

THE  
**STORM**  
WITHIN  
**COMMUNISM**

TRAN-TAM

# THE STORM WITHIN COMMUNISM

By *TRAN TAM*

Secretary General of the APACL

In presenting this record to the world, especially to the Asian countries, the author of «The Storm Within Communism» has done his best to collect the most accurate information so that he might give readers a valued documentation on the struggle for power within the communist ranks — an upheaval that may well decide the future of communism — a juggling on which all eyes should be fixed...

Today the communist world is no longer the homogeneous bloc of the Lenin-Stalin era, as formerly boasted by communist leaders.

The communist bloc has now formidable foes from within, who rend its solidity. Communist ideologists have taken divergent paths :

— There are those, following Nagy and Maleter, who break away from the Party, resist the Party and point the way to a better existence than that promised by old-school communism.

(Continued on Back flap)

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— Others resist the mechanical application of Marxist-Leninist principles. This has happened directly inside Russia, directly inside Red China... leading to forcible rectification campaigns.

— Others, finally, reject Marxism-Leninism principles as outmoded and want to revise «Pure Form» communism.

Disciples of Marx-Lenin consider this last tendency their most fearsome current danger. The break of 1948 between Belgrade and the Moscow-Peking axis has turned into formal opposition in all respects; defenders of each side have resorted to vociferous attacks, vituperation, reprisals... In a word, they have become real «foes»; they are no longer the «comrades» they were the last forty years.

Will Moscow continue to be the headquarters of the communist world or will it be replaced by Peking or Belgrade? Where will be the new line of the iron curtain? What remains to be seen?

**FREE-PACIFIC EDITION**

Saigon, Vietnam

(English Edition in Vietnam)

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WITHIN COMMUNISM



# THE STORM WITHIN COMMUNISM

by  
**TRAN TAM**  
Secretary General — APACL

A DOCUMENTARY STUDY



Saigon — Vietnam



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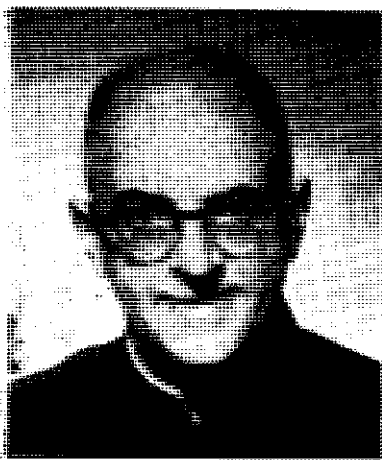
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## INTRODUCTION

By **Rev. Raymond J. deJaegher**  
President  
**Free Pacific Association**  
VIET NAM



**Rev. Raymond J. deJaegher**

*«Modern revisionism seeks to smear the great teachings of Marxist-Leninism, declares that it is «outmoded,» and alleges that it has lost its significance for social progress. The revisionists... deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and dictatorship of the Proletariat... deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party... They call for a rejection of democratic centralism*

*and for transforming the Communist Party from a militant revolutionary organization into a kind of «debating society.»*

*These words are included in the declaration proclaimed after the November, 1957, Moscow Conference of twelve Communist Parties. This was the call for violent collective action to strike down the menace of «revisionism.»*

*Tito and his «revisionists» all the while insisted they remained «Communists» but wanted to «revise» Marxism to make it acceptable to the people of the world. Through revision they would inject «humanism» into the creed. Mao Tse-Tung took up the challenge of «revisionism» with an attack published in the **Peking People's Daily** of May 5, 1958, following the Seventh Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists, held in Ljubliana from April 22 to 25. Mao singled out revisionism and «individualist tendencies» as the greatest danger for Communism. Perhaps it was just coincidence, but his statement appeared on the 140th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx.*

*However strong his words today, it must not be overlooked that Mao, himself, has dabbled in the «dangerous» waters of revisionism. In 1956, just seven years after the Mainland of China fell completely under the Chinese Reds, Mao found it to his advantage to say his famous words, «Let the hundred flowers bloom together, let the hundred schools contend.» Mao could realize that the Chinese intellectuals were still strongly opposed to his regime, and wanted a more «liberal» policy. Red China needed the intellectuals, but the intellectuals were not yet ready to work for communism. This «enlightened» attitude lasted a bare two years from May 2, 1956, to May of 1958 we have noted.*

*Mao had to abandon his «hundred flowers,» for he could not allow communist leaders and the communist intelligentsia to profit by increased freedom of choice*

under the new policy to become «disenchanted» with the regime. He counter-attacked strongly.

In the **People's Daily** statement it is pointed out that the struggle against revisionism is «a great struggle involving the success or failure» of the communist cause. It is pointed out that «modern revisionism is propounded» as a comprehensive and systematic programme by the leading group of a party that wields State power,» in this case the Yugoslav Communist Party, and the detrimental effect this philosophy could have now at a time when «the world is... at a new historic turning point with the East Wind prevailing over the West Wind,» with a «sharpening struggle» between the communist and non-communist worlds.

The Chinese are not as worried about Yugoslavia as about possible influence of revisionism on the intelligentsia of all communist countries, including the Soviet Union. Because the Yugoslav programme was drafted by experts, it is in terms all Marxists can understand. According to the **People's Daily**, the Yugoslavs have substituted «reactionary bourgeois nationalism for proletarian internationalism,» even daring to utter a good word for the United Nations.

There is no doubt that Mao, today, is the leading ideological figure in the communist world, including Soviet Russia, and his stand against «liberalisation» and for keeping intact the strict form of the principles of Marx and Lenin is equally clear.

For the present, by his immovable stand, Mao has once more saved communism from internal disintegration. We must remember, however, that sooner or later mankind will triumph again in its constant striving for humanism, and a better world will be established; this time on moral

*values. Communism must yield one day to this pressure, for Mao, or any other communist, cannot change the human nature of man, as created by God.*

*Mr. Trần Tâm, in his book, has explained masterfully this great struggle inside the so-called monolithic communist bloc of nations.*

*The great struggle is not over yet, so we should be grateful to Mr. Trần Tâm for putting in such a concise and clear manner an explanation of this, the most serious ideological crisis of the communist world today.*

**Raymond J. deJaegher**

President

**Free Pacific Association**

**VIETNAM**

*„Saigon, December 1958*

## Foreword

1948 — when the people of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos were being literally throttled by the «shooting» war then in full swing, when I, myself, was living surrounded by communist ties — in this year I had the opportunity to witness many meetings directed toward fanning the fires of pressure and attack on Tito which were the work of Ho Chi Minh and his followers, faithful adepts of the great god Stalin. That year, and in that ideological forerunner of the present intra-party differences in communism, I first was made to feel the real crises of the soul which are the inner party «tugs-of-war.» The insults and accusations which can pass among the communist party «faithful» have a fearful intensity because those uttering them are intimate with the vernacular which is communism's own.

Ten years ago, the data available for me to use in reaching my own conclusions was pitifully little. The Iron Curtain allowed out only words of the accusers, a one-way stream having no more validity or impartiality than half a court trial. The accused was guilty at this «kangaroo trial» because of non-appearance.

Happily, before the jury of world opinion, the accused had his day. While I, as observer, was able to find ample material published in books and reviews to form my own opinion regarding «Red Satellites re-examining communist theory, the Soviet Presidium and Stalinist leadership.»

The weight of evidence was telling, and overwhelmed one-sided accusations issuing from the Soviet sphere.

Since those days of 1948, it has always been my hope to see the whole controversy aired again, in the light of elements revealed by the passing decade, plain and crystal-clear as completed history can be, so that my thirst for the impartial story might be slaked.

This year events have given an opportunity for fulfillment of my desires. In mid-March, the Yugoslav Communist Party made public a new report which was to be discussed at the Communist Party Conference scheduled for Ljubliana. This 187-page document has been a veritable H-bomb with political radiation showering on Moscow and Peiping, then infiltrating by way of reflection the thinking of Satellite nations. Bluntly put, communism was shaken from stem to stern, from top to bottom.

What followed was a warm and wordy exchange, with the Moscow and Peiping presses shoring up defenses for «orthodoxy,» aided by dictated echoes from Satellite publications while the Belgrade press stood firm behind the now famous Ljubliana revelations. This battle spread before curious and observant journalists of the world, a feast with communism's innermost secrets as tempting main courses.

Revealed were the many errors and doubts of a system long presented as being infallible and unerring. New interest and new evidence made possible and desirable exchange of views and information among world observers, centering more and more attention on communism, and making its former

dogmatic, silent stand more arduous to maintain.

Today, consideration of the pros and cons and inner workings of the world communist machine has become a vital popular subject for all, and must even be entered into by supporters of opposing communist camps for their own self defense.

To me, renewed world interest in a problem which has lingered in my interest for ten years and more, has given me call to check over my diaries and notes to refresh my own mind. In my present work, I have constant contact with APACL leaders, as well as those of all friendly anti-communist organizations. Through these contacts, I have increased my store of information on communism, kept current on the present battle of «revisionism» versus «anti-revisionism.»

Some time ago, I began to put on paper the facts which I had or was given by others. This developed into a series of articles which were published in **Free Front** magazine. Now these articles are serving as basis for this documentary booklet, which I regard as the culmination of my hopes that, finally, a factual, accurate accounting of the communist inner struggles and tensions could be made available.

With the frank appreciation of a research student more interested in seeing full development of a subject long scrutinized than claiming sole credit for work in the fulfillment of which many shared, I gratefully acknowledge here the valued exchanges of views I have had with the Rev. Fr. Raymond J. deJaegher, President, Free Pacific Association, Vietnam, and author of the book «The Enemy Within,» which was awarded the Sylvio-Pellico Prize for excellence, as well as the collaboration of Dev Miller, Tom Corrigan, Celia Brandl, who cooperated in the English edition of my booklet.

Now as this booklet goes forth, I wish to voice sincere hope that those personages who show interest by reading it —

diplomats, politicians, writers or simply the man acquainting himself further with communist methods — will enrich and make more accurate my little contribution to the anti-communist front with their comments and criticism. Together we can assure a better understanding of a matter currently shaking the communist world.

Viet Nam, December 1958

**TRAN TAM**

Secretary-General, APACL

## CHAPTER ONE

### **Communism As a Philosophy**

Communism, fundamentally an atheistic philosophy, does have its own moral code nonetheless. This is based exclusively on the Marxist principles of class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat. To the orthodox communist, this code **alone**, and **not** national or «racial» considerations must dictate the entire complex of communist actions. Communist policy is standard, according to this belief, and it is quite immaterial whether it is developed within or outside the particular country concerned.

However, this interpretation remains valid only so long as communism preserves its «pure form,» that is in absolute conformity to the rigid dogma of Marxism.

«Pure form» communism retains maximum strength as a social system. Given this, it can then possess an «absolute inhumanity» and function completely detached from the reality

of life as it becomes, in effect, the source of life and the arbiter of its rules. In the «pure form» is present a possibility for adepts of communism to resist the challenge of Truth and the Natural Law.

The period of «pure form» begins, usually, with the introduction of communism to power. Unquestioned supremacy of the «pure form» communism has a duration which depends upon the country in question, but the make-up of the process of deterioration of the «pure form» is the same for all countries. Those forces which brought about the complete downfall of «pure form» communism in Yugoslavia are present to one degree or another in all corners of the communist empire.

Ho Chi Minh phrased it, while visiting Budapest in 1956, «Hungarian affairs are ours, and Vietnamese affairs are yours, since we belong to the same family.» Upon closer study, there is something more sinister than fraternal in the implications of Ho Chi Minh's words, for escape from the Moscow «family» is exceedingly difficult.

### **Sponge Appeal**

Back again to «pure form» communism, it is not difficult to pinpoint the reason why it cannot freely stay dominant for a long period. The very essence of the philosophy of communism is so utterly foreign to the world of God and Man that continuing acceptance is impossible for any rational being.

It is true that there is a certain appeal to communism which seems to attract and absorb like a sponge all the weaknesses and imperfections of the 20th century human mentality. To the real or imagined misfit or downtrodden, it holds a definite, though rarely realized, promise. The inevitable reaction to this philosophy occurs as the natural and desirable traits of human

character come to the fore, since they will be, sooner or later, in conflict with communism.

Communism deals itself a mortal wound by denying universal spiritual values and laws. These are too much a part of Man to be ignored, and communism's act of twisting standards to meet its atheistic needs is an affront to every human which does not go unnoticed. So, simultaneously with its installation in power, communism begins a process of disintegration. A type of decay or rot, the process is inflicted upon communism by the very same spiritual forces and laws of this world that communism sought to deny or subvert. These forces alone have the power to meet and destroy communism.

### **Marxism's Snare**

The Marxists, from the outset of their «teachings,» unconsciously set a trap for themselves. In declaring that God does not exist, they perforce declare as non-existent the main acting and creating forces in His world: a human soul with its supernatural ties between God and the human being, the subconscious notions of good and evil which are born in Man, the work of the Natural Law that enables a people who have never enjoyed freedom to yearn for basic liberties and the brilliant symbol of God's love and understanding which guides humans to forgive their enemies, help each other and unite to combat danger or disaster.

Since they have declared «non-existent» these universal values, many communists cannot understand the inevitable slowing-down and weakening of their system. Others, the hypocrites, may realize the true reasons for a weakening in communism, but they do not publicly attack these reasons for to do so would admit their existence. So, confronting their problems, practical communists energetically «create» enemies or causes of

failure, then «attack» these conjured up foes. Because of this complicated system of self-deceit, communists end up being almost defenseless against actual opposing forces.

### **Free World's Chance**

Few in the Free World give adequate recognition to this peculiar vulnerability of communism. Most communist leaders **do**, and with animal instinct seek to strike where the main danger lies. Certainly those leaders who have kept communism alive for the longest time are in no doubt about their problem. Those who first introduced communism in Russia all formulated solutions for «the problem which didn't exist.»

### **Trotsky**

Trotsky, for instance, hoped to solve the problem through the so-called «world revolution first» theory. He held that only after its installation in the whole world could communism start building a long-term social system. If spiritual forces could be neutralized rapidly, said Trotsky, then communism would be guarded against infection for a long enough time to establish its society free from God and His law.

### **Lenin**

Lenin was more realistic. He saw a solution through creation of a new system of spiritual values which he would substitute for those of God. He called this system «proletarian culture». Lenin, too, recognized soon that the «task» was infinitely more complicated than he expected. Writing on March 2, 1923, Lenin observed bitterly: «...about the proletarian culture — some people brag too much and face the problem too easily. Yet

we would be satisfied to have at this moment, for the start, even some genuine bourgeois culture, it would be at least something.»

Lenin died before he could have the realization brought home that no «proletarian culture» could satisfy the spiritual needs of human beings. Still, in his recognition that a «genuine bourgeois culture» would be an advance acceptable by the people, he shows an awareness of reality indicating doubts concerning the workability of communism on the part of its very founder.

### Stalin

Stalin regarded the problem in a different way, and sought a drastically different solution. As a biological culture may be maintained constant in a vacuum, so, Stalin reasoned, communism might breed in one country hermetically sealed off from all others. Russia was the country, and Stalin chose to concentrate on it to breed his «new race,» while letting world revolution wait for a few decades.

In this way he hoped to keep communism in its purest, i.e., strongest, form inside Russia for sufficient time to found and breed a new generation of human robots, fanatically devoted to the dogma of Marxism. Stalin's robots were to take for granted any form of «culture» — proletarian or what have you — given them by the party. When the «robots» reached adulthood, Stalin could then proceed to **exterminate** (Stalin used this word in its fullest sense) the older generation which still carried in its soul the germs of spiritual force. Next stage in the Stalinist program would be the continuation of world revolution and subjugation by communism.

### The Consequences

In one respect Stalin was right—preservation of communism

by sealing it off from other influences would assure slowest rate of disintegration. The inhumanity of communism could not be pointed up if there were no humane system with which to make a comparison.

But, Stalin was gravely mistaken in hoping that, after sealing off the country, he would make his regime impregnable against his main enemy. For thought cannot be attacked by weapons nor eradicated by secret police. The principal enemy of communism has no frontiers to cross, for it knows no boundaries except the gates of human souls — and these are always open for Him.

### **Fight for Souls**

During almost three decades the communists fought desperately for possession of human souls throughout the entire territory of the communist empire, yet it was a foredoomed battle since brute strength was of no avail in it.

After the death of Stalin, his heirs realized that the process of spiritual awakening of the masses not only was not halted but has proceeded apace and gone far. There were among the new leaders those who greatly feared an explosion, and they sought measures of easing «the system» to avoid this. To them, it seemed possible to avoid catastrophe by sacrificing a little from the «pure form» communism, so a measure of real justice and respect for individual freedom was introduced into the system.

### **The Thaw**

This party faction, referred to as «softer communists,» did not take into account a crucial point — as soon as communism gave the smallest legal right to exist to its principal opponent—

spiritual values—the speed of decay in communism increased at a shocking rate. **They ignored a prime dogma in Stalin,** «Any alteration to the absolute inhumanity of the system would immediately weaken its Marxist code and place the party in danger of losing equilibrium.»

Nonetheless, they allowed «The thaw.»

*The wind of Freedom is a steady one, varying from breeze to gale force, but always blowing in the same direction. It encourages and reinforces the People, and being an intangible, crosses all frontiers with equal ease. The communist policy of «sealing off» would have no more effect on it than a military defense line of steel, concrete and munitions.*

### Relentless Wind

As early as 1954, communists acknowledged that something was «going wrong.» Ideas of freedom were sweeping the country, though there was no freedom as such yet. The opening came with legal permission to introduce innovations in the «classical world of communist thought.» With this opening, «the system» began to shake.

From 1955, Moscow leaders set out to harden their policy again. Malenkov was ousted, and with him was meant to go the entire curse of «the thaw.» This was not to be!

Immediately a heavy psychological wave swept the country, sparing neither the economy or industry. Productivity took a serious nose dive and, worse, Youth—the main target of Stalin's drive—started a silent revolt against what is now termed «Neo-Stalinism.» Thus, in 1955, communist leaders for the first time had presented to them evidence that the Party had not succeeded in any measure in creating the much-sought generation of fanatics—blind followers of communism.

### **Counter Attack**

In February 1956, at the 20th Party Congress in Moscow, leaders came back with their «trump card.» The Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party (and not Khrushchev alone as it is commonly believed in the Free World) set forth to denounce the policies of Stalin and declare him a betrayer of the basic «moral code of communism.»

The goal was not basically to mar the remaining image of Stalin; wise communists knew the dangers present in a game of denunciation and counter-denunciation. They knew that to declare that one idol had «feet of clay» would be to hint that all did. They did, however, hope by striking at Stalin to save communism. Through blaming Stalin alone for all the wrongs and obvious sins which had come about through «the system,» they hoped to purge communism and thus save it.

### **Blood Stain**

Few people in the Free World have realized that this desperate attempt of communist leaders revealed, at the same time, that the people in the Soviet Union, especially Youth, were already condemning the crimes of Communism. In this knowledge can be found the sole reason why the Central Committee HAD to wipe the blood of communism on one single person. And Stalin, recently dead and no longer a factor in active communist politics, was the natural to assume blame.

De-Stalinization, if nothing else, has shown in the clearest sense to the people of the Soviet Empire that their recovery and demonstration of all universal human feelings are not going unnoticed. Why else would communist leaders admit to wrongs?

### Why?

Why else would they offer consolations and substitutions for real Freedom? It can be well believed that only an awareness of the people (a consideration not present in «pure form» communism) led Stalin's successors to make their remarkable admissions at the 20th Party Congress. Only a decade ago these admissions would have been absurd to the Party, for the wrongs they refer to did not exist in «pure form» thinking, and would have seemed perfectly justifiable to every communist educated on the basis of the Marxist code of morals.

It is ironic that de-Stalinization made its greatest impact on the masses behind the Iron Curtain through its implications, not the concessions or admissions which the policy contained. The involuntary permission of the communists for judgement of the actions and principles of «socialist society» from the so-called «plain human point of view» is a compromise and change of viewpoint for the communists as revolutionary as any revolt they ever created elsewhere themselves. Truly, this constitutes the **greatest** concession made by the Party to the people since the creation of communism. As seen from the strictly narrow and precise Marxist moral code, all deeds of Stalin were *per se* justifiable according to the rule of class struggle. Yet, suddenly, the 20th Party Congress permits judgement of Stalin's acts according to other moral laws — *laws completely alien to the structure of the proletarian dictatorship.*

### Genuflect

Earlier, it was pointed out that the majority of communists are ignorant of the true nature of the principal force opposing and surely destroying communism. Here is a proof in that the

«de-Stalinizers,» while complacently betraying their fidelity to «pure form» communism, committed this «heresy» without knowing that their acts meant a virtual genuflection or bowing of the head to the real moral code of the world — that which has and will endure in God's Commandments.

*Millions of average men behind the Iron Curtain did not overlook this striking fact.* Following the 20th Congress, world communism entered the period of its greatest trials. Unrest is in motion that started in 1956, continues unabated today, and most probably will not end except in the total destruction of communism.

### 1956 — Year of Destiny

History will record 1956 as the year when people in the communist realm gained definite proof that God's Law and His Commandments are constant and stronger than any atheistic philosophy. There is evidence that millions behind the Iron Curtain have searched themselves and made a choice, and there is also evidence that the overwhelming majority have rejected the new philosophy in favor of that one proven by time and practice.

Perhaps many who made the choice did not have a conscious awareness of the crucial decision, nor what they were accepting as they accepted the dictates of their will, but we know that faith has been regained by astounding numbers in communist-dominated countries, and with it courage and a readiness to fight for faith. How else can one explain the stormy events of 1956—those revolts, some bloody, which appalled yet thrilled the Free World?

*This was not a series of uprisings against the Russians or any other nation as such. It was a wave of support for God's principles, and for the possession of basic rights granted by God to Man.*

### Disillusionment

Communist society was already in such a state of decay that local revolutions in Poland and Hungary were accomplished almost without bloodshed.

The slaughter in Hungary came **after** the revolution had been successful, and the clock was being turned back! Because leaders of world communism know well the real meaning of revolution (it is a key word in their vocabulary) they knew in 1956 that revolts were placing the very life of world communism at stake.

There was no choice then but to crush the new born, free and democratic Hungarian Republic. Soviet tanks and guns did the actual work, but they were aided immeasurably by confusion, ignorance and human weakness. Free people, unfortunately, can never work with the coordination of a dictator-driven machine.

Regardless of the Hungarian tragedy, the great spiritual revolution was on. The blood of Budapest served to give new proofs that this revolution stemmed from valid and humane reasons, and that communist inhumanity had as a prime target Man as the child of God.

This spiritual revolution reveals itself in many ways. Sometimes it is visible, as in North Viet Nam, parts of Russia, China and elsewhere. Again it will be almost invisible. One need only regard the revolt of the Chinese intellectuals, resistance by the Russian writers and poets or the «subversive» publications condemned at Warsaw University.

The invisible part of the revolution, for the time being, seems the important. In actual numbers, the participants — students, intellectuals, writers, poets and even Party theoreticians — cannot be estimated. This is not bad, for it means that the communists remain in the dark as to the source or strength of the next attack upon them.

### Relentless and Universal

All participating in the «invisible» revolution seem to have joined because they have asked the same question, «**What is so wrong?**»

Critics and analyzers alike have realized that it is not the low level of life alone that has alienated communism from those under it. Something much greater exists, much greater even than the evils of misapplication of the «system» noted by such Russian writers as Dudintzev, in «**Not by Bread Alone,**» Kaverin, in «**Open Book,**», Nobel Prize winner Pasternak, in «**Doctor Zhivago**» and Evtuschenko in his poetry. These tell part of the story, but fear or doubt are keeping **one** man from telling **one** story which is complete.

By combining thoughts from many sources, a symposium coming close to the complete truth may be composed. Pasternak says openly, «**Godlessness in communism is the main evil.**» This comes from a man who has seen and lived with the communist revolution since its first days; a man who followed its path until disillusion set in.

Evtuschenko sees, «There is an Eternal Truth, and only for this Eternal Truth should Man live and fight.»

Kaverin tells the story of a courageous woman who, despite all propaganda brought to bear by the communist State and terror directed against herself and her husband, did not lose faith in human beings, in Christian-like love and understanding for her brothers-in-suffering.

Dudintzev depicts his hero, Lopatcin, as rejecting all material lures offered by the communist regime in exchange for his conscience. Lopatcin is beaten by events, arrested, exiled, yet at the end of the book his moral force has emerged victorious over the «**drozdovs**» — those who symbolize the Party.

Faced with a situation which so many have described, but no one has completely pinpointed and exposed, leading communists are asking, «*Why? Between what groups is this terrible struggle? What is our 'place in it? Our responsibility? And what does the future hold for us?*»

### Answers

To the questioning communists answers can be given, but we cannot make them willing to take these. It has been pointed out that too many communists are simply unwilling to accept the true nature of the crisis — the realization already achieved by Pasternak, Evtuschenko, Chinese writers and poets, Hungarian students and laborers and countless others as yet unknown.

They do not know why people of a small village in North-Viet Nam or Moslem Chinese would face death to free themselves from the atheistic **modus vivendi** of communism.

Some progress must be noted, at least, for all communists. Even those still blinded by the atheism which is basic in «pure form» communism, are recognizing that something is wrong with the essence of communism. *That is why many leading communists are starting to «revise» the basic principles of Marx — they are seeking to save their system from an apparent but unknown wrong.* Since it is inconceivable that the whole system, from its very basis, could be wrong, some outside factor must be found to be blamed.

### Djilas

Djilas did it in a simple way. He has established the existence of a «new class,» as he calls it, and attributes the struggle within communism to the Masses and those «perverted proletarians» who have lost allegiance to the workers class. Djilas admits that

this condition did not come about by chance. He acknowledges that the entire past of communism is responsible for the «perversion» of its new class. Even so, he cannot yet define the **true** nature of today's crisis in the communist world.

### **The Revisionists**

Many communist leaders, certainly Tito, think and hope that by finding «new forms» of practical application for Marxism the crisis may be resolved. Much effort is being given to revisions of Marxism which will adapt it to the situations prevailing today and, more precisely, enable it to meet the demands of the Masses.

Chances that changing Marxism to make it popular will be successful seem slight, for the spiritual awakening of the Masses has gone far — perhaps so far that application of serious revisionism which would promise an indefinite continuation of communism would bring instantaneous and final destruction to communism in the State attempting the revision.

As previously remarked, only when revisionism gives promise of eradication of communism can it command wide popularity. When the heart of a thing is rotten, it does little good to treat or paint the skin!

### **The Obvious**

Behind the crisis in the communist world looms one large truth — artificial and godless communism cannot prevail indefinitely because it is as against the Natural Law as a falling object which defies the law of gravity. It is not presumptuous to say that the communist system is now facing the invincible force of God's Law. *Everyone conscious of the Supreme Truth can easily see the outcome of this battle.*

## CHAPTER TWO

### «The Line-up in Europe»

Europe divides roughly into three groups of nations. Two of these have close military alliances, while the third contains the independents — those countries of western Europe which, because of tradition or other considerations, pursue individual political and military policies.

The accompanying map shows clearly, by means of color, the affiliation of each European country. Those nations in black color are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, united in a collective defense of their freedom. Included in the NATO «family» are Great Britain, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Greece, Turkey and Iceland.

White color denotes western European nations not belonging to NATO: Spain, Switzerland, Austria, Ireland, Finland and Sweden. Yugoslavia is shown in white also, due to the dif-

ferences between Belgrade and Moscow, but it must be remembered that **Yugoslavia is very much a communist country.**

The grey shading distinguishes Soviet Russia and her Satellites. They are militarily united under the Treaty of Warsaw; however, this is no free grouping of peoples as is NATO, and is rather a «one man show» with Moscow giving the orders.



(From Von Carto)

Since the Satellites have been in the «zone of silence» since World War II, it would be well to give them closer study. There are seven in all.

1. The Soviet occupied zone of **Germany is the so-called German Democratic Republic.** It covers 107,181 square kilometers, with a population of approximately 17,000,000.

The economy suffers because it is compulsorily directed toward the east, with Russia getting the bulk of the exports, and only limited quantities of manufactured goods remaining to supply the home market. In addition, the economy was hard hit when many of the richest regions were given to Poland after the war.

2. **Poland** has achieved limited independence of action under the leadership of Gomulka, following their show of strength in the autumn of 1956. Nevertheless, it is still strongly influenced from Moscow.

In 1945, Poland was literally shoved west as Moscow occupied a large area of eastern Poland and gave as compensation a slice of eastern Germany. As it stands now, Poland has an area of 311,730 square kilometers and a population of 26,500,000.

The land is adequately supplied with minerals, and traditionally rich for farming. Unfortunately, the communist economic methods have disrupted the former balance between agriculture and industry, thus recovery from the ravages of war has been slow.

### Guns For All

3. **Czechoslovakia** appears firmly under the communists and Soviet Russia. Easily the most enlightened and prosperous country of eastern Europe before the last war, its whole economy is now communist-directed, with a loss in prestige for Czech manufactured goods, and a changing industrial emphasis.

Czechoslovakia is made to supply from its important armaments' industry the weapons which Russia is offering to all takers.

After the war, Russia took the easternmost district of Czechoslovakia — Ruthenia. Now the land has an area of 127,823 square kilometers, and a population of 12,500,000. It

continues to be important in agriculture, and has appreciable mineral wealth, including important uranium deposits which supply the Soviet Union.

4. **Hungary**, after the stern suppression of its people's revolt, is little more than a colony of Soviet imperialism. Russia, it is said, has attempted to soothe the population by allowing a most generous supply of consumer goods to be offered in Hungary.

Nevertheless, destruction was great in the revolt, and many of the most able people fled, were imprisoned or died in the memorable days of 1956.

Population is now 9,500,000, with a national area of 93,011 square kilometers. Hungary is a traditional «bread basket» with grain the most important item in a rich and varied agriculture. The communists have emphasized heavy industry, upsetting the normal economy.

### Lost Province

5. **Rumania** lost the province of Bessarabia to Russia after the war. The country was among the first Satellites, and little is heard from it these days. The area is now 237,427 square kilometers, the population 16,500,000.

Though agriculture predominates the economy, there are very important oil fields at Ploesti, now nationalized and devoted exclusively to the needs of the communist sphere.

The Danube River, formerly an important transport artery linking east and west Europe, reaches the sea in Rumania. This formerly was an important item in the Rumanian economy, but is now among the victims of the Iron Curtain and a divided Europe.

### Flower Attars

6. **Bulgaria** is yet another «People's Republic» i. e., a

communist state controlled from Moscow. Always one of most primitive countries of Europe, Bulgaria has been predominantly agricultural in economy, specializing in tobacco and flower attars used in the perfume trade.

As usual, the communists set about creating industry in Bulgaria, but little is heard of its success. The national area, after adjustment of the Rumanian frontier in 1945, is 110,842 square kilometers, populated by 7,500,000 Bulgars.

7. **Albania**, the final Satellite, is easily the smallest and poorest. Never having possessed a stable and enlightened government, it has a very limited agricultural economy. Today it serves Russia as a naval base on the strategic Adriatic Sea, and as a thorn in the side of Tito. The area of Albania is just 28,143 square kilometers, with a population of 1,246,000. The country was seized by Italy just prior to the last war, and now has been cut off from all land contact with its neighbors. Only two countries from outside the Iron Curtain are even permitted to have diplomatic relations with Albania. Truly, the country is in the aforementioned «zone of silence.»

### **Yugoslavia**

Due to its important position as a communist State, though not a Satellite, Yugoslavia must be considered with the other eastern European countries. It is officially a Federative Republic. The nation is the largest on the Balkan peninsula, covering 257,000 square miles. The population of 17,130,000 is made up from many peoples, with important linguistic differences and religions varying from Roman Catholic to Moslem. Yugoslavia is actually a product of the First World War, when what was known as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was formed. Nucleus of the new country was the Kingdom of Serbia which fought on the side of the Allies. Northern provinces were

sliced from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, while the small country of Montenegro, bordering the Adriatic was also included.

In 1920, the name was changed to Yugoslavia, and Peter I, of Serbia, assumed the new throne. Alexander I succeeded Peter, and governed wisely and well from 1921 until his assassination while on a State Visit to France in 1934. His son, Peter II, being a minor, power was held by the Regent Paul until World War II. Paul made an alliance with Nazi Germany after the war started, but was overthrown by his nephew Peter, who led a brave but futile resistance against Hitler's troops before fleeing as the Yugoslavian army lost in 1941.

Though the Germans occupied Yugoslavia with little difficulty, they were faced with a most effective guerrilla resistance, lasting throughout the war. At first, General Mihailovitch, a monarchist, led the resistance, aided by what weapons and advisors the Allies could supply. As Mihailovitch fought, another resistance movement arose, headed by the communist Tito. Tito proved the stronger, and soon was being supplied by Russia as well as the Western Allies. He fought both the Germans and Mihailovitch, eventually capturing and eliminating Mihailovitch.

When peace was declared, Tito had proclaimed the People's Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. He naturally became its first president. There was a brief period when Yugoslavia was indistinguishable from any other Satellite, but this was to end when Tito asserted his «national communism» which was aimed at ridding the country of all moral vassalship toward the Soviet Union. Had Stalin not been so sure that a communist leader could not exist without the backing and guidance of Moscow, he might well have crushed Tito at this moment, and this book on «revisionism» would never have appeared.

Yugoslavia is beset with all the troubles inherent in the communist economic system. It has pushed a heavy industry program, though the country is traditionally agricultural. There are certain signs now that limited free enterprise is being gradually introduced in an effort to reform the economy.

## CHAPTER THREE

### **The Moscow-Belgrade Conflict 1948-1958**

This year of 1958 brought into focus and into the world press the growing tension which now marks relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. At Ljubiana, in a Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party, Tito and his followers not only acknowledged that there were differences within communism, they set down a program which would guarantee an ever-widening divergence between the path dictated from Moscow and that advised for «national communists.»

What the world now knows as «revisionism» has thus been given formal status this year and the oft-attempted «forgive and forget» for Stalin's break of 1948 with Yugoslavia has been indefinitely ruled out. In fact, this 10th anniversary of the Moscow-Belgrade rupture sees a complete diplomatic circle being realized.

**Tito**

(CBS News Photos)

Stalin broke the wartime harmony with his Balkan cohort in 1948 thinking that Tito would immediately relent, modify his claims for independence of action and beg once more to sit in the Satellite family at the Kremlin hearth. Khrushchev, the practical one, saw that this was not to be and went hat in hand to «kiss and make up» with Tito in 1955.

This was a remarkable implementation of the short lived communist liberal movement, and very much approached the status of a public apology. Today, with a rebirth of Stalinism evident, and Comrade Mao's «hundred flowers» but a withered, faded memory, 1948 has returned to full life and Tito, once again, is publicly castigated.

And, basically, why has the conflict started anew? For the old reason that Tito and his Yugoslavs refuse to knuckle under the leadership and commands of the Soviet Union. This year the Yugoslav reasoning is much more mature; it has gained confidence because Yugoslavia did not «freeze» economically or politically, when it fell from Kremlin favor, and the country has had the opportunity to compare the results of its experimental break with Moscow with events in the Satellites such as Hungary and East Germany who stayed within the fold. There is little reason to believe that Yugoslav determination is not more firm today than it was 10 years ago.

### **Supposed Rapprochement**

For some time, observers held the belief that Yugoslavia, under Soviet pressure, would inevitably re-enter the Satellite sphere. By their opinion it is evident that these observers were not fully aware of Tito's political aims and his basic concept of the relationship between Russia and Yugoslavia. They attached mistaken importance to the Yugoslav refusal to accept American aid, and then constructed an entirely erroneous thesis on this.

cornerstone. As a matter of fact, Tito's rejection of qualified American assistance was merely a reassertion of his highest principle, i.e., that his country should remain free from influence by **any** country or bloc of nations.

Disproving the observers, Tito demonstrates a steady loyalty to his ideal of independence. That he seeks independence within communism is also true, but he will «adjust» his interpretation of communism when it begins to interfere with his realization of independence.

Tito has spent his adult life close to communism. No man outside the Iron Curtain could have more intimate knowledge of its practice. Because of his familiarity with communist methods, he is convinced that the complete centralization of broad powers in the hands of government is a great menace. He has seen that it led to a crushing, monolithic dictatorship in Russia, and he has been a witness to the misery, economic hardship and even famine, terror and death which have been the people's profits from Soviet communism.

Having seen all this under the rule of Stalin, Tito, ever the national leader, opposes a repetition in his native Yugoslavia. Tito **means** it when he declares that «all roads lead to socialism;» therefore, he is firmly opposed to any «political monopoly,» by which he means supremacy of the Soviet Communist Party policy.

When Khrushchev, in 1955, set out to eradicate the traces of Stalinism, his hope was ultimately to «turn back the clock,» and return Yugoslavia to the faithful and unquestioning ranks of the Satellites. This is one of the few occasions when Khrushchev demonstrated an absolute lack of comprehension of the prevailing conditions.

Yugoslavia, at that time, showed a full willingness to «forgive and forget,» and «let by-gones be by-gones,» but it remained steadfastly dedicated to independence both in theory

and practice. The desires of the Yugoslavs for independence of action which led to the break in 1948 were not repented in the intervening years, far from it, for experience left them more sure than ever that they had chosen the proper course.

For a certain time after 1955, observers could contend that Tito was gradually returning to the Soviet fold. But in 1956, when the Soviets perpetrated their brutal oppression of Hungary, Yugoslavia spoke out fearlessly in defense of national self-determination. When the joint declaration of the 20th Congress was prepared, Yugoslavia refused to sign for it represented a return to «orthodoxy» and a complete denial of liberalism. Blind obedience to the dictates of the Soviet Union was rejected by Yugoslavia in 1948, and every subsequent time it has been sought, the Yugoslavs have reasserted their opposition.

### Cagey Caution

Tito continues to tread a cautious path. He is a realist and never voluntarily «defies» the Soviet Union. It is quite possible that after his years of training in Moscow he still feels a type of filial loyalty to the «old school.» At Ljubiana, he was most reserved in his words and actions, always seeking to avoid aggravating the Soviets. Unfortunately, the very principles of Tito and the Yugoslav people, seeking as they do to establish and maintain a separate communist system free from the influence and direction of Russia, were enough to isolate the Yugoslavs and their congress from world communism as never before since 1948. A Russian boycott of the congress was assured when its aims become known.

Russia, through Khrushchev, likewise practices reserve and seeks to demonstrate flexibility at this time in its actions toward Yugoslavia. The harsh tactics of Stalin, which lost Yugoslavia to the Soviet system in the first place, have taught

Khrushchev an unforgettable lesson. Though, today, he shows a definite intention of gathering all the power once wielded by Stalin in his own hands, he is shrewd enough to acknowledge that the ways of his predecessor are not suited to the world of today.



**Stalin**

ed for fear it might alienate the sensitivities of countries which the Soviet is seeking to impress. Therefore, the Soviet cannot act as its wishes might dictate and crush by weight of arms the Titoist movement. Nor can the Soviet Union afford to threaten when the threat might be again ignored as in 1948. A

Since World War II, the Soviet Union has been keenly aware of world opinion, especially that emanating from neutralist and uncommitted countries. No longer can Stalinist ruthlessness be allow-



**Mao Tse-Tung**

great loss of face resulted for

communism when Yugoslavia did not knuckle down that time, and «face» is of utmost importance in many countries of interest to Russia. For the present, at least, Russia seems content to allow her condemnation of Tito to be mouthed by Comrade Mao, of Red China.

### **Mao Accepts Role**

Mao Tse-tung has energetically accepted his role as spokesman on Tito and revisionism. Quite apart from his very real opposition to revisionism, Mao welcomes the role as leader of the opposition because he feels it enhances his prestige as the senior communist leader in years of service.

Mao, in traditional communist style, says that the program of the Yugoslav Communist Party has been prepared to serve the interests of «imperialists.» Naturally, the Americans are first on Mao's list of these imperialists. Continuing, Mao charges Tito and other Yugoslav leaders, such as Kardelj and Tankovich, with the consequences of the «new program» launched by the Ljubliana Congress. This condemnation from Peking concludes; «Yugoslavia relies on the United Nations and wants to stay out of both blocs — Russian and American.» Tito would probably be the first to agree to this, though he would see it as a credit to his regime, not a crime. However, he does not share the pathological hatred of the United Nations which is probably Mao's strongest feeling. What Mao meant to attack was the Yugoslav refusal to participate in the Soviet-directed Warsaw Pact whose members include exclusively Soviet Satellites. The only accomplishment to date of this alliance, incidentally, has been the infamous crushing, «by request,» of the uprising by the Hungarian people. Even in this action, the troops of the Satellites were not trusted enough to be allowed to participate.

### Airing Wash in Public

A noticeable difference between the present Yugoslav-Soviet Union conflict and that which obtained in 1948 is that the current difficulties mark a public demonstration of actual and continuing schisms in the ranks of world communism. No longer are these mere differences between two countries. The whole structure of communism is being rent, and the outcome will be of interest to the entire world.

Moreover, the recent displays of commanding influence by Neo-Stalinists within the «orthodox» party, and the wide distribution, on the occasion of the 140th anniversary of Karl Marx's birth, of various pamphlets containing certain doctrinal denials mainly directed against revisionism and unorthodox practices in general are additional proofs that a world drive is in progress to shore up the Soviet Union's position in directing world communism.

From reports emanating from the communist domain it is becoming clear that the party leadership is paving the way for a re-establishment of the old «Cominform.» This was abolished at the time of World War II when communism was most interested in making itself «socially acceptable.» A restoration of the Cominform would reinstate the old order of rule through brute strength and, communists undoubtedly hope, discourage present struggles for national identity among the Satellites. On this theme, it may be noted that, in its issue of April 26, the Hungarian newspaper **Nepszadsag** wrote, «Cooperation between communist countries is not sufficient. There must be **perfect identity** of policy at the present time.»

The above quote is another example of Russia presenting its intended policy through the mouth of another for a «trial run.» *This time, through the Hungarian puppet, public opinion is being*

tested regarding establishment of an international control organization for all communist parties.

### Hundred Flowers Fade

The goal would be restoration to the Soviet Union of her former total influence over national communist parties. Movements counter to Soviet control and for separate national party policies would thus be deterred. This would tighten party discipline as a safeguard against repetition of the Yugoslav schism. **It proves, and this should be noted, that Khrushchev has failed in the policy which he marked out four years ago.** Liberalism and the «hundred flowers» are clearly pathetic dreams.

The fact that Tito did not sign the joint declaration of the 20th Congress points up his firm dedication to the principles he has always espoused. To the old-line, orthodox party chiefs, it also stands as an example too obvious to allow before the Satellites which have shown slavish obedience to the Soviet will. Further, Tito is on record as opposed to the oppression of Hungary, and all know that he has stayed out of the Warsaw Pact.

Adding weight to a case already clear, last March the Yugoslav Communist Party issued a «new program» contained in a book of 187 pages. Expert guidance went into preparation of this program, for such Yugoslav communist ideologists as Kardelj and Vlahovic participated in the undertaking and the concept underwent full discussion at Ljubliana.

Russia was assailed in the «new program.» Even though the wording was, by Tito's intent, moderate, the whole idea was an outright rejection of all the Soviet Union supported. That dogma of unquestioned party policy and centralized leadership for all national communist parties was forthrightly condemned.

In particular, the «new program» gave the following noteworthy comments on the Kremlin:

For this is how Khrushchev acts...



### Scapegoat Scanned

A further analysis of the Yugoslav study on communism shows, in the agenda, that there is a firm rejection of Russian leadership in the international communist movement. The so-called «regime of theory monopoly» and «political sovereignty» (of Russia) are condemned. The claim for Soviet sovereignty is regarded by the Yugoslavs as a desire to control and «an ambition to get hold of the labor movement as a monopoly.»

The Yugoslavs exposed Russia's pet slogan «internationalize the proletariat» as an endeavor to entice other communist parties to adhere to her policy. It is not surprising that Yugoslavia turned down flatly any idea of a new Cominform. If a scapegoat be needed for what the Yugoslavs considered the shortcomings of communism as practiced by Russia, it is singled out as being the Russian bureaucracy. This stand is much in keeping with the Yugoslav belief that over-centralization is a prime error in the Soviet system.

### Marxist-Leninism

Rejecting the current Marxist-Leninism theory, Yugoslavia observes:

1. World tension is not the result of an aggressive policy by the imperialist countries, but is due to the existence of two blocs, at the same time military and political.
2. The fact that the world cannot enjoy a lasting equilibrium is, first of all, due to the increasing differences that will push any one power or bloc to adopt an international policy emanating purely from strength.
3. The capitalist world has made tremendous progress in the economic and social fields, and gradually moved from capitalism toward socialism without resorting to a revolution to gain the results.

### The Consequences

Answering the contrary attitude of the Yugoslav Communist Party, which would dare to oppose established dogma, the Soviet Communist Party reserved its original intention to send.



Cartoonist views Communist... Solidarity

a mission to participate in the Yugoslav meeting. Communist parties from the Satellites, which also had been invited, had no alternative but to follow «big brother» and boycott the congress.

On April 15, «Kommunist,» the official organ of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, launched the attack in an editorial striking strongly at the Yugoslav program. Curiously, but in keeping with Khrushchev's wish to «leave the door open,» the editorial recognized some «righteous content» in the contents of the Yugoslav program.

«Kommunist» again strongly rejected the Yugoslav standpoint that «capitalist countries can gradually move toward socialism.» Karl Marx has said, and Lenin agreed, that only a revolution of the proletariat can assure realization of socialism, so Moscow could hardly disagree.

Oppression of the masses leads to the predictable revolution, or so orthodox communists reason, with consequent tenet that the capitalist machine must be **destroyed** before establishment of a proletarian regime.

Incidental to the «destruction» of a capitalist system would be, let us note, the chaos which so invites a communist «take-over» and the extension of Russia's empire. Let this not be overly doubted, for it is the history of more than one communist **coup** in Eastern Europe.

### Russia: No Compromise

The Soviet Union views nationalization as being practiced in certain capitalist countries as a move «to merge the labor organization with the capitalist regime in order to deter communist infiltration.» It asserted that «only through a struggle under the leadership of Marxist-Leninism can the labor class nurture the hope of leading the people to socialism.»

An onlooker might comment that what Russia really meant to say was that all efforts and schemes by capitalist governments to include labor in their government, work against the possibility of a communist take-over, for a satisfied working class is one of the strongest safeguards against communism. Only by holding to the view that all labor — not under communism — is dissatisfied, can communists justify their ambition of inevitable control of all nations.

### **Yugoslavs Stand Pat**

Yugoslavia will not accept the Russian claim for necessity of the standard proletariat revolution. She even maintains, quite surprisingly, that «**the labor movement in other countries does not need the leadership of the communist party.**»

### **Show Must Go On**

Despite attempted sabotage by the Russian Communist Party, the Yugoslav Party Congress opened as scheduled. Non-participation by the Soviet Union and its controlled Satellites did not disrupt the proceedings. One might further conjecture that many Satellite leaders watched carefully the program with a view to future implementation in their own lands.

At the Congress, Mr. Rankovic was warmly applauded when he declared, «**Yugoslavia has firmly decided to adopt an independent policy.**»

Immediately, the Soviet ambassador, followed by diplomatic representatives of the Satellites, left the conference room. Tellingly, and in an act of exceptional courage, the ambassador of Poland remained and participated in the general applause.

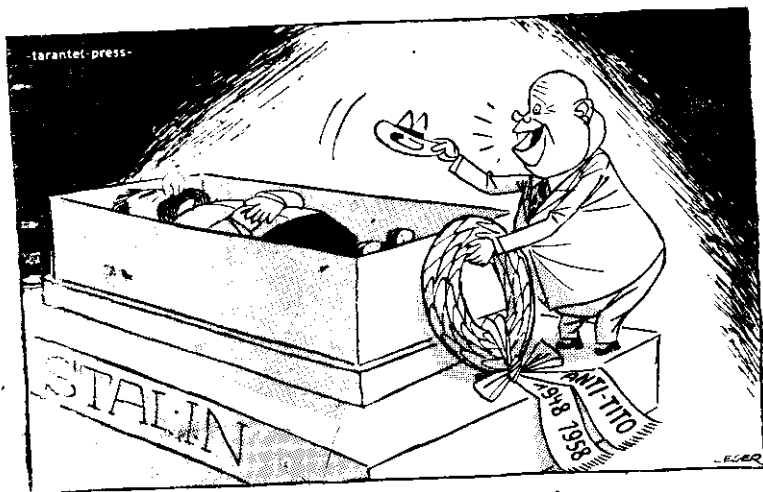
Marshal Tito was more blunt, stating categorically, «**Yugoslavia will stay out of the Soviet bloc.**»

### **Congress Conclusion**

The Ljubiana Congress closed with a resolution defining

the independent stand taken by Yugoslavia. «There must be differences of views,» the resolution admitted, then, in a conciliatory move directed toward the Soviets, it continued, «but the relationship between communist countries cannot be changed because of such differences.»

Yugoslavia was willing to cooperate with communist countries,



Halloh, Joe, here I am again!

it was stressed, **on an equal basis with self-determination.** Through cooperation, exchanges of ideas and experiences would be mutually beneficial.

### Outstretched Hand

It is evident that, while never renouncing or «watering down» his thesis that nationalism was the ultimate consideration, not «the Party,» Tito sought friendship from and acknowledged a special consideration for communist countries. He did not deny his heritage and remained, withal, the communist he is.

Comrade Khrushchev likewise preferred conciliation to Party

«fratricide,» but he was firmly on the horns of a dilemma. Either he could expel Yugoslavia from the communist «presence,» as in 1948, or he had to condemn the whole policy of revisionism. In the first instance, he risked another major diplomatic setback and further «loss of face.» In second instance, he had virtually no hope of convincing Tito to give up revisionism, yet he could not allow it, for it would spell the beginning of the end for the whole Satellite system.

### **End Is Not In Sight**

Since no clear cut action could be taken, the struggle **pro and con** over revisionism continues today. Unfortunately the supporters of the program are weak alongside the Russian colossus, not organized and — separated except for the common bond which connects all men of reason.

The proponents of revisionism now have taken their places in the ranks of the «silent opposition» which always plagues the masters of Moscow and Peking. Comrade Khrushchev knows this, and assuredly becomes more aware of it on his Satellite «good will» tours as he encounters Hungarian apathy and the more open Polish approval of the Yugoslav efforts.