold-blooded and ruthless employment of a knowledge of the weaknesses of body and mind to deprive whole nations of the right use of their minds so as to create a docile robot out of subject races surpasses it in wickedness and peril to human destiny.

Dr. Sargent gives many hints as to how people can resist the onslaughts of such indoctrination, if, unfortunately, they are subjected to it. To be forewarned is to be forearmed. If reason is made conscious of the methods and engines that will be used against it, it can develop powers of adequate resistance. This is the lesson left on the mind of the attentive reader by this remarkable study.

M. A. VENKATA RAO

employees led by the leadership of the United Bank of India Employees' Union was progressively disillusioned by the conduct of the communist clique which controlled the B.P.B.E.A. The turning point was the signing of an agreement between the ex-Gen. Secretary of the Union and the management of the United Bank of India Ltd. under the guidance of Shri Prabhat Kar, General Secretary of A.I.B.E.A. The estrangement that took place between the employees of the United Bank on one side and the leadership of the A.I.B.E.A. & B.P.B.E.A. on the other side was a source of major concern to the leadership of the latter two organisations. All the efforts made by them to recapture the leadership of the United Bank employees have proved futile. Another source of challenge to the leadership of the A.I.B.E.A. and the B.P.B.E.A. was the militant and energetic action which the United Bank of India Employees' Union took in order to seek improvement in the terms of agreement signed by the ex-General Secretary. Their conduct which was in sharp contrast to the opportunistic and politically biased activities of the leadership of the B.P.B.E.A. compelled the latter to consolidate their position by demonstrating that they too were capable of militant action.

It is a well-known fact that among the middle class employees the bank employees are the most organised. The A.I.B.E.A. which represents the majority of organised bank employees in the country is under communist leadership. Its President Shri A. G. Kakar is a fellow traveller. Its General Secretary Shri Prabhat Kar is a Communist M.P. and all its four joint Secretaries and the Treasurer are communists. One of the two vice Presidents is a communist or a fellow traveller. Majority of the members of the Central Committee of the Association consists of C.P. members and fellow travellers. The Communist Party thought that with its strategic control of this middle class organisation, it could rehabilitate itself among the middle class employees by dragging the organisation into a strike. This was particularly necessary for the party after the discomfiture it faced on account of its betrayal of the Post and Telegraph and Central Government employees in July last. The West Bengal Bank employees being the most organised section of the bank employees were thrown into the struggle in a vile political game. Being confident of success the party thought that it would be able to obliterate from the minds of the people the bitter memories of communist treachery in the past.

The innocent bank employees of Bengal were used as pawns on the chess board of party politics. Statesmanship was abandoned in favour of exhibition of false militancy. The interests of bank employees were sacrificed at the altar of the political aims of the Communist Party of India. It is to be hoped that at least after this bitter experience, the bank employees will know who are their friends and who are their enemies.

# Segregation In South Africa

by R. S. Pandey

**T**HE Union of South Africa has for the last several years become the scene of intense racial segregation. While everywhere else in the world there is taking place greater racial cohesion, in the Union of South Africa systematic efforts are being made to drive a wider wedge between various racial and ethnic groups.

The notorious Group Areas Act, known all over the world as the Ghetto Act, was passed by the Strydom government in 1950. This Act was aimed at displacing the Africans and Indians from their natural habitations. As a result cities like Johannesburg, Durban, Mafeking, became scenes of large-scale population reshuffle. More than 1,000,000 non-whites including 22,000 Indians were ordered to leave their hearths and homes and migrate to distant areas where they could not hope to make a living. The manner of ejection was most inhuman. Indians and Africans were insulted and humiliated in every manner possible. No proper compensation was paid to them.

The treatment meted out to the Africans has stirred the conscience of many thinking South African Europeans. Mr. Gutton, a Johannesburg City Councillor said "the recent proclamations have brought shivers of horror and distaste to all tolerant people, not only in South Africa but to the enlightened public opinion all over the world. It is one of the most callous acts even in the history of this Government". Mr. Miller, Leader of the United Party in Johannesburg declared, "the Group Areas Act threatens to plunge the country into what will become the most serious racial cleavage this country has known." Likewise many leading impartial newspapers owned by the Whites have also denounced the Ghetto Act; for instance, the *Star of South Africa* and the *Rhodesia Herald*. But this voice of conscience has fallen on deaf ears.

Now the Government of South Africa seek to extend the policy of Apartheid into the academic precincts of the University of the Union. The University was established in 1918. It has so far served the educational interests of all. But this grand tradition of the University is being sought to be disrupted. In March this year, the Separate University Education Bill was introduced in the Parliament. The Bill has been referred to the Select Committee and is expected to become the law of the land early in 1958.

The object of the Bill is to provide for separate Universities for Whites, Africans and non-Whites other than Africans like Indians, Pakistanis and Ceylonese. The Bill, if enacted, will debar the non-Whites from entering White Universities. They will be forced to receive education only in such Universities as are reserved for them. Again, the Universities of the non-Whites will not be independent educational institutions. They will be established under the aegis of the Government under the provisions of the Bill. They will be strictly controlled by the Government.

The Minister of Native Affairs will have the authority of appointing and dismissing teachers; he will have also the final word in the matter of admission of students. The governing body and the Principal of the University will be appointed by the Government. It appears that the Government will not give higher general education to African students. The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Werwoerd has already asked in the Parliament "What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice?" That means that the education to be imparted to non-White students will be different from that imparted to White children. It is obvious that if the Bill is passed and enforced the educational standard of non-White students will be very low. It is obvious again that non-Whites in South Africa are to be deprived not only of their political and economic freedom, but also of their cultural and academic freedom.

It is surprising that while in the United States of America, as a result of the ruling of the Federal Court, segregation between Negroes and Whites is being eliminated from educational institutions, it is being freshly introduced in the Union of South Africa. In other words while the rest of the world is looking ahead towards racial integration, towards the freedom of all mankind, the Union of South Africa is looking backwards towards darkness and un-freedom. The Little Rock incident in the U.S. and the mischief of the local Governor was firmly dealt with by the Federal troops on the orders of the President.

It is high time the United Nations takes a serious view of the situation. The United Nations Charter of Human Rights guarantees complete, political, economic, cultural and academic freedom to all members of the human race without distinction of colour or race. The Charter must be implemented in every country. If the Union of South Africa does not heed it must be universally boycotted and forced to submit to the conscience of the world.

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## With Many Voices

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

—Tennyson.

Now that the Soviet Union has started having satellites in space, it may be less interested in acquiring satellites on good, old mother earth. Or that is what many of us hope.

—“V. B.”, *Hindustan Times*, October 11.

Too often, the Soviet policy has appeared to be Communist imperialism—a horse of strange parentage, by Karl Marx out of Katherine the Great—the expansionist ideas of old Russian imperialism combined with the missionary zeal of international communism.

—Selwyn Lloyd, *Times of India*, October 12.

Whatever the U.S. might be suspected of, nobody conversant with the outlook of her people and Government could accuse her of colonial aspirations.

—*Times of India*, October 16.

We may characterise Russian science by paraphrasing the description of the little girl we learnt about in Kindergarten: “When it is good it is very good, but when it is bad it is horrid.”

—Prof. Conway Zirkle, *New York Times*, October 12.

In all seriousness, if there is one defect that this country's decade of experience with democracy has shown up, it is that the principle of free speech extends to Ministers.

—*Times of India*, October 17.

Sputnik can not guarantee that people will not behave foolishly.

—Prime Minister Nehru, *Bombay Chronicle*, October 22.

If India goes communist it will be because it failed to give legitimate support in Kerala to the democratic forces, to the rule of law and to the working of the Constitution in that Achilles' heel of India.

—Rev. T. Mascarenhas, *Examiner*, October 19.

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I do not normally take my orders from the Communist Party.

—Prime Minister Nehru, *Times of India*, October 18.

Among the great tragedies of the United Nations is the fact that the assembly is a motley of mediocre men.

—*The Current*, October 23.

✓ People who think of Communist revolutions are out of date, including the Communists.

—Prime Minister Nehru, *Bombay Chronicle*, Oct. 22.

In every country those who commit crimes are put on trial. This follows from our laws. We are not vegetarians.

—Ferenc Munnich, Acting Prime Minister of Hungary, *New York Times*, October 3.

It is obvious that Mr. Krishnamachari is not favourably inclined towards the communists.

—Prime Minister Nehru, *Bombay Chronicle*, October 22.

The Russians are familiar with Napoleonic history, so the politicians get rid of the generals before the generals get rid of them.

—Governor Harriman of New York State, *Free Press Journal*, October 28.

The great reason why we have had so many wars is that people take it for granted that there isn't going to be any war.

—John Foster Dulles, *Time Magazine*, October 28.

✓ An impressionist is a fellow who paints the way he sees, an expressionist the way he feels, and a socialist-realist the way he hears....

—Czech comedian Jan Werich, *Encounter*, October 1957.

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