

FEBRUARY 1960

Paramount Need

by V. B. Karnik

ONE of the happy developments of the last few weeks has been the growing sense of amity and friendship between India and Pakistan. The border disputes on the eastern as well as the western frontiers have all been amicably settled except for one small dispute relating to some territory in the sandy desert of the Punjab. Even that dispute will be settled very soon. A dispute over canal waters is on the way of settlement, leaving the Kashmir issue as the only point of contention between the two countries. It is to be hoped that wise counsels will prevail on both sides and that in the distant future a way will be found for the settlement of the issue.

The country as a whole has welcomed this development. It is happy that the unnatural tension and enmity that had developed between the two peoples who had for many centuries lived together is now in the process of dissolution and that one can look forward to an era of close friendship and mutual help. The first para of the resolution on "India's Frontiers" adopted by the Bangalore session of the Indian National Congress expresses well this sentiment of the country. It says: "The Congress welcomes the agreement arrived at between India and Pakistan in regard to their eastern and western frontiers. This is a happy augury for better relations between the people of these countries, who have been closely associated with each other in the past. It trusts that trade and commerce and other contacts will grow between India and Pakistan." Moving the resolution in the Subjects Committee, the Chief Minister of U.P., Dr. Sampurnanand referred to the remaining disputes between the two countries and said: "Given the goodwill and foresight of which ample evidence has been forthcoming, these questions can also be solved in the not very distant future". In expressing that hope, Dr. Sampurnanand was speaking not merely for himself or the Congress but for the whole country.

This growing friendship between India and Pakistan is particularly welcome in the context of the danger that has erupted on the northern frontier. Owing to the unfriendly relations that had existed so far between the two countries, India had so long concentrated all her forces on the western and the eastern frontiers and had practically neglected her north-

ern border. The Chinese action of the last year has rudely awakened her to the fact that the real danger that threatens her is in the north from China and not in the east or the west from Pakistan. There may have been some misunderstandings and conflicts between India and Pakistan but there is no irreconcilable conflict of interest between the two. It is clear that one cannot say the same in the case of China in view of her now-admitted record of expansionist tendencies and more particularly in view of her communist creed which compels a nation to follow a path of expansion and conquest. The communist regime of China has already started exerting its pressure on India. But India is not its only target. Its target are all the countries of South-East Asia. In course of time they are all bound to feel the pressure of expansionist China. The first blow has been struck against India; nobody can be sure where and when the next blow will fall.

In view of this situation, it is but natural if people in India and Pakistan began to think in terms of arrangements for joint defence. If the two countries made the beginning the arrangement could be later extended to all other countries of South-East Asia which are equally nervous about the intentions of communist China. In India the demand grew spontaneously in non-official circles. The statements made by such widely separated persons as Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan expressed that urge of the people. In Pakistan it received the support of the Government. No less a person than the President, Field Marshal Ayub Khan expressed his support to the idea and indicated his willingness to enter into talks with India for the joint defence of the Indo-Pakistani continent.

It is a matter of regret, however, that the idea did not appeal to the Prime Minister. He rejected it without giving it any thought. The Prime Minister, it appears, has developed a temperamental opposition to the idea of military alliances. The very use of the words acts as a red rag to a bull and disturbs his mental balance. He gave a deplorable example of that loss of balance in the Bangalore session of the Congress. Three members of the All-India Congress Committee moved amendments to the official resolution on the international situation suggesting *inter alia* the dropping of the opposition to the idea of military alliance. The members did not suggest the actual formation of any military alliance. What they suggested was that the idea need not be dogmatically ruled out of consideration. But even that innocent suggestion made the Prime Minister lose his temper and talk about the members and their amendments.

in a wild and abusive manner. He characterised the point of view of the members as "the cry of a weakling, of a person who has no courage", as "a voice of utmost folly" and as a product of "terrible fear." He said that the three members were out "to uproot the whole basis of India's foreign policy", that, if their suggestions were accepted it would put "a black mark on the forehead of the Congress" and would amount to inviting foreign armies to march through India. It is not difficult to understand the anger and the resentment of the Prime Minister. He was "astounded and amazed" by the challenge to his foreign policy in his own organisation and by the friendly reception that it received in many sections of the gathering. After the outburst of the Prime Minister, the Subjects Committee, it need not be stated, dutifully and obediently threw out the amendments.

The voice of sound common sense could not be, however, suppressed altogether. Some other members also advocated the idea of joint defence. The prominent amongst them was the veteran Congress leader, Mr. K. Hanumanthaiya. In the course of the discussion on the resolution on India's Frontiers, he said, "The Government of India, should, as a first step to stem Chinese aggression, formulate a policy of co-operative defence. All countries which were threatened by Chinese expansionism and aggression might be invited to join such a cooperative defence system". The border of China, he said, extended from Afghanistan to Korea. He asserted "If all countries between Afghanistan and Australia held a common meeting like the Bandung conference and declared that if China acted aggressively against any one of these countries there would be a war, it would have a sobering effect on China". All these ideas were contemptuously dismissed by the Prime Minister. But they are gathering force in the country and also in the Congress and how long can he stand alone with his pet hobbies and prejudices against the rising tide of public opinion?

The Congress had to toe the line laid down for it

by the Prime Minister. It could not therefore go beyond merely welcoming the improvement in the relations between India and Pakistan and saying in general terms that the efforts to secure the settlement of the dispute with China through peaceful means did not mean "submission to aggression or to anything which challenges the integrity or the honour of India." It could not spell out the steps that should be taken to resist Chinese aggression. Not inhibited by any such considerations, the Swatantra Party could be more forthright in the enunciation of its policy. At a meeting of its General Council held early in December it passed a resolution on National Defence which is more in accord with the feeling in the country. The resolution said:

"The General Council of the Swatantra Party welcomes the manner in which Parliament has given expression to the strong feeling in the country that a firm and vigilant policy should be followed in dealing with the Chinese Communist aggression against India.

When our territorial integrity has been violated and our soil occupied, the concept of non-alignment has little meaning. Our policy needs to be reviewed and brought into closer relations with the realities of the international situation.

The General Council is of the opinion that the measures for ensuring the country's security and defence should include the following:

1. The settlement of outstanding issues with Pakistan and serious consideration of the offer made by Pakistan for the joint defence of the sub-continent;
2. Consultations with the countries of South and South-East Asia with a view to concerting measures for the security of the region;
3. Vigilance against infiltration and fifth-column activities."

The Government have so far given no serious consideration to Pakistan's offer of joint defence of the continent. It has been rejected out of hand on the ideological ground of opposition to military alliances. The Prime Minister had at one time urged against it the difference in the foreign policy of India and Pakistan. The latest statement of the President of Pakistan has now removed that apparently plausible excuse. In a statement made at Dacca he made it clear that "the Indo-Pakistan joint defence did not come in the way of the policy of non-alignment pursued by Mr. Nehru." He hit the nail on the head when he said: "The crux of the whole thing was that Indian and Pakistani forces were at the moment facing each other. If differences between them were resolved these forces would be released to the job of defending their territories." Most of the differences having been resolved, it is now the duty of the Government of India to consider seriously this offer of joint defence. It is in the interests of both countries to draw together and collaborate in the defence of the northern frontier. No old prejudices or doctrinaire considerations should be allowed to stand in the way of this paramount need of the hour.

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Russian Communists Are "Different"

by S. R. Mohan Das

THE Chinese occupation of sizeable chunks of Indian territory has brought forth from Mr. Nehru certain by-product revelations of his attitude to communism and communists. Playing the role of an ideological mentor, Mr. Nehru has said that:

1. Chinese expansionism has nothing to do with communist character.

2. There is no such thing as International Communism acting as concerted international conspiracy with an international apparatus.

3. Different communists in different parts of the world act in different manners;

4. The Indian communists are the worst communists in the world as they are not patriotic like their Chinese or Russian counterparts.

5. As an example of his thesis, Soviet attitude had been "different" from the Chinese.

In this analysis of international communism, Mr. Nehru is supported by his aide, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon.

It is interesting to recall now that soon after the Chinese communists conquered the Chinese mainland with the help of massive arms of the crack Japanese armies in Manchuria handed over to them by Stalin, Mr. Nehru took the view that Chinese communism was "different", more humane, tempered by Confucian thoughts and traditions, as against the aggressiveness of Stalinism then reigning supreme. Mao was different in 1950, according to Mr. Nehru and like most liberals at that time, Mr. Nehru held the view that the Chinese communists were "agrarian reformers."

Now the roles have been reversed. Mr. Khrushchev represents a more humane, more liberalized communism in the Soviet Union as against the aggressive Chinese expansionism.

This dichotomy between Chinese and Russian communism then and now, is interesting. The "humanness" of the victorious Chinese communism in 1950 is very similar to the "humaneness" and "liberalness" of Soviet communism in 1959-60 in terms of similar victory in launching of Sputniks and Luniks. Soviet Union now has no territorial ambitions, has achieved so much already and is settling down towards normalcy for greater prosperity and peace, says Mr. Nehru. In short, according to Mr. Nehru, the Soviet aggressive shrew has been tamed by getting mellowed through prosperity and achievement.

Has Chinese expansionism nothing to do with communism? Is there no such thing as International Communism? Are the Indian communists different from other communists? And has the Soviet approach to international questions different from the Chinese?

These are some questions which are worth analysis.

If Chinese expansionism was essentially Chinese in

character and not communist, there has been no expansionist tendencies shown by China towards north, towards its former Mongolian territories grabbed by the Soviet Union. "Chinese" expansionism seems to be exclusively directed only towards non-communist territories and China's record in the Korean War, Viet Nam, Burma, Tibet, India and Indonesia is eloquent testimony to this. Secondly, China has restrained its expansionism towards countries having even symbolic ties with military aid arrangements under pacts. In fact Mr. Nehru gave an unconscious acknowledgement of the significance of this when he sadly commented in Parliament that wherever India had been alert in guarding her frontiers like in U.P., Himachal Pradesh and NEFA, Chinese incursions have been negligible. Only in Ladakh where we were complacent and not alert have there been large-scale incursions by the Chinese. The simple moral involved in this has been lost on Mr. Nehru. Whichever country was alert about protecting itself from Chinese threat, China has not dared to undertake adventures against it. In Thailand, South Viet Nam, Malaya or Pakistan, China has not been tempted to embark on adventures. Towards Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos and the "giant" India, all of whom have been genuinely sympathetic to "New China", China has shown the bayonets. Mr. Krishna Menon was in fact rather offended about this. He said in the U.N. "China can kick her heels about, but not against those who have been friendly to her, championing her rights."

Mr. Menon seemed to be wighing that China would tackle Formosa, Thailand, South Viet Nam and Malaya to teach them a lesson for having such a strong vested interest to survive, if necessary, even through alignment with their friends.

Now in the hour of crisis with China, Mr. Nehru and Mr. Menon have sold the Indian people the line that the Soviet Union is India's friend, that the Soviet Union does not support China in her aggression against India. Here too the actual record is much more enlightening than the reassuring straws which Mr. Nehru clutches in this hour of crisis.

The Soviet Union has not only *not* supported India, not only *not* disapproved of China's action but in typical communist double-talk supported China against India. The incident at the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee at Cairo is revealing. Mr. H. D. Malaviya, one of the Secretaries, wanted to send a cable of congratulations, *as per the resolution of the committee*, to Mr. Khrushchev for his statement calling for a "peaceful settlement" of the present Sino-Indian disputes. The Russian Secretary of the Committee prevented Mr. Malaviya, a close colleague of the Indian communists, from sending even this cable on the

(Continued on page 5)

Kerala On The Eve Of Elections

by A Special Correspondent

THE first thing that strikes an outsider visiting Kerala is the isolation of the communists in the State. Never in the history of the State the communists were feeling so lonely and had to rely solely on their own organisational strength. In the previous elections, the communists had their United Leftist Front which was a rallying point for many "progressive" intellectuals and writers, leftist parties and groups and trade unionists. This time, thanks to the people's experience of the communist regime, the communists are poised against the united front of the democratic forces. True, splinter groups like R.S.P., K.S.P., and Jan Sangh have decided to contest the elections separately, but even they have declared their main opposition to be to the Communist Party. Thus the isolation of the communists is nearly total; even the so-called progressive independents have, in many cases, shied away from the communists and many communist workers have announced their resignation from the party. It is significant that originally the communists had declared that they would contest about 80 seats and support independents in the rest of the constituencies. But they were forced to contest more than 103 seats out of 126. This shows the nervousness of even their own 'independents' who preferred to remain aloof rather than face the consequences of the communist support.

This isolation of the communists is not due to the issue of the Chinese aggression. In fact, the Chinese issue has had practically no effect on an average voter in Kerala. It has, no doubt, affected the intelligentsia. But the ordinary man in the street is indifferent to these incursions in the far off north. He has made up his mind not on the basis of any outside issue but on the basis of his own experience. He has had enough of the communist regime. The average Kerala voter is literate and politically mature. The victory of the communists at the polls in Kerala last time was the result of his cool calculations. The Congress and PSP had disappointed him, and he was therefore ready to give a trial to the communists who had professed faith in democracy. But the experience of the communist regime showed him the clay feet of the Reds. One often hears this comment in Kerala in conversation with people from various walks of life. The Congress leaders were, after all, not so corrupt, it is argued. But because of the existence of about 30 dailies attacking every day the conduct of the Congress Ministers, the impression was created that the Congress Ministers were totally corrupt. But the Communist Ministers simply exceeded all the limits and they were proved to be virtually immune to the criticism against them. Under the Congress regime, two Ministers resigned from the Government and went to the Court to prove their innocence when charges of

corruption were levelled against them. But under the communist regime, the people realised that the whole organisation was systematically busy in corrupting the government machinery for party purposes. This difference was not only of degrees, it was a basic difference between a party which basically subscribed to democratic values—even though there might have been aberrations and lapses—and a party which was out to undermine democratic institutions. This experience alienated large sections of the population who had formerly supported the communists.

The Communist Party not only failed to cleanse the administration, but it also failed to solve the basic problems of the people. Moreover, it tried to use the Government apparatus to destroy the opposition and entrench the party in every field. Today, in the Governor's regime, many frauds perpetrated by the Communist Ministry are coming to light. The Advisor to the Governor appointed officers to probe into the working of the cooperative societies, Harijan welfare schemes, Toddy Tappers' Cooperatives and so on. These were the schemes which, it was alleged by the Opposition, the communists were skillfully abusing to enrich their party. And the reports of the enquiry commissions, which have come out during the last two months, have substantiated the charges of the Opposition. This has also exposed the communists and further shaken the public confidence in the party.

In contrast to the previous elections, the democratic forces this time are not only united, they have geared up their organisation effectively for the election campaign. At different centres one could see various organisations and individuals on their own contributing their might to the election campaign. At Trichur, Father Vadakkan and his Anti-Communist Front; at Ernakulam, the Voice of Kerala group; in Trivandrum, the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee—all these and various other groups have been publishing small election pamphlets in thousands for sale or effective distribution. At many places I saw some organisations publishing brochure a week for propaganda purpose and these pamphlets were in great demand. At Trivandrum, for example, the KPCC published in Malayalam a brief record of the activities of the Communist Ministry in December and 5000 copies of the book were sold in three days! Through these publications, which are of a high order, the people are being educated in the basic problems of democratic life. They also indicate the consolidation of democratic forces in the State.

On the other hand, one could sense the obvious nervousness in the communist fold in the State. Unlike in the past, the Reds this time are on the defensive. They have this time to justify their own record as the ruling party during the last two years and they

are finding it a very difficult job. Their obvious nervousness is reflected in their election campaign in Kerala — which is comparatively a tame affair this time. Besides, there are other indications. Most of the Communist Ministers this time have avoided constituencies from where they were returned last time. Even E.M.S. Namboodiripad, who last time contested from Neeleshwar in the Cannanore district, has changed his constituency. He is now contesting from Pattamby in the Palghat district. But even Pattamby is not absolutely safe for the communists as in the last election the communist candidate polled about 17,000 votes as against 15,000 combined votes polled by other opposition parties. The communists are therefore concentrating their strength in the Pattamby constituency to see that their prize horse does not prove a flop.

The communists have lost ground among writers—they practically have no writer of repute in their fold—students and industrial labourers. As a result of the past experience there is evident a tendency among industrial workers to form independent trade unions not affiliated to any of the existing political groups. But still, in spite of this, the communists have not lost much of their intrinsic strength. They still retain their hard core—so to say. They still have a stranglehold over the Ezhava and the Scheduled Caste communities. But there are signs that even these communities are now realising the true nature of the communists. Recently a communist member of the dissolved Legislative Assembly belonging to the Scheduled Caste community, resigned from the party. Similarly in some parts of the State, like Kottayam, toddy tappers are throwing away the yoke of the party and forming independent cooperative societies of their own. This is just a small beginning but if this trend continues, the Communist Party will be facing a serious crisis in the State.

And this seems to be haunting many a communist leader. On my return journey I found myself "fellow-travelling" with a communist Member of Parliament in the same compartment on the train on my way to Madras. After exchanging formal pleasantries, our conversation drifted to the situation in Kerala. To my surprise, I found him unusually frank and in a "confessional" mood. "We are not very hopeful," he confided, "about the elections this time". The united front of the "reactionary forces" in the state, he said, was whipping up communal passions and religious frenzy among the people. That might affect the communist chances adversely. He admitted that various Ministers have changed their constituencies in order to avoid possible discomfiture. Not only that, some of the Communist Members of the dissolved Assembly were reluctant even to contest elections this time. In this connection, he mentioned the name of Mrs. Rossamma Punnoose who was returned from the Devicolum Constituency. She was forced by the party into the contest as "no other candidate had any chance of winning elections from the Devicolum area on a communist ticket", he said. But soon he realised his mistake of talking too much to a stranger. He imme-

diately came into his own. "This time we might lose. But the logic of events and historical forces which brought us to power last time are still there. Nay, they are getting stronger day by day. The same logic and the same forces will ultimately lead us to power not only in Kerala, but in the whole of India", he thundered.

(COMMUNISM—from page 3)

grounds that the Chinese would not approve of this action!

Similarly, the official Soviet delegate to the Inter-Parliamentary Conference in Warsaw upheld the Chinese claims to Indian territory and charged India was wrong in the dispute.

The Tass official release on Soviet attitude to China dispute, which Mr. Nehru described in a Press Conference as an "objective and fair" document, was a very revealing document. In its first three paragraphs, it was a severe indictment of the Western powers for "exploiting the present Sino-Indian dispute." In the last paragraph the statement distinguishes between the "unbreakable bonds of friendship with Communist China" and the "growing friendship with the Indian Government and people" and then hopes for a peaceful settlement of the dispute. This was the "objective and fair" attitude of the Soviet Union which Mr. Nehru hailed.

The latest statement reported to have been made by Mr. Khrushchev to the Indian pro-communist writer Mr. Khwaja Ahmed Abbas, reiterates the same Soviet theme of 'unbreakable brotherly relations with Red China' and 'growing friendship with India.' The Soviets have made it clear to Mr. Nehru that he must deserve this 'growing friendship' by peaceful negotiations with China, a condition which Mr. Nehru, in any case, has already decided upon on his own.

This is the 'difference' in the Soviet communist character. In reality, as the former Soviet Intelligence Agent, M. Alexander Yurievich Kaznacheyev, who defected from the Soviet Embassy in Rangoon last year, has revealed, the Soviet Union continues to function in its traditional ways of subverting non-communist countries in close co-ordination with the Chinese, whether such countries are "aligned" or "non-aligned". The spate of Soviet delegations from the Soviet Union descending on India contains trained intelligence agents whose task is to soften up the will to resist planned future onslaughts, direct and indirect, of international communism against India. In this task, internal agents in India have an important role to play. The Soviets and Chinese communists must be laughing in their sleeves at Mr. Nehru's naivety when he says: "Indian communists are the worst communists in the world." The Chinese communists behaved in the same way as Indian comrades, when they functioned under Dr. Sun Yat Sen's regime and Chiang's regime. Quite logically Indian communists function in the same way in Mr. Nehru's regime. Their "patriotism" will come to the fore should comrade Ranadive or Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad become the "People's Commissars"!!!

Menace Of Chinese Imperialism

by J. B. Kripalani

IT is necessary to know the facts about our Himalayan border troubles with China. This is more necessary because the issues have been clouded consciously and unconsciously. The authorities for long years kept the country and its representatives ignorant of what was happening on our borders. It is no use to analyze their motives behind this negligence at present. The communists and fellow-travellers of course deliberately sought to cloud the clear issue of Red Chinese aggression by talking of war psychosis, neutrality in danger, saving India-China friendship, for which the latter did not care. Red China did everything to sabotage this friendship. On the side of the public, it was blind acceptance of what was doled out to them by the authorities. It is, therefore, necessary to know the facts and assess them correctly.

From the beginning of this trouble, which must be traced to the military occupation of Tibet by Red China, there was, so far as the authorities are concerned, some kind of self-deception, born either of sentimentality or the disinclination to take the risks involved in resistance. Often self-deception is no less dangerous than deception of others. When leaders of the people put their heads in the desert sand and proclaim that there is no enemy, they not only deceive themselves but also the people, who put their trust in them.

It is not that warning voices were wanting, but their voices were drowned in the false cries of Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai. It is strange that we are told today that the authorities knew from the beginning the character of the Chinese expansionism throughout their long history. As early as the end of 1950 the present writer voiced his protest in Parliament about the rape of Tibet. Among other things he said then: "Our Government's attitude (towards the military occupation of Tibet by Communist China) is understandable only on the assumption that Tibet is a far off country and is none of our concern. But supposing what has happened in Tibet happens in Nepal, suppose the Chinese 'liberation' forces come to Nepal, then I am sure we will, whether we are well prepared or ill-prepared, go to war against China, cost what it may". It will be pointless to quote here all that I said about our attitude towards Communist China, year after year in Parliament, whenever there was a discussion on our Foreign Policy. If today I venture to remind the nation of this, it is not in the spirit of 'I said so'. The present situation is too serious for that. However, I could never imagine then that we would remain passive for years even when there was aggression on our own borders and console our conscience by sending lengthy protest notes, which remained unanswered for months and some times were never answered.

In the last debate in the present session of Parliament, on the issue of Chinese aggression, though there

is a contrast between the opening and closing speeches of the Prime Minister, the nation has to congratulate itself that, at long last, it is recognized that Red China is red in tooth and claw and its aggression is a challenge to the nation. Yet it was ominous that the Defence Minister in his speech said that it was difficult to define aggression, which even the U.N.O. had not been able to do for years! It may be difficult to define aggression, even as it is difficult to define pain. But surely the man who suffers from pain does not fail to feel it, simply because he cannot define it! It would appear that our Defence Minister does not feel the pain of foreign aggression as do the overwhelming majority of his countrymen, or he would not be searching for an exact definition of 'aggression' at this hour of the country's peril! I wonder if he realized that non-aggression is one of the principles of Panch Sheel. Its author must have some conception of aggression before he could talk of non-aggression and consider it a cardinal principle in the effort to diminish tension in the international world and pave the way for universal and perpetual peace! To minimize evil is to justify it.

Any way, it is all to the good that the Prime Minister, in spite of the doubts of his Defence Minister, considers Red China's excursions in our territory as aggression and as such constitute a challenge to the nation. It is hoped that the answer to this challenge will no more be in eloquent and moving words but in deeds which alone can convince Communist China of our determination to save our soil and our soul. May the spirit of determination, devotion, courage and fearlessness that guided us before independence guide us to resist this new and more ruthless imperialism!

—Foreward to *Thought on China*

KERALA UNDER COMMUNISM

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Albert Camus

by Francois Bondy

"The great revelations a man receives in his life are few, usually one or two. But they transfigure him, like his luck."

THESE words of Albert Camus appeared just a year ago in "Preuves" in an article on the new edition of "Les Isles", a book by his teacher Jean Grenier, who introduced the young Camus to philosophy and literature in Algiers, 25 years ago, this Camus who has been snatched away so suddenly and so absurdly. There will be no lack of tributes to the youngest of all winners of the Nobel Prize for Literature, who contributed more to the "rayonnement" of French literature than anyone else of his generation.

In the countries where his works are not allowed to appear, in particular in Russia's satellite States, they have passed from hand to hand and exerted a strong influence on the younger generation. The same applies to Spain, among whose exiled democrats he had many close friends and to which he felt bound by especially close ties, possibly on account of his mother's Spanish ancestry. In Japan and India the traveller from France is constantly questioned about him by the young intellectuals. The influence of Albert Camus, not merely as an author but as a brotherly human voice was still growing in East and West alike, and equally in France itself where the younger generation recognised its best self in this writer in spite of the fact that, unlike Sartre and Mauriac, he was identified with no journal and no clique.

In spite of his gift for friendship, Albert Camus went his own way to the end. He never tried to push his name forward by making incessant pronouncements and engaging in controversies. On the contrary, he exercised a restraint which gave all the more weight to his occasional interventions—latterly and most frequently on behalf of Tibor Dery and the other imprisoned Hungarian writers. Albert Camus's "Letter to a German Friend" was, after St. Exupéry's "Letter to a Hostage" the first human voice to reach individuals in shattered and defeated Germany. Camus, who had played a leading part in the Resistance movement, believed that the experience of nihilism which his generation had known throughout Europe, was a temptation, a danger and a necessity which he, no less than his German contemporaries, was bound to face and come to terms with. He therefore refused to postulate any specifically German "depravity", yet this was the time when the Communist poet Aragon was demanding the annexation of the Rhineland and the confiscation of all French works of art in German hands because no German eye was any longer worthy of looking at a French picture.

When one considers the unity and integrity of his work one must find it difficult to share this feeling that

Camus had that his real work still lay ahead of him. But for him the feeling was perfectly genuine and real. It is therefore part and parcel of the absurdity which he recognised so early on, in the "Mythe de Sisyphe", as a vital force, that his senseless death will make us identify him too much with the image of youth setting out on life's journey and achieving early fulfilment. Camus had not achieved completeness, his work was not finished and he has been snatched away too soon.

Camus loved playing and he loved loving. He had a dry, unemotional sense of humour and yet even to those nearest to him he often appeared a fundamentally tragic figure, a man who dared the extremes, who wanted to understand and combine the extremes. He made an attempt to achieve such an understanding in his most exacting work, "The Rebel" which turned out nevertheless to be his weakest. He was better at portraying extreme situations. Acting and the stage were as much part of his work as they were of his life and they can also be felt in the spoken monologue of "The Fall".

As an actor and producer he made a place for himself in the theatre at a very early age and the theatre, with which he first came in contact in impecunious travelling companies, always remained an essential part of his life. Actors such as Gérard Philipe, who died a few weeks before Camus, Maria Casarès and Catherine Sellers owed a great deal to him. Camus was happier in the theatre than at his desk and he regarded the little working community of artists, actors and stage-workers as the happiest possible prototype of the small group which was the only form of society which he needed and was able to endure.

The sentences quoted at the beginning of this article about the great revelations which transform a human life, in which he was thinking of himself, will also apply to some of the readers who knew him only through his work and yet had the feeling of engaging in an intimate conversation with a human being.

At a moment when it would be wrong to attempt an assessment of his literary achievement, perhaps I may be allowed to strike a personal note, in memory above all of Camus the journalist as he was in the late summer of 1944, on the staff of the daily paper "Combat" which had been founded by the Resistance group of that name in which Camus had played a leading part. With Camus as editor-in-chief there came into being for a few short months a paper to which such various and distinguished writers as Bernanos, Malraux, Raymond Aron and Sartre were proud to contribute. Camus, who was barely 30 at the time—one remembers him with a cigarette for ever hanging from his lower lip—ruled over this short-lived family with

(Continued on page 12)

Soviet Propaganda—A Study

(Contributed)

TODAY some students and observers of the Soviet scene believe that in recent years Soviet propaganda has undergone evolutionary changes. The volume of political agitation included in Soviet propaganda has diminished, they maintain. They also see present-day Soviet propaganda as characterized by at least the beginnings of a more objective and comprehensive presentation of information, as well as by a considerably less aggressive tone. Indeed, a superficial comparison of today's Soviet propaganda with that of the last years of the Stalin era may easily lead to the conclusion that it is really very different now from what it was then. A characteristic feature of Soviet propaganda in Stalin's time was its vulgar crudity and monotonous uniformity in all press and radio organs. Broadcast or published material dealing with internal policy and life in the Soviet Union was devoid of any trace of human feeling and consisted mainly of routine directives, instructions, and at times even warnings and threats. Propaganda dealing with foreign policy questions was marked by violent and totally unjustified attacks on Western policies in general and the United States in particular.

The observable changes in Soviet propaganda within the last two years may be summarized as follows:

1. The volume of purely political propaganda and agitation has considerably diminished.

2. There has been an increase in material dealing with science, culture and art.

3. A noticeable degree of human feeling has emerged in descriptions of the internal life of the USSR and more or less objective information has appeared in such descriptions.

4. Soviet propaganda outlets have even permitted the expression of differing opinions on certain problems of internal policy, as well as variations in descriptions of life in the Soviet Union and in the treatment of certain philosophical questions.

The reduced volume of purely political propaganda may be gauged from a look at current Soviet radio and television programming. While the volume of political propaganda broadcast by Soviet radio networks has diminished, the amount of such propaganda appearing on television has been reduced to negligible proportions. A rough breakdown of the material included in the transmissions of the Soviets' Central Television Network during the latter half of 1958 shows that 37 per cent of the total transmission time was devoted to feature films, 21 per cent to theatrical presentations, 20 per cent to sports events and only 10 per cent in all to news broadcasts, comment on foreign affairs and discussions of current home affairs.

In surveying the Soviet press one should start by making special mention of *Komsomolskaya Pravda*

(*Young Communist Pravda*) which during the last few years has ceased to be a mere replica of *Pravda* itself and has acquired something of a character of its own. Frequently the authors of articles in *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, after beginning with a discussion of "communist morality," will switch to purely human morality. Many of this paper's recent articles on truthfulness, courage, free will, genuine friendship, pure love, the treatment of girls and women, good taste, etc. would have been considered outspoken if found in the press of any country in the free world. Indeed, articles and statements often appear now in the Soviet press which could well stimulate attitudes hostile to communism among their readers.

Although official propaganda denies the existence of class distinctions in the Soviet Union apart from a certain class distinction between workers and kolkhoz (collective farm) labourers, the Soviet press can no longer conceal the existence in the USSR of two classes—the "new" ruling class as opposed to the working class which is exploited by the state. In an article entitled "On the Pattern of Transition from Socialism to Communism" (*Kommunist*, No. 14, 1959), the author admits that "certain class distinctions do exist even in the Soviet Union."

Contrasting views on a variety of questions appear increasingly in the Soviet press. For example press discussions of the draft for the reform of national education were characterized by the publication of opinions both for and against combining classroom instruction with manual labour. The same variety of opinion marked discussions on compulsory manual labour for young people from the age of 15 onward.

Since 1955 rather a lively controversy has emerged between the newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* (*Red Star*) and the journal *Voenny Vestnik* (*Military Messenger*) concerning the correct evaluation of the experience of World War II and about certain other problems of a political nature. Even within *Krasnaya Zvezda* the authors of certain articles took opposite stands on these questions. In an exceedingly lively argument over the future of the sovkhozes (state farms) which has developed in recent months, various Soviet publications have come out with widely differing views. In an article entitled "This Is What It Is All Leading To" (*Nash Sovremennik*, 'Our Contemporary' No. 4, 1959), G. Vinnichenko criticizes the sovkhoz system and proposes its amalgamation with the kolkhozes (collective farms) into a single cooperative-kolkhoz system. An article entitled "Losses, Losses... When Will There Be A Profit?" (*Selskoe Khozyaistvo*, 'Agricultural Economy,' October 13, 1959) sharply criticizes the sovkhoz system for its unprofitability. Yet at the very same time other Soviet press organs are publish-

ing articles stressing the need to develop and consolidate the sovkhoz system.

Varying views have also been published regarding the problem of the material interest of Soviet workers and kolkhoz labourers in the results of their labour and the sacrifice of their personal material interests for the common good.

Such frank discussions may give the impression that the Soviet press has changed since Stalin's death, particularly since his "dethronement" at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956. However, this does not answer the question as to whether there has been a change in the real underlying nature and aims of Soviet propaganda. And the answer to that question can only be "No."

In view of the measures adopted after Stalin's death by the top Soviet leadership relaxing the savage harshness of Soviet punitive practice, Soviet propaganda had to change its image at least. But it must be remembered that this change of image has no connection whatever with any increased benevolence on the part of the Soviet leaders. If Soviet propaganda has undergone a "face-lifting" since 1953, it is only because the Soviet government noted the ever-increasing antipathy to any political instruction or study of Marxist-Leninist theory on the part not only of ordinary Soviet citizens but of special categories such as economists, Party and Komsomol members, young students, etc., and concluded that such "specialists" are so important to the stability and future of the regime that some practical concessions to their frame of mind were essential.

This change of image, however, has not extended to foreign policy. Explanations of the policies of different states of the free world and of problems of the world communist movement remained virtually unchanged. Whereas under the pressure of growing internal criticism, Soviet propaganda has had to resort to all manner of artifices and tactical retreats regarding Soviet policies, in the field of foreign policy and its plans in connection with the international communist movement, Soviet propaganda has remained as before and is notable for its absolute uniformity throughout all organs of the Soviet press.

Of course, at the present time the Soviet press occasionally carries articles containing favourable references to the American people and their government, yet such articles are almost invariably accompanied by others sharply attacking American policy and the American way of life. On the anniversary of the October Revolution, when, during the celebrations, instead of jet planes, a "dove of peace" was launched on Red Square in Moscow, *Pravda* (November 7, 1959), ran two articles full of the most vicious attacks on the United States and the free world in general.

Similar articles may be found in practically every issue of a wide range of Soviet publications. They do not differ in any essential from earlier anti-American and anti-Western propaganda. As regards the world communist movement Soviet propaganda has also remained unchanged. Simultaneously with the proclamation of the principle of peaceful coexistence

all Soviet magazines and newspapers have reaffirmed the speedy victory of world communism.

"The October Revolution opened a new era in world history—that of the destruction of capitalism and its vestiges and the introduction of the principles of the communist order." (*Molodoi Kommunist, Young Communist*, No. 10, 1959)

"The ideas of communism are invincible. Communism offers a bright future to all mankind." (*Pravda*) November 3, 1959).

"...Mankind is irresistible, it advances through every obstacle to the victory of Socialism and Communism throughout the world." (*Kommunist*, No. 11, 1959)

In this respect Soviet propaganda has not undergone any evolution, nor has it taken a single step away from the direct path to its goal, but has actually been intensified and is now stressing the point that never before has the struggle against the ideology of the West been so bitter as it is today.

It should be noted that recently Soviet propaganda abroad, supported by an increase of contacts of all sorts between the communist states and the free world, has intensified greatly. It takes the form of a constant ramming home of the theory that capitalism and the democratic structure are doomed to destruction, while communism will triumph, and that communism offers a bright future to the whole world while the West is spiritually bankrupt. Communism, it is always proclaimed, offers an advanced, progressive ideology and culture based on the principle of "eternal peace."

These claims are nothing less than a proclamation by the Central Committee of the CPSU of the continuation and intensification of the Cold War against the free world. Regardless of changes in detail, Soviet propaganda has not changed essentially on these questions, but now as before aims at supporting the expansion of Soviet power, as does the entire world communist movement.

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Review

Of Matters Administrative

by A. D. Gorwala, Popular Book Depot, Rs. 3/-

IT is rare for a government servant to continue to devote his attention to public affairs even after retirement and to speak and write about them in a forth-right and constructive manner. Mr A. D. Gorwala, as is well known, is a distinguished representative of that rare species. Since his retirement from the Indian Civil Service, the contribution that he has made to the discussion of public affairs through his writings and speeches is by all standards of an outstanding character.

Mr. Gorwala has written on all manner of problems, political, economic, and social and all that he has written is written after a careful study of facts and with devotion to the cause of popular welfare. The most striking thing about Mr. Gorwala's writings is the courage of his conviction. He is not afraid to speak out his views, however unpalatable they may be to persons in authority.

Of Matters Administrative is a collection of Mr. Gorwala's articles on administrative problems published in daily papers and other journals in the last few years. They cover a variety of topics ranging from dress for officials and corruption to nationalisation of industries and the administration of autonomous corporations. There are two articles on the food administration in the State of Bombay during the years of the war. Mr. Gorwala was closely connected with that competent and successful effort to solve the food problem so far as it affected the city and the State of Bombay. It was according to him "the first great Socialist enterprise in India."

Mr. Gorwala is a staunch advocate of the administrative system developed in the country by the British rulers. He is of the opinion that it can yield good results even under a democratic system of government. He has no sympathy with Dr. Appelby or Prime Minister Nehru who are keen about a change in administrative procedures. His conclusion is: "The remedy lies not in a change in procedure but in a change in the nature and behaviour of the men at the top."

It is difficult to accept this point of view. The procedures which exist at present were laid down for a government whose main task was to maintain law and order. The officers were then the repositories of power and the people had to submit to them. Things are different in a democracy which is trying to develop a welfare state. It must have a different set of rules and procedures which will enable the work of administration to be carried on more speedily and efficiently. It should not be difficult to pick out the good points of the old system and evolve a new one

capable of producing quicker results. The glaring defects of the situation as it is, to which Mr. Gorwala has drawn attention, themselves highlight the necessity of evolving a new system. Men should no doubt change, but systems and procedures must also change in accordance with the needs of the new age.

V. B. K.

The Conduct of Meetings

G. H. Steroford, adapted for use in India by Minoo Masani, Oxford University Press, Rs. 3/-

DEMOCRACY being administration of public affairs by discussion, it is necessary for men in public life to know how to conduct discussions in a fruitful and orderly manner. Discussions take place in a formal as well as informal manner in a variety of organisations to be found in a democratic society. Official bodies like legislatures and local self-governing institutions have their own prescribed rules and regulations for the conduct of their meetings. Other organisations have to rely mostly on generally accepted procedures which have evolved in the course of years. *The Conduct of Meetings* seeks to outline those procedures in a concise form for the benefit of those who conduct meetings as well as those who participate in them. The manual was originally prepared for use in Canada. It has been adapted for use in India by one of the ablest parliamentarians of the country, Mr. M. R. Masani.

The book gives useful information about the procedure that should be followed for conducting a meeting in an orderly manner. It is essentially a guide to the Chairman on whom rests the responsibility for the proper conduct of the meeting. But it also explains the duties that the Secretary has to perform and the rights and responsibilities of members. As such, it will prove useful to all those who have to conduct organisations and participate in their activities.

The book, of course, deals with normal situations. For abnormal situations there can be no rules and regulations. "Strong views and hot heads can sometimes produce situations that are difficult to manage and highly embarrassing." In such difficult and embarrassing situations the Chairman has no doubt to rely on his own wits to calm the storm. Acquaintance with the ordinary rules of procedures may however, help him in proving equal to the task.

M.N.D.

The British Road to Stalinism

Compiled by Industrial Research and Information Services Ltd., London, Shilling 2/6

THIS is a short report on the activities of the Communist Party of Great Britain during the thirty-eight years of its existence. It describes its origin and growth and details its work in various fields including relations with the Labour Party and representation in Parliament. It is clear from the report

that the Communist Party has all along been an insignificant factor in the public life of Great Britain. During the last few years there has been a precipitous decline in its membership, and in the readership of its journals and it has been wiped out completely from the parliamentary field. However, it still retains a membership of twenty five thousand and constitutes a danger for, as the report has aptly stated, "We must never forget that even a single communist, in an influential position constitutes a challenge to freedom".

It is well-known that a Communist Party, in whichever country it may operate, is always a tool in the hands of the rulers of Soviet Russia. This well-known fact is amply borne out by the evidence of the working of the British Communist Party collected in this report. Mr. Francis Williams, who has written a foreword to the book, has stated: "It is of course true — and this report shows by concrete evidence just how pitifully true — the British Communist Party is utterly the complete and servile tool of Soviet Russia. It is without independence of any kind. It wholly lacks any genuine British roots. It does what it is told and changes course as its master tells it. It is a lackey without even a lackey's right to an occasional day off".

The Industrial Research and Information Services Ltd. which has compiled the report was founded three years back by some trade unionists in Great Britain with the object of making facts and information available to ordinary workers. The report will be valuable to them for even now communists find a fertile field for their operations in trade unions and other workers' organisations.

V. B. K.

Thought on China

Siddhartha Publications, Delhi, Rs. 2, pp. 62

THOUGHT is a distinguished weekly magazine well-known for its bold and independent views. It has since its inception courageously championed the cause of India's involvement in the worldwide struggle for freedom and democracy. It has been fearless in its exposure of the doctrine of moral neutralism and has, from time to time, bravely criticised the foreign policy of the Prime Minister for its failure to hold the scales even between the Western Democracies and the Communist Powers.

Thought was one of the few journals in the country which had the wisdom and the foresight of warning against the grave consequences of the policy that the Government of India adopted in relation to Tibet. The events of 1959 have proved how correct were the fears voiced in 1950, 1951, and 1954. The journal has now republished, as *Thought on China*, the articles and notes that it wrote on China and other related problems during those years. They deal with Tibet, the cartographic aggression of China and the danger posed by China to the security of India and other South-East Asian countries. The problems dealt with in the publication have now assumed a new significance. The articles, though old, will be therefore read

with as much interest as they were read when they were originally published in *Thought*.

As the Editors have pointed out in the preface: "Indeed, the war for the whole of Asia has begun between India, the biggest democracy in Asia, on the one hand and imperialist China, on the other; India cannot just shirk it." In view of this fact the more the people know about China and her intentions the better will it be for the defence of the country. Mr. J. B. Kripalani the well known leader of the Praja Socialist Party, has contributed a thoughtful foreword to the publication.

V.B.K.

How Many Arab Refugees?

by Walter Pinner, Macgibbon and Kee, Shilling 10.6d.

THIS book by Dr. Walter Pinner on the problem of Arab refugees gives a clear picture of the magnitude of the problem which has to be tackled. The author has made a serious attempt to prove his case by giving facts and figures. The book also brings to light the unhelpful attitude of the neighbouring Arab States in rehabilitating the refugees. However, the author is silent on the attitude of Israel. To this extent, the book may appear to be onesided. The author has not suggested any lasting solution to the problem. Nevertheless, the work of Dr. Pinner may help both the U.N. Agency as well as the parties to the dispute, namely, Arabs and Jews in finding a lasting solution to the thorny problem.

R. V. RAGHAVAN

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—Tennyson.

Once the glamour surrounding Nehru is set aside, one cannot reasonably discard the conviction that he is no longer a safe leader for the country.

—"Saka", *Swarajya*, January 23.

When we talk from the housetops about non-alignment, we are simply isolating ourselves, we are weakening our front by giving the impression that we are not going to take assistance from any other country.

—Kali Mukherji, *Examiner*, January 25.

If India had been aligned to the Western bloc, then at the moment of the Chinese attack, the Western bloc would have moved in all over India.

—V. K. Krishna Menon, *Thought*, January 23.

There is a much greater evil than alignment and that is Red domination.

—*Examiner*, January 23.

Mr. Nehru was again terribly worried at the prospect of foreign forces on our soil if we ask for military help against China. . . . Mr. Nehru should be more sensitive in referring to foreign troops on our soil. The Chinese are already there.

—"S.M.", *Hindustan Times*, January 20.

India-China dispute is not of such magnitude as can precipitate a war.

—V. K. Krishna Menon, *Thought*, January 16.

The press ought to imitate Cato, who ended every speech in the Senate, on whatever subject, with the words *Delenda est Carthago*. Every newspaper should conclude every leading article, on whatever subject, with the words *Demissus est Krishna Menon*. India will not be safe till that man is out of office.

—*Mysindia*, January 3.

India is not Nehru's patrimony for him to endanger its security in this way for the glorification of his outmoded nostrums and doctrines.

—"Saka", *Swarajya*, January 23.

If only the law were enforced. . . many Congressmen would find themselves not in the Congress office as office-bearers, but in jails as convicts.

—Hanumanthayya, *Swarajya*, January 25.

The theory underlying the communist system is based on a stage of social development that belongs to the hoary past; and is therefore thoroughly reactionary from a modern point of view.

—Chancellor Konrad Adenaur, *Deutsche Korrespondenz*, January 12.

✓ For the time being, however, it is easier for the communists to send a rocket to the moon, or perhaps even to Mars, than to grant to poets, writers and artists the freedom to be themselves.

—Giovanni Radicati in *Tempo Presente*.

(ALBERT CAMUS—Continued from page 7)

a natural authority and over the paper itself with a professional skill like that which he also displayed in the theatre—he had mastered every detail of the craft. At that time he was hostile to every kind of nationalism and power-political pride, with which other minds, some of them good minds, were intoxicated, and he always retained this hostility. It was in his office that, with friends from five countries, we established the first committee for a European federation.

The tension between solitude and self-surrender to a cause is as evident in his work as it was in his life. It exists, for example, between the "Outsider" and the helping doctor in "The Plague". He sometimes described his attitude as a "refus sans renoncement", a refusal without renunciation. Camus was sometimes criticised for not having taken a more open and more generous line in the Algerian drama which moved him, as a European from Algiers, deeply and conflictingly. Camus abstained from recalling his social enquiry on the misery of the Kabyles which led to his banishment from Algeria when he was twenty years old, or his successful attempts to bring together Algerian Mohammedan writers and help them to get their writings published. Least of all did he want it to be known that on several occasions he had travelled to Algiers to intercede with Residents Lacoste and Sous-telle on behalf of prisoners condemned to death and on behalf of internees. Nor would he have allowed anyone who knew of these efforts to have breathed a word about them.

It is a hardly believable fact that this active and intensive life has been extinguished at such an early age and the enduring influence of his work will fail for a long time to provide us with the slightest consolation. For Camus was not merely a literary but above all a human influence and it was this that made him as unique in the French literary world as Simone Weil, whose works he published, was in the philosophical.

It is not only France that mourns.