

CHAPTER FOUR

Position of Two Opposing Camps

That there is a long standing ideological conflict between Belgrade, on one side, and the leaders in Moscow-Peking, on the other, should now be established. This, then, is an appropriate place to study the «why and wherefore» of the struggle which is preoccupying the communist world.

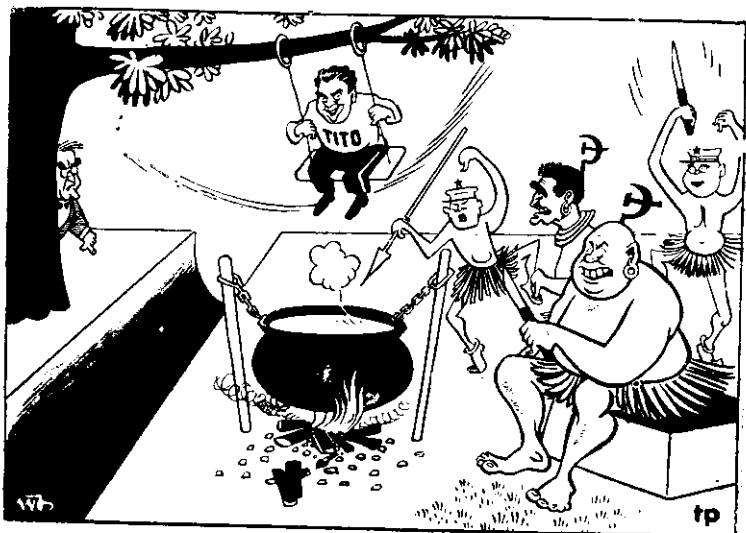
To begin with, both sides believe that they are seeking to protect the best interests of communism. The Kremlin-Peking camp contends that, in a strict adherence to the words and deeds of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, it is promoting a «pure communism.» This, by its very definition, is all encompassing, reaching maximum strength when it operates as a social as well as a political system.

Through a role as the general regulator of all life and thought within a society, communism need not offer excuses or apologies for its most distinctive characteristic — a complete detachment from the reality of normal life. If humanitarianism can be

«educated» out of the people, communism reasons, Truth and the Natural Law may be challenged with comparative impunity.

Loyalties Strained

Tito and his «revisionists» see that 40 years of communism in action have not sufficed for this «education.» They believe that events show a present crisis in communism that only a compromise between Marxism and human nature can solve.



(tarantel-press)

They are waiting for his fall

The bloodshed, misery and even injustice which have come about through pure or «Kremlin» communism are straining loyalties within communist countries, according to the revisionists, and the publicity generated is viewed as having a most detrimental effect on efforts to attract countries which today have pro-communist leanings or belong to the «neutralist» bloc.

The Kremlin and Peking cannot admit that any of this is

true, for the iron fist is an integral part of the long-range policy for world domination. They believe that strength can maintain order and that order will in turn marshal strength for the advance of communism. Revisionists reply that the continuing rejection of reality, and use of repression, cannot do other than increase tensions behind the Iron Curtain and that an explosion will be inevitable when the strain becomes too great.

With more uprisings on the Hungarian model, or even a growing passive opposition from the people, the communist united front would start to weaken and world communism would become static, afraid to advance because of insecurity in its home bases. This could lead to internal decay, a menace in any static society, and eventual dissolution of the movement. Naturally, if the communist movement fell, the present leaders would go also, and, no more than his counterparts in Moscow and Peking, does Tito wish to see this.

Stave off Ruin

Therefore, what can be done to guard against such a chain reaction? Revisionists see only one solution — revise communism in its pure form, i. e., Marxism, and adapt it to reality and the individual conditions of each country in which it is practiced. Allow, in other words, communism to meet the desires of the masses and cease the futile efforts to re-educate the masses so that their wishes and the goals of pure communism are synonymous.

Through revisionism, its supporters declare, communist leaders can stave off an otherwise inevitable ruin resulting from popular unrest. In fact, free from the domination of pure communism, and incidentally of the Kremlin, national communism and its leaders could conceivably retain hold on countries which currently only remain in the communist bloc by force. Or so the reasoning goes.

Ljubliana Conference

Thus, meeting at Ljubliana, The Yugoslav Communist Party set out to assure its future in accordance with its theorizing and adopted a completely revisionist program.

Working from the contention that communism in its «pure» form is finished, the Ljubliana delegates sought to formulate a workable substitute now, in advance of a possible world proletarian revolution. They did this, as is discussed elsewhere in this study, but thus made of the simple term «revisionism» a challenge to all-out ideological conflict, even to physical death. For the Ljubliana platform indicates such sweeping changes that anti-revisionists, now clearly to be seen as Stalinists, could not accept any part of it without sounding the death knell for the monolithic structure of few masters and many slaves which is the «old order» of communism.

«Pure Form» Defense

Kremlin and Peking leaders are not, as ostriches, burying their heads in the sand to ignore the revisionist onslaught. Their is a definite «anti-revisionist policy presently formulated just because Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung recognize that «pure» communism is under fire. This policy is tacit recognition that all is not well within the communist sphere. It holds that more of the same, that is Marxist-Leninism is the medicine needed to cure the **body politique**. Khrushchev and Mao must push «pure» communism and claim that it contains the cure for its own ills; for they realize that any advances made by «revisionist» communism can only be at their expense.

That imperialistic empire bounded by the Iron and Bamboo Curtains which is the communist sphere today, can only be held

together by the harshness which marks «pure» communism. Mao and Khrushchev would be loath to surrender any of their Satellites. They are still, moreover, dedicated enough to the doctrinaire communism which has placed them in power, to believe that it alone in the future as in the past, can assure communist expansion in the world.

Panacea for Ills

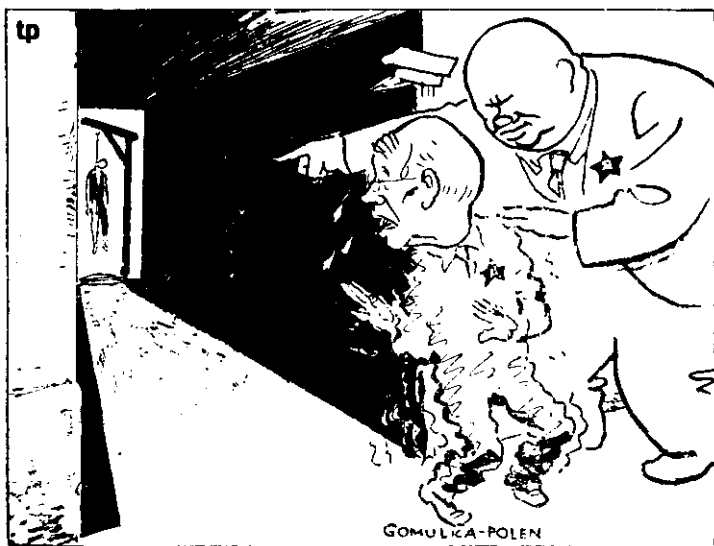
Strict application of the precepts inherited from Marx and Lenin and practiced by Stalin must be the Moscow-Peking panacea for the present ills of communism. These principles alone can give the historic respect so necessary to continuance of the present authoritarian structure of orthodox communism. Deviation from the strict «line» of the past would undoubtedly lead more national communists, as Tito, to reason for themselves and question the dictates from the top. To guard against any such eventuality, there is no doubt that Moscow and Peking will resort to the strongest weapons in their arsenal, including those displayed in Hungary and the economic «spite» measures put into effect against Yugoslavia.

For the anti-revisionists, unrest inside the communist world is merely proof that the tried and true policies of the past have not been fully adhered to. They point out the prime rule of Stalin: «Any alteration in the «basic inhumanity» of the communist system at once weakens the Marxist code and places the Party in danger of losing its equilibrium.»

Anti-revisionists see in today's Satellite system a model achievement, not a grouping of «stooges» subject to outside direction. To them it is natural that direction should come from Moscow or Peking, for who else could interpret the words of the «masters»? A triumph for Tito would break the ties of steel to Moscow and Peking, so cut off the Satellites from their source of «the word.» This is unthinkable to the faithful.

Enemy No. 1

Accusation and counter-accusation between the two camps has only brought forth one clear answer — Tito is prime enemy in the «purists» regard. And Tito seems willingly to affirm his condemnation of Mao for promoting communist socialism through aggressive war. This was sure to bring increased attention from Comrade Mao even if he weren't already directing all ideological guns against the Yugoslav leader.



(tarantel-press)

The own way to socialism

Recently, a Belgrade source remarked that, despite the grave crisis in the Middle East, Tito continues to get first attention from the combined propaganda forces of Moscow and Peking. Even the communique issued after last summer's Khrushchev-Mao Tse-tung parleys at Peking singled out revi-

sionism as the continuing principal enemy, and called for action against it by «all available means.» Obviously, intra-communist ideological strife girds for the battle!

Outsider's View

To concerned parties, each convinced that his interpretation of communism represents the «right path» to the perfect way of life and government, the revisionist struggle seems of utmost importance now. Though to an outside observer the entire argument appears futile because the very premises on which it is based are highly questionable. One is reminded of the dispute during the Middle Ages as to just who should be allowed to experiment in alchemy to seek a method to turn base metal into gold. The words grew hot and angry on this score, yet, today, looking back several centuries, we see that actually nobody, with the knowledge of that day, would transmute metal.

So it is with the communists — each seeking to convince the other that his is the way to the perfect State promised by Marx. **That State is not be achieved within communism.**

Man's Nature Rules

The perfect State must be the one in which the true nature and wishes of the people are taken into account and satisfied. And overwhelming evidence proves that communism as a way of life is simply and absolutely contrary to Man's nature. That which has marked communism's rise to power in country after country — the denial and twisting of spiritual values and the Natural Law — is the very thing which will inevitably doom it. Atheistic materialism can gain a momentary advantage — ruthlessness and calloused inhumanity may overwhelm an established society much as does a catastrophe of nature — but just as life begins again after a tidal wave or typhoon, so will human nature surely reassert itself once the numbing shock of communism's onslaught has passed.

The true values of life are as invincible and irresistible as the advancing tide, and communism's ramparts, thick and high, have no more strength than the child's sand castle in the whole span of human civilization. Only because author and reader are mortal and may not live to see communism complete its circle back to the obscurity from which it sprang, does this study need to be written. It is much like an in-season, typhoon warning, advising vigilance to assure survival when the threat has passed. As with seasonal storms, political disturbances appear periodically in history, and, like the storms, they only slow but never halt human progress.

The Communist Man

Communist man, the ideal at least, has been severed from his Divine origin, denied his Divine destiny. In other words, moulded by atheistic materialism, the communist man should be effectively dehumanized. If this training succeeds, it does not turn out a man who will give his best efforts in the recognized sense for he has been robbed of the very incentives which are built by nature into humans.

The power to reason, that distinguishing characteristic between **homo sapiens** and animals becomes an attribute of the State, and Truth, the result of reason, is published virtually in official decrees. Denied his birthright, man finds his conscience and will withering from disuse, and the normal craving for good and power to love have no more place in his makeup than they would have in a technical machine.

Shadow Passes

All this must, perforce, frustrate a man, for the civilized being has been trained through the centuries to depend on emotion and reason to guide him. Now he must turn to the omnipotent State:



(Tarantel-Press)

What shall I do now, comrade?

to supply these, something which is entirely unnatural to composition.

For a moment in history, man may be able to use this expedient, but as he finds that ultimate hope cannot be derived from institution. i.e., communism, as transitory as himself, nor Paradise built by «the man next door,» he will reject the philosophy that forces this expedient upon him and look back on it as an unending shadow passing over the light of the world.

In centuries ahead one may rediscover fragments of communism and its internal struggle so important today and wonder, as one does of the ancient alchemist, what was the intrinsic worth and where lay the ultimate value?

Communism's Dream and Thinking Man

For 40 years communism has carried its fight; yet, after all

this time its atheistic doctrine is strongly denied and effectively and often forcefully opposed by any thinking man, even the man subjected to communist re-education.

The years since World War II have brought many millions under communist sway, but these have shown by their acts including hopeless bravery, that their souls remain those of all reasoning mankind. Witness the recent physical resistance in Hungary, Poland, Mainland China, North Korea and North Viet Nam, only to mention a few instances.

Every year brings stories from the Soviet Union itself of men, no longer able to deny their birthright, who strike to rejoin normal society. These are actions as inherent in man as the homing instincts in migratory birds. No doctrine or creed which runs counter to the nature of man could possibly hope to survive, even though by force it could momentarily frustrate this nature.

Sun Also Sets

Ideological strife within communism today is only proving that those who struggle against communism are basically right. No absolute law would give rise to conflicting interpretations — consider the rising and setting of the sun! All considered, the only time the whole revisionist question contacts reality is when Tito and his revisionists acknowledge that the desires of the masses are not being met by communism, under whatever form it may be.

Should the revisionists go further on this same thesis, they might very well win their ideological battle only to find that they had effectively slipped out of the artificial world of communist philosophy into the actual world of real values based upon human nature.

The «party line» so dear to communist hearts is receiving a

shaking by publicity surrounding the current party ideological debate. It may be that never again will a unified «party line» be accepted even by the most faithful. Certainly the old slogans of «above all, the Party,» and «all for the Party,» are losing their impact as Party members, communists in general and inhabitants of all countries begin to wonder «just what is the Party?» Party allegiance must waver before today's open ideological battle. Publicity over revisionism has started men thinking. To communist and non-communist alike it reveals a schism in communism. Suffice to say that thought is the greatest menace to and the ultimate vanquisher of the communist dream.

Man and «Superman»

Stalin's dream for the Russian people showed that he did not hesitate to grasp the very powers of the Almighty in his hands. His view of Russia was as a type of incubator for a new race of human robots bred for two traits — loyalty and devotion in regard to the dogma of Marxism. Those humanist qualities which others would regard as the pride and accomplishment of centuries of civilization were anathema to this new order. A revolutionary change was to bring about a race never seen before on earth, free of the germ of spirituality, fanatically dedicated to the goal of world subjugation for communism.

After an initial flurry of popular liberalism to gain support, Stalin's successors have shown that they are wholeheartedly in favor of the same aims. Somehow, contrary to history and tradition, they continue to believe that the power to reason can be bred out of mankind and utter Party loyalty used to fill the void.

Incubator Robots

Many centuries ago, a Western philosopher declared that

a man who denied the existence of a Supreme Being was either an idiot or a superman. Since the days of this philosopher, reason and experience have taught us that all men are equal and superman is but a dream. Therefore, the fallacy in communist planning can be seen, but it is a fallacy which should put the world on special guard for it testifies yet again to the inhuman quality of international communism.

Thus far, Stalin and his successors have failed in their «incubator experiment.» The failure, predictable enough, has come from the very breeding ground itself. It was recognized in the de-Stalinization campaign launched at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Union Communist Party.

Ironically, this congress gave impetus to the very movement of revisionism which Moscow and Peking are so strongly attacking today. De-Stalinization was only attempted as today's leaders sought popular backing for their ascendancy. Now they would well love to forget yesterday's words; however, unfortunately, these answered a peoples' yearning so fully that they will ever again rise to haunt these who uttered them.

Man Is Aware

Considering the aims of the communist hierarchy, it was indeed a short-sighted policy to assuage the indignations of the communist masses in an effort at momentary popularity. And judging from the reception of the declarations at the 20th Congress, of the liberal movement in Poland and of the Freedom Fighters in Hungary, it is obvious that precisely those efforts directed at loosening the «death grip» of communism and paving the way for the abolition of the system are the ones which have the greatest popular appeal. **Man, even under communism, remains aware of his heritage and birthright!**

Nationalistic uprisings throughout the Satellites and even within the Soviet Union have been the only noticeable results of «de-Stalinization.» Needless to say, these are just the opposite of the love and loyalty the new Party leader sought through liberalism.

The free expression attempted by those under communism was heartlessly repressed. But this is only a momentary set-back, and those natural sentiments which led to revolt are very much alive, though dormant, and will rise again to plague communism during present and future spiritual crises.

Communist arms of steel can be effective against material weapons, but they are valueless in conflict with the spiritual resources which are the arsenal of captive peoples. Atheistic communism cannot effectively fight against this arsenal either, for its precepts are too complete a denial of the natural rights of man to be valid.

Own Worst Enemy

Inside the hard core of the communist hierarchy there is a group which surely shares intellectual doubts with those outside as to the basic soundness of a system which demands a man's body and soul for the service of the State.

Though a being's intelligence may grasp the principles making up communism, his rationality must question necessity for mechanized robots to people the State instead of free citizens. In the published debates which are noted from time in the communist press, one remarks a questioning attitude on the part of a number of Party members.

These doubts are encouraged by the revisionist effort, and could come to represent an element within communism that some day may be its own downfall. Individuality and spirit are cherished possessions of all men, personal in the extreme, and

even top communists are too much members of the human race to abandon them unthinkingly.

Static

De-Stalinization, armed uprising and the internal struggle of revisionism can in no way result in a stronger Party. They show recognition of the continuing struggle of Man to assert his true nature and indicate above all that force is the main stay of communism.

Natural law, the law of God and the law of Reason are the immutables in life. Sentient man, regardless of race, position or creed, naturally lives by these laws because they are eternal. An atheistic, artificial philosophy such as communism could no more replace them permanently than water could run uphill.

Though by the force it has marshalled communism has made certain striking advances in the past decade, events such as the mass national sacrifice of the Hungarians are solid proof that communist ideology is utterly static.

Of late there is even the heartening evidence that those long exposed to communism have rejected it and regained their faith to assert themselves. From their innermost resources they have even drawn the courage and eagerness to fight for traditional faith.

Only by this reasoning can the present ideological crisis in communism and the end events of 1956 be satisfactorily explained. And with these proofs of the validity of reasoning, a glaringly clear conclusion looms — **that the communist system has within itself the seeds of its own destruction.**

So, actually, the present conflict between revisionists and anti-revisionists cannot end for ultimate victory is not indicated for either side. Neither side truly acknowledges true freedom

and the spiritual side of Man, and this foredooms them. They have even gone away from the principles of socialism, which might have popular appeal, and espoused State capitalism and State dictatorship, or, one might say, Party capitalism and dictatorship.

In The Open

Where in 1948, the «inhumanity» of communism could be concealed during the Stalin-Tito break, today it has become known to all peoples. De-Stalinization, which began at the 20th Congress, effectively bared the soul of communism for all to see. Comrade Khrushchev, himself, admitted certain crimes against humanity in the time of his predecessor. These admissions cannot be erased even though the Party today is decreeing a return to orthodoxy.

The bloody resistance to communist domination has been far too public to be ignored. Though some uprisings, such as those in Mainland China and North Viet Nam, could not be graphically documented by photography, pictures do exist of the struggles in East Berlin and Budapest, and no one would say that these were «faked.» Such events have widened the breach between communism and the world community of men of good will to a breadth that cannot be spanned.

Revisionism is an «eleventh hour» attempt to close the breach, but its only possibility of success lies in a compromise which would cause those accepting it to lose so completely their communist heritage that they would nullify the need for revisionism!

It has been said that Stalin's expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform in 1948 was «the last major act of Soviet foreign policy in which ideology prevailed over imperial considerations.»

Khrushchev, though heading more and more toward the

one-willed monolithic State which was Stalin's is still too sophisticated politically to ever allow the break between Russia and Yugoslavia that Stalin not only permitted, but **decreed**.

Khrushchev is now left in the position of having to salvage what he can from Stalin's mistake. And, it is sure that Khrushchev, master of the interchangeable steel and velvet gloves, considers the 1948 rupture an error.

Stalin was «old school» enough in his thinking, and **his attachment to Marxism, to believe condemnation of Tito for heresy**, in regard to communist orthodoxy, would be enough to cause his movement to wither and die.

Feelers

Khrushchev, who can put out «feelers» for diplomatic relations with the Vatican and court the friendship of Catholic Spain through the return of members of its «blue legion» and the tempting offer of discussions on the Spanish Republican gold hoard which has been held by the Soviets for over 20 years, is obviously not so naive as his predecessor.

Thus we arrive at the arguments which are flying back and forth today. The background has been mentioned so that these arguments can be weighted more according to their real value, for they often go far astray from the real contention, which is between Soviet imperialism and Yugoslav nationalism.

From the start, Tito's independence of action has been the sore point. Stalin sought to discipline him by using a policy of «casting out», disregarding the consequences much as Charles V of Spain who said, «I would rather lose my empire than tolerate one heretic within it.» Incidentally, he did eventually.

Stalin succeeded in virtually wrecking the Yugoslav economy, but the only result of this success was to encourage Yugoslavia to seek and receive Western economic and military assistance.

Khrushchev now has or is trying by all means at his disposal to rid communism of «the Tito problem.» He has gone to Belgrade bearing the olive branch, been well received, but unable to attract Tito back to the old Satellite role. He has bullied the Yugoslavs by cutting off promised economic aid in the amount of \$250,000,000, but has not caused them to repent the sins which cost them the aid.

He is now, with Mao of China, engaged in condemning them strongly for «revisionism.» But in the end, there is the eternal and indissoluble controversy of imperialism versus nationalism — words will never hide it, and human nature indicates the inevitable victor.

Now, what are the stands today of Tito and his adversaries Khrushchev and Mao?

Yugoslavia

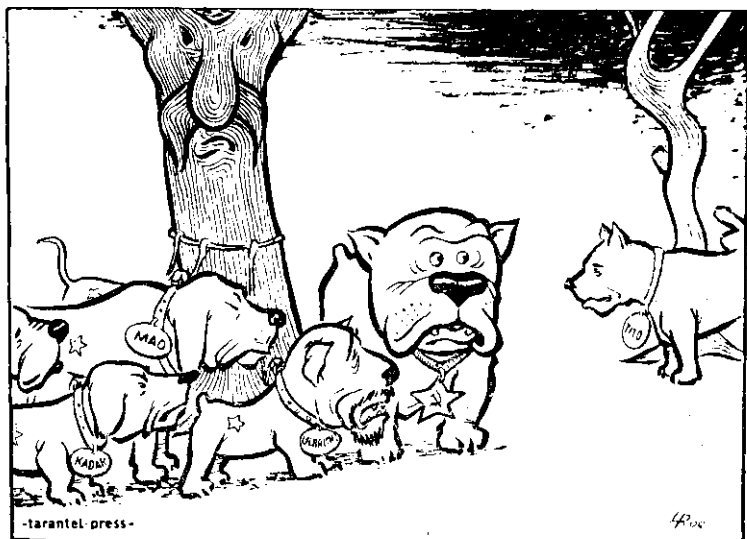
Tito has attacked the system of doctrinal monopoly. He practices what Khrushchev and Mao have occasionally preached, then retracted, that «one hundred flowers may bloom.» He will wear the red star of communism, but he can never forget that he is a Yugoslav patriot first and a communist second. And he sees no inconsistency in this attitude. Because of this intransigence, Tito cannot accept bureaucratic leadership from the Kremlin. Governmental policies in the ministries of state at Belgrade are not to be dictated from Moscow.

Having lived and fought through the Nazi occupation of his country. Tito opposes the present Russian policy of ruthless attempts at political supremacy and accompanying aggression.

Tito welcomed many refugees from Hungary following the revolt there, and gave sanctuary in his embassy at Budapest to the late Imre Nagy and his followers. Tito has recognized and therefore attacked Red China as the most imperialistic country

in Asia. One might go further and say that, today, it is the only imperialistic country in Asia.

Possibly more disillusioning to Tito was the fact that after coming to Belgrade in reconciliation, Khrushchev then went to Sofia where he could blissfully and with no misgivings contradict, in a speech to the Party faithful, all he had said about the «several paths to Socialism» to Tito. This showed, above all, that hypocrisy, not frankness, motivated Kremlin policy and



He always wants a tree for his own !

that the reasons which caused a break in 1948 were still valid.

In his speech delivered on June 16 last before 50,000 people at Ljubliana, Tito protested strongly against the campaign of «false accusations and libel» launched by Russia and her communist Satellites. He declared that this campaign, according to proof in his possession, had been prepared before his new program was presented to the Ljubliana Congress. The program, in other words, was but a pretext for personal vilification which

would have been published and otherwise uttered in any case.

This, of course, is in keeping with what we said earlier, that this basic target is Tito's independence, not his philosophy, though the philosophy would go if his freedom of action were controlled by the Kremlin.

Rise From Graves

Tito asked how, in justice, Khrushchev could attack Yugoslavia for accepting American aid even while Russian, herself, was seeking a credit from the United States? He recognized the stringent attack which Red China was centering on his government, an onslaught which, naturally enough, was earning increasing hatred on his part.

Tito showed awareness that Red China was using, more than the Soviet Union, Stalinist tactics in its international relationships, that she never really believed in the coexistence advocated by Mao in his «hundred flowers» speech and that she has **propagated socialism through war**. Alluding to the aggression in Korea, Tito declared that «Marx and Lenin, if they knew that she (Red China) had gone against their principles, would rise up from their graves.»

Betrayal of Nagy

A free-thinking nationalist, Tito found reason to condemn Kremlin's doctrine of **ideological supremacy** and suppression of freedom of thought in order to exploit and rule other socialist countries. Why, he asked, should Moscow be the only valid interpreter of communist doctrine? Cannot national leaders better determine what form communism should take for their individual countries? The whole idea of Russia surrounded by obedient servants accepting her every direction was condemned and openly opposed by Tito.

Possibly the greatest personal affront given by Khrushchev to Tito was the execution of Imre Nagy, Pall Maleter and two Hungarian writers this past summer.

It will be remembered that these men, with the exception of Maleter, were accepted under the right of sanctuary at the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest at the moment when Russian troops were crushing the Hungarian fight for freedom. This right is recognized by international practice. They were only released after promises of free passage from the Soviets. Maleter had earlier been taken as he attended talks for the withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary. Nagy and his group should have known the lack of value in Soviet promises, but nonetheless they indicated a desire to leave Yugoslav protection. As the world knows, they were then sent to prison, supposedly in Rumania, where they stayed until the execution.

Perfidy

This action was the greatest possible insult to Yugoslav sovereignty, and was officially acknowledged as such by Tito in a denunciation of the executions which he made on June 18.

At the same time, Tito let it be known that he possessed documents attesting to Soviet perfidy in the whole Hungarian affair. These are records brought by Nagy when he took refuge in the Yugoslav embassy which subsequently have been delivered to Tito.

There is said to be a tape recording of Nagy's negotiations with Mikoyan and Suslov giving ultimate proof that Russia went flatly back on her pledge to support the Nagy government. This evidence is the strongest possible argument for Tito to continue on his chosen path.

To indicate his awareness of the constant menace from Moscow and Peking to his regime, Tito has gone ahead with a

program to arrest all pro-Russian elements in his country, including even high-ranking cadres. Tito knows that sabotage and retaliation are favored Soviet weapons, and that he cannot count on so much as «honorable» combat from a declared enemy with a documented record of ruthlessness and betrayal. Every time Tito reviews that tape recording left him by Imre Nagy, he must think, «There but for the grace of God go I.»

Russia and Red China

Khrushchev set forth his principal argument against the Yugoslav interpretation of communism in a speech at the 7th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Paradoxically, this came shortly after his «love feast» with Tito at Belgrade. In the speech, the Soviet chief condemned Yugoslavia as a «stooge of the imperialists,» and charged that Yugoslavia was intentionally weakening the communist bloc.

It is an interesting study of terms to note that Khrushchev condemns Tito for imperialist connections in a speech before a group representing a country held by Russia as a result of direct imperialistic action!

The argument that Yugoslavia is a «tool of the West» has been used by Khrushchev as an excuse for his most telling retaliatory action — the blocking of further Soviet aid to Yugoslavia.

Undoubtedly this act has hurt, which it was meant to, but it has also injured the instigator, for it belies the Soviet boast that their aid is given «with no strings attached.»

The imperialistic aims for economic penetration which motivate Soviet assistance are clearly demonstrated. And it is evident that recipients of the Red largesse are expected to have not only communist governments, but orthodox and «approved» ones, i.e., governments subservient to the Soviet will.

Mao goes «one further»

Mao Tse-tung who increasingly demonstrates a belief that he has inherited the mantle of Leninist-Marxism from Stalin, attacks Tito even more strongly than does Khrushchev. Though Yugoslavia holds no minorities under its domination, Mao still sees its policy as one smacking of imperialism. Mao then turns to the living evidence of his imperialism in action, North Korea and North Viet Nam, and instructs these unwilling Satellites in methods of attacking revisionism as an unbecoming ideology.

What does it all mean ?

The mutual accusations which have been flying forth from Belgrade and Moscow-Peking have now been shown in their simplest forms. Just what are the intentions of the participants in the revisionist struggle, and what do they hope to accomplish?

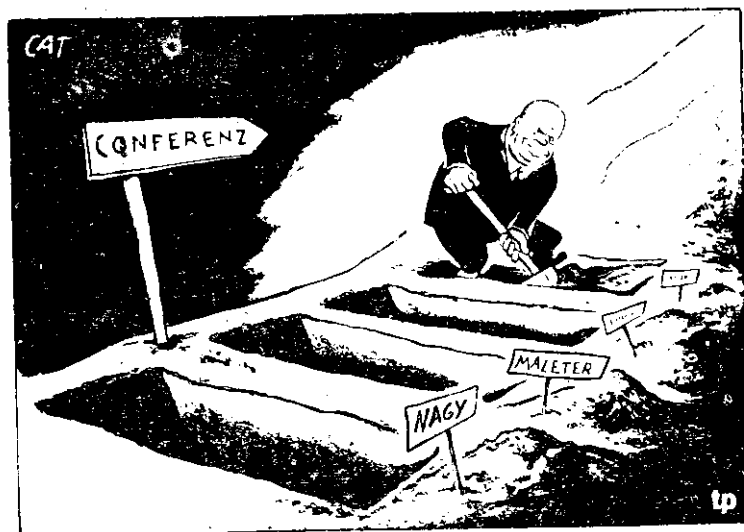
Yugoslav leaders **are convinced** that in the present world there are not two opposing systems — Socialism and Imperialism —but rather two opposing military blocs. Both of these, they say, cause world tension, which is not good, and both contain some facets of Socialism, which is reason for maintaining contacts.

On the other hand, the leaders in the Kremlin and in Peking, backed up by their docile Satellites, deny the Yugoslav stand, declaring :

«With their line of reasoning, the Yugoslav leaders do not recognize the basic Socialist system and, therefore, are contrary to the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninism. This proves that Yugoslavia wants to blur an objective historical fact (communism), distorting it with a view to sowing doubts and confusion within the Socialist camp and diverting **the nature of the doctrine that opposes peace to war** as opposed to Imperialism, which seeks to destroy peace.»

Comes the conflict

Yugoslav leaders firmly assert that «certain Socialist countries,» i.e., Russia and Red China, monopolize supremacy and hamper freedom of thought. These restrictions, the Yugoslavs maintain, are aimed toward exploitation and rule of other Socialist countries.



(Tarantel-Press)

The way to an agreement

Russia, Red China and the Satellites refute the Yugoslav arguments by contending that their thoughts reflect those of Marx and Lenin and must be supported with no thought of alleged principle or practice but because they are correct.

Yugoslav leaders, it is maintained, aim to destroy the solidarity of Socialism, creating a «diversionary» tactic of national independence which works to the detriment of the Soviet Union

and attaches the misdenomor of «Satellites» to the Socialist countries which choose to follow the lead of the Soviet Union

Orthodox communists view this accusation of subservience as dangerous, the more so because it originates within the world communist camp. An attitude of national thinking hurts the spirit of an international proletariat, they declare, and is, basically, but a variety of national narrow minded capitalism. This is the strongest condemnation possible within the communist «jargon.»

In Summary

We now have the essence of the present struggle within communism, but it must not be regarded as other than basic reasoning. This is so because in the eyes of those free to consider rationally with emotion and dogma apart, the whole conflict is built precariously on «feet of clay.» acceptance of Marxist-Leninism philosophy as a standard is at once dangerous.

For those who cannot recognize that it is counter to human nature, the proof is one of the cornerstones of this booklet.

Argumentation on the topic today is merely attacking or justifying a mistake which was committed some 40 years ago. Tito is to be admired for seeking the good in societies outside the communist sphere, but in seeking to mesh his communism with this good he is foredoomed to failure unless the hybrid result of this union is almost without inherited characteristics from its communist parent.

Perhaps this is what the «wise men» of the Kremlin and Peking realize, and why they have gone «all out» to eradicate Tito and his free thinking.

CHAPTER FIVE

Peking's Savage Opposition Versus the Kremlin "Soft" Approach — Why?

To understand the «why and wherefore» of Mao Tse-tung's violent attacks on Tito and «Revisionism,» as compared to the relatively calm and rational attitude of Khrushchev, we must compare the two Kremlin policies for Red Satellites — one directed toward the unfortunate countries of eastern Europe, the other for Asian underlings.

These two policies differ most drastically; and that difference seems to stem not only from the geographical positioning of the countries involved, but also from the manner in which communism was introduced to the countries and their political backgrounds before the advent of communism.

For both «sets» of countries the basic communist policy is the same — the deceptive «five principles of co-existence» adopted at the Bandung Conference. It is the method of

application and interpretation of the «five principle» which varies. The principles are nothing new in themselves; in fact, four have long been practiced by all peace-loving nations of the world. Colonialism is condemned, but forward-looking countries for many years have gradually been abolishing its practice. Significantly, and as an indication of communist propaganda infiltration, «old» colonialism monopolized attention in the Bandung principles while the «new,» sinister and overwhelming communist colonialism, outstanding for despotic practices in all world history, is overlooked.

The «joker in the pack» among the Bandung principles is the Fifth Principle, calling for «co-existence» among all nations, communist included. This principle has full Eastern European adherence because the Satellites there have had no other choice than co-existence since the Soviet hordes strong-armed their way in during and after World War II. Co-existence to these unfortunates is a synonym for «survival». The appeal for co-existence calls most clearly to the naive «Neutralists,» inexperienced in world power politics, unscarred by open communist aggression within their own countries and blind to it without, who are spellbound by Red flattery and attention. The Fifth Principle brings affirmative response from these countries who in their innocence cannot recognize the Fifth Principle as a «Fifth Column.» National disaster is the result courted by this acceptance.

Middle Eastern communist leaders should not be criticized for demanding of the Kremlin the same lenient policy enjoyed by Asian communists. It aids their struggle for the uncommitted populace in their countries by presenting only the brighter side of the communist picture and keeps hidden, for the time being, the bloodshed and slavery of the mind, typical trademarks of the Reds.

Communists in this disputed part of the world have a rather

narrow view of the «Nationalism» they seek for their countries simply because they do follow communist ideology. Taught at the Kremlin school, how could they ever realize the full meaning of the independence they allegedly seek — the concept held in the truly free countries of the world?

Why The Difference?

Simply, the gulf between communist fare handed the Eastern European Satellites, and the richer diet for Asia exists because in Asia the Reds are still «fishing,» hoping for prize catches, whereas in Europe the fish have been trapped and only that nourishment needed to sustain life need be supplied. European Satellites are now like Dr. Pavlov's dogs, being taught «trained reflexes» so that they will follow automatically the Kremlin command, needing no reward to encourage them to «jump through the hoop.»

Even those areas of Asia which are today entirely subjugated by the communists — North Korea and North Vietnam — still remain only «indirect» Satellites. These «belong» to the Red Chinese sphere, and have their policy dictated in a manner which will give them the greatest value as propaganda showcases to influence the neutralist bloc, it is a significant monument to communist hypocrisy and double dealing that they can blatantly use the Bandung principles, which they obviously consider contrary to the ultimate interests of the Party, as a springboard for infiltration of non-communist or neutral countries, even while they are firmly banning them in the Eastern European Satellites under firm Kremlin control.

In this respect, it is interesting to quote Imre Nagy, the Hungarian Communist who dared to place Country above Party, and paid with his life for this patriotism: «Why,» asked Nagy, «is it not possible to apply the Bandung Principles, the goal of any



(From Excelsior)

A Revisionism Music !

national liberation movement, to the relationship between Hungary and the USSR? And why», he further demanded, «should it be regarded as unsocialist to do so?»

The late Premier of Free Hungary struck at the heart of communist deception when he asked these searching questions..

He presupposed the very logical answer that the Soviet Union is not interested in nationalist movements, that its goal is super-imperialism, colonialism on a global scale never before even imagined.

Big Lie

These answers are being voiced today by Revisionists who support their predominantly national movement against the Soviet envelopment. They see the basic falseness of Soviet doctrine which will forcefully advocate the Bandung Principles when these will bring embarrassment to Free World members or influence the sentiments of the Neutralists, then prohibit these same Principles to those countries held in bondage or worse. The Eastern European countries could all testify to this «big lie,» but only through Tito and the revisionists are they today able to get their story to the world. Their mute testimony should be given utmost consideration by the world outside Soviet clutches.

Geographical positioning has made control of the Eastern European countries essential to Russian political and military planning and possible through direct action from Moscow. The fate of this large area was sealed as the Western Allies rejected Churchill's call for an attack at the «soft underbelly» of Europe in 1943 and 1944, therefore permitting the Red Army to «liberate» all of Eastern Europe and allow Soviet political agents a free hand. By 1948, with its ruthless **coup** in Czechoslovakia, Russia made fast its political hold on half a continent. Since that time, it has worked to orient the economies of all Satellites so that they are firmly intermeshed with that of the Soviet Union.

The political regime typical in the Satellites is a sort of Russian protectorate. Evidence of what prevails, what Russia seeks to continue, can be found in the circumstances of the Hungarian revolution. Here one Satellite sought to follow

an independent path, neutral in concept, with enmity for none.

This desire constituted no physical threat to Russia itself, but could not be allowed since freedom of action to any degree cannot be allowed among the Satellites. The geographical situation, which causes all satellites except East Germany, Albania and Bulgaria to have common land frontiers with the Soviet Union, and the political conditions which put in power men whose first loyalty is to the Kremlin, over and beyond their own nation, enabled Russia to move 20 armored divisions into Hungary to stamp out by weight of men and steel alone this struggle to realize no more than the promise implicit in the Bandung Principles.

Monopoly

Kremlin intentions are stripped of all camouflage in Eastern Europe. Even so, despite their geographically impossible situation, despite the inhumanity of the Kremlin's dictatorial methods, the natural inclinations and dignity of Man, keep alive in the European satellites.

Only by word of mouth and by the open declarations from Yugoslavia, which alone is free to express itself, can we know that ever since it fell completely under communist sway in 1948, Eastern Europe has been the center of the revisionist movement, and that it attacked the Kremlin monopoly on ideas even while Stalin lived. The growth of revisionism in Eastern Europe, where communist supremacy is supposed to be most absolute, is vastly encouraging. First it belies any communist claim that the system is an outgrowth of the natural yearnings of the people, and second, it shows that this trend, which is a matter of life and death importance to the Kremlin today, is striking close to the heart of communism itself. There can be no sure survival for the orthodox ideology of

Stalin and his successor so long as the revisionist movement exists, and its existence will create more and more unrest uncertainty and confusion among the leading communist cadres of the world.

Satellites In Asia

As we have pointed out, the communist countries of Asia, other than Red China, are but indirect Satellites of the Kremlin. The ties to Moscow are looser due not only to the geographical position of the Asian countries, but also to their political situations and the original source of their communist impulse — Red China.

So long as Stalin lived, Red China was a faithful and obedient student at the Soviet master's feet. Since the death of Stalin, after the revelations of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, at which Stalin was thoroughly denounced in an effort to gain increased moral backing from the Russian people, since the purges and counter-purges which have marked the internal struggle for power in the Kremlin, Mao Tse-tung has felt himself an equal to the present leaders in Moscow. After all, is he not now the senior communist leader in years of service in the world today? When Khrushchev flew to Peiping to confer with Mao, he gave tacit confirmation to the new equality of the Chinese Red leader.

Misfire

Mao has also gained relatively because Khrushchev has never commanded the respect or admiration, though it might have been through fear, which were Stalin's. His rash and brutal deeds have too often misfired and lost him "face."

The heroic uprising of the Hungarian people, though it failed in its purpose, cost Khrushchev enormously. He

succeeded in repressing this effort for political individualism, but he lost in the eyes of world for his unparalleled cruelty, and because, for once, all in the world could see the inner workings of a communist State and know the true feeling of a people who have lived under communism.

Just when the wounds from Budapest were beginning to heal, Khrushchev opened them again with his unpardonable murders of Nagy, Maleter and two other Freedom Fighters. This could not be other than a futile effort to turn back the clock completely to Stalin's time, and it could not succeed because even the communists are more politically mature, since the 20th Congress in Moscow, and the Ljubliana Conference in Yugoslavia, than they were under Stalin. Now he would resurrect the late leader. He himself had preached the «liberalism» which led to the revisionist movement. Now he would deny his own words. Even the party faithful have found this difficult to stomach.

Folly

Khrushchev, practical even after folly, is obviously realizing that backing from Asia is a necessity for his regime. Because his prestige has decreased, Khrushchev no longer attempts to order Mao Tse-tung, he «requests,» and presents his ideas in the capital of the Asian strongman.

A displeased Mao could endanger the entire Soviet political system. The visit to Peiping is clearly an act of condescension, the mark of a distinct change in Soviet policy. How bitter it must be for a Soviet leader to deal with the leader of a Satellite as an equal. The act is without precedent in communist history.

Though Russia itself often prefers to use the United Nations as a sounding board for its propaganda, Khrushchev was forced

to give up his cherished Summit Conference within the framework of the UN Security Council because Mao turned the idea down flat. No ally of his would sit across the conference table from the arch enemy Chiang Kai-shek!

Due to this present set of circumstances in the world, and out of grudging respect for Mao's immense reserve of manpower and increasingly available material resources, the Kremlin must tread softly in Asia, that is to say, go slowly in its ultimate drive to subject Asian Satellites to the same absolute control which is practiced in Eastern Europe.

Rich Prize

A rich prize, but one which will not be grabbed by power alone, is the large Asian neutral bloc, headed by India, Indonesia and Burma. These nations must be strongly tempting to Moscow, for success with them would bring manpower, resources and, most important, prestige in an area where this is most respected. Though these States are not a goal in themselves, since the admitted communist aim is world domination, they would be enormously valuable in communist preparations for the ultimate aggression.

Power Plays

In short, it can be ascertained that Russia does not dare as yet to apply the iron discipline to the Asian Satellites which she uses in Eastern Europe, the geographical distances involved, internal political matters and the important factor of having degradable, presently neutral, nations viewing and judging every communist action deter naked Kremlin power-plays. The new position and prestige of Mao Tse-tung make it necessary to consult him before any action — no longer may the Kremlin act unilaterally, assured of blind allegiance from its Satellites.

Khrushchev has no other choice today than to allow Red China to call the plays in Asia. He may be enraged to stand and wait when his favorite mode of action is bold and rash, but he will wait for he is aware of his greatest menace and the greatest threat to his brand of communism — two enemies for Moscow simultaneously and within the Party — Tito and Mao Tse tung.

Mao's Rise

Mao, in the few years since he completed his occupation of Mainland China in 1949, has not had enough time to consolidate the Party's power over this great land mass — there are almost constant rumors and reports, often confirmed, of revolts in the outlying provinces. He also has his hands full with the mass of population for it is no easy matter to regiment almost 600 million people.

Just as in North Korea and North Viet Nam, the Chinese Reds on their own territory are confronted with a people who cannot be entirely subjugated to the communist way. In short, Mao cannot yet act with complete confidence that his people are solidly behind him in all his decisions.

Double Cross

More even than in Russia or Eastern Europe, the death of Stalin, the purges in the Kremlin and the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party with its abortive efforts at de-Stalinization have served to muddle and set thinking the Asian disciples of communism. For, it must be understood, they are much newer at the game of communism, less experienced than the Soviets in the typical Party game of double talk and double cross. The Asians are more idealistic, seeing Party practices in «black or white», and ignoring the «grey» of half-truths and renege promises. When communism compromises its announced

standards, the Asian is slow to understand, slower to accept.

Therefore, if communist policy in Asia is not so «stiff,» and somewhat more idealistic than in Europe, this does not mean that Asia is scheduled for permanent special privileges, but that Asia has particular conditions which call for a more studied approach, slower than in Eastern Europe. The «bared fist» which pummeled Hungary, beat down the heroes of East Berlin, killed off the democratic leaders of pro-communist Czechoslovakia could so disillusion and horrify the Asian that this whole area would be irretrievably lost to communism. Brutality is incompatible with the universal Asian spirit, and if it were practiced against one nation all might well take offense. There is not yet the regimentation in any part of Asian which would make practicable a typical Soviet whirlwind campaign. New Nationalism, the strongest force in Asia today, creates a divergence of political opinion that is one of the best defenses against monolithic communism.

Cradle of Revisionism

Once an analysis of the Kremlin's differing policies toward Satellites in Eastern Europe and in Asia has been made it is not surprising that the revisionist movement started in Eastern Europe. Because the communist policy had been applied so much more rigorously in Europe than in Asia, the Eastern Europeans have gained an intimate knowledge of pure communist ideology. They have no illusions about the truth of communism, and do not confuse it with the Bandung spirit of Nationalism.

The Eastern European, aware that he may have to live with communism for some time to come, realistically tries to adapt it to the ways and needs of his own country, and have it make allowances for the nature of Man. In other words «Revisionism»

is an attempt by the Eastern European, experienced in the ways of orthodox communism to equate communism with the natural inclination of Man and normal national desires — to find another, still communistic, way of life.

On the contrary, Asian communism is not nearly so sophisticated. As a movement, it is solidly under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, staunchly orthodox. For this reason it has felt compelled to condemn Yugoslav Revisionism much more strongly than Moscow which has reason to be wiser and more worldly. Red China was first to declare the soundness of the 1948 decision to expel Yugoslavia from the Cominform. Only one month later did Comrade Khrushchev concur with the move. Last November Mao Tse-tung voluntarily was in the forefront of those drawing the Moscow declaration condemning Revisionism and reaffirming the solidarity of the communist bloc within «Pure Form» Communism.

Mao vs. Tito vs. Khrushchev

One might well ask why Mao Tse-tung, who has traced out his own path to communism just as Tito, sees fit to attack Revisionism more savagely than Khrushchev, who stands to lose most by its application?

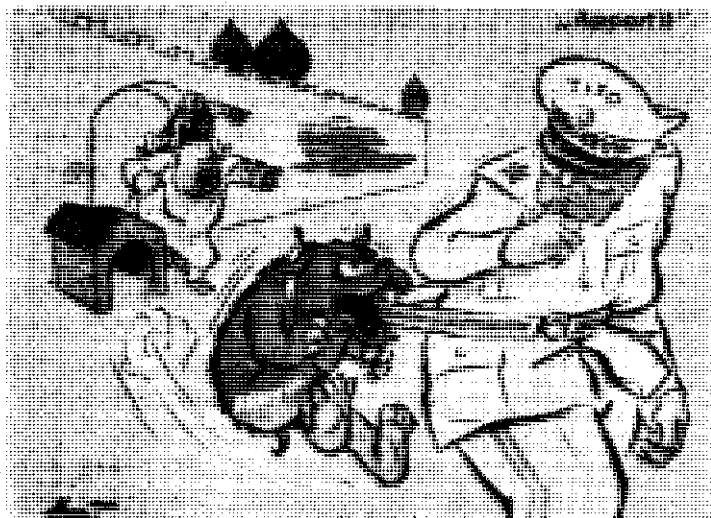
The chief reasons appear as follows:

1. There is a basic conflict between Mao and Tito dating back to 1948 when the former, in obedience to the orders of Stalin, spared no words in a personal attack on Tito. Since then their differences have grown steadily in direct relation to the constantly divergent paths each followed.

2. Mao is striking at Khrushchev, whom he considers to have no set «line,» every time he hits at Tito. In 1955, Mao was utterly exasperated with Khrushchev who was showing a transitory conciliatory attitude toward Tito. According to Mao, Yugoslav

Revisionism goes counter to the interests of communism, and there is no room for compromise. If Revisionism is not promptly and severely chastised, a dangerous example of leniency bordering on weakness is set for other Satellites.

3. Mao never did agree with the de-Stalinization campaign launched by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress.



(Free Front)

Without word!

For this very reason, Mao wanted to be in the forefront against Tito. Mao was of the opinion that Khrushchev attacked Tito, not for defense of «Pure Form» communism, but for a personal motive.

Khrushchev's pride was hurt when he failed to bring Tito back to the fold. This would have enabled him to restore his personal prestige, greatly damaged by internal storm within the Kremlin, and within the communist bloc, following the rectification campaign launched by both Moscow and Peking.

Mao believed that Khrushchev took reprisals against Tito not for the cause of «Pure Form» communism, but for the disobedience and contempt of the latter which did not recognize the Kremlin as supreme leader of the Communist World. Consequently, Mao was always suspicious of Khrushchev's ideological stand.

For this reason, many think—that by assailing Tito more savagely than does Khrushchev—Mao means to blame Khrushchev for the de-Stalinization movement launched at the 20th Congress. We know that Mao is among the most faithful disciples of Stalin.

Probably Khrushchev quite understands the attitude of Mao; this explains the softness of his policy toward the No. 1 man of Red China.

On the one hand, Khrushchev discretely ordered his men, such as Ponomarev, to arouse public opinion with calculated reports of a revisionist movement also appearing on Mainland China.

Condescension

On the other hand, Khrushchev continued to court Mao, especially on his visit to Peiping last August. This temporary condescension from the Supreme Boss of the Kremlin had manifold reasons: the Soviet Supreme had its own grave internal crisis; myriads of troubles had to be solved in the Satellite States; and there were those troubles generated by Mao himself.

But Khrushchev's condescension could be but temporary. Khrushchev, who had done away with Beria, liquidated Bulganin, Malenkov, Zhukov, etc., would spare no one.

Besides the conflict between revisionism and anti-revisionism—the principal conflict that splits the homogeneity of the communist bloc—there is another conflict, not less important,

between Mao and Khrushchev.

Time will tell which of these two top men will win the skirmish. Will Khrushchev or Mao emerge victorious from this internal strife?

Khrushchev seized a short term advantage to consolidate his own prestige by going counter to the general Party good. Mao has remained faithful to Stalin, and so has become suspicious of the changing methods Khrushchev uses to apply the Marxist-Leninist principles.

He takes a very dim view of the liquidation of a number of faithful Stalinists such as Malenkov, Molotov, and Zhukov. Mao's attacks on Tito, then, may be regarded as a warning to Khrushchev not stray from the Stalinist line.

4. Although some Russian writers attack Tito's Revisionism directly, in the manner of Mao, others, as B. Ponomarev broadly strike at all revisionist tendencies existing throughout world revisionist organizations: in the U.S.A., Canada, South America, Europe, Asia and even Red China.

Tito is dealt with in proportion to the size of his country in the communist world rather than as a side issue.

Apologists

Ponomarev views the the purge of several communist ministers and some 54 leading functionaries in Red China as indicative of the existence of a revisionist movement there, and reaches the conclusion that Revisionism stems mainly from intellectual circles. Ponomarev enumerates the following characteristics of Revisionism:

- a. Revisionists apologize for Capitalism, and talk of «People's Capitalism.» Revisionists hold that it is not Capitalism which exploits and impoverishes the masses bringing about national economic crises.

- b. Revisionist think that Capitalism can be peacefully integrated into Socialism. They do not recognize the historic necessity of **proletarian revolution** and **proletarian dictatorship**.

Ponomarev further argues that the extent of the violent nature of class struggle depends less on the proletariat than on the strength of the opposition by reactionaries. According to his thesis, the communist world is confronted with either surrender or encirclement.

Continuing, the Russian declares :

- c. Revisionists do not accept «democratic centralism.» It is argued that a proletarian dictatorship cannot be realized without the Party, which is built on democratic centralism. It is, therefore, evident why this is a cornerstone of the Leninist doctrine.
- d. Revisionists do not recognize the principle of «proletarian internationalism.» This puts them in automatic conflict with the Soviet Union, because solidarity with Russia is the most essential component of proletarian internationalism, and the defense of the USSR is vital to the working class and to all working people in the capitalist countries.
- e. Revisionists, particularly Yugoslavs, hold that a «certain» State (meaning the USSR) is in one way or another exploiting other countries economically.

The divergence and confusion of ideas on Revisionism among Russian ideologists and writers such as Ponomarev whom we have just quoted, have made Mao more suspicious about the policy of the Kremlin.

Mao On Revisionism

Mao opposes Revisionism for somewhat different reasons than the Russian theorists outline. He holds that Tito's Revisionism

— and Mao does not hesitate to name names — aims to revise communism in its pure form, i. e., Marxism, which Tito considers as wrong and outmoded. Tampering with Marxism, for any reason, is a heinous crime to the purist Mao, and constitutes grounds for the sternest action.

Continuing, Mao can equivocate the so-called revisionist movements in countries other than Yugoslavia, which shows that he will not hesitate to place himself as the high priest of Marxist line. Many revisionist movements, Mao declares, are but movements against certain policies of the communist party.

These movements may stem from either communist partisans or from communist betrayers and neutral elements. Each must be considered as an individual case, for all are not motivated by the same intent as Tito — who is openly in error — in their drive to revise existing communism.

Some revisionists oppose Party policy and line in its leadership, all the while remaining faithful to Marxism, though others oppose the Communist Party with a view to following an entirely non-communist ideology. One must be able to distinguish the real motivation.

Tito must be uncompromisingly condemned because he seeks to realize communist socialism by other than Marxist principles. This is unthinkable to Mao. That Tito also would eliminate the Kremlin's leading role in world communism is secondary to Mao, but must likewise be condemned because he holds that the best safeguard for Marxism is a continuance of the present communist hierarchy.

Zigzag

There is no blind allegiance from Mao to Khrushchev. Khrushchev appears to be, for Mao, the best expedient for the moment, but his overall policy is much too «zigzag» to please

the Red Chinese leader. Mao is suspicious of anyone who would make use of the Marxist Leninist thesis as an apologia for his own acts, and not as a strict and unbending pattern upon which to base his actions.

Mao and Khrushchev are in complete agreement on only one point: the need to eradicate Revisionism, presently the greatest immediate danger to the whole communist structure. But, after the initial agreement, they return to separate paths, for Khrushchev considers all and any revisionist tendencies as having equally dangerous consequences. Mao singles out Tito as the one inexcusable revisionist.

This is why Mao continues to attack Tito unrelentingly, and in his attack, gives simultaneous warning to Khrushchev playing «loose and free» with Marxism for his own personal objectives.

More than pure theory compels Red China to attack Tito's Revisionism harder than does Moscow. The internal situation of Red China is also involved. The campaign to «let a hundred flowers bloom» has been an abysmal failure. Instead of being a rallying point for the people to demonstrate their loyalty to the State, the campaign merely proved an opportunity for the people to express their discontent; show that they were tired, and impatiently awaiting the fruits of their labor and efforts over the years since the communists seized power.

Through the liberalism of the «hundred flowers» campaign, the people had an opportunity to neglect discipline. Today they no longer obey orders blindly as before. Instead of uniting China, the campaign has given rise to regional thinking, new jealousies and a revival of concepts of true freedom. Mao's original program has, therefore, proved a failure.

Poor Timing

This campaign to «let a hundred flowers bloom,» a test to

decrease internal tension, came at a conspicuously poor time, completely unfavorable to the accomplishment of communist goals. After a year of diligent efforts, the Chinese people once again saw their work fall victim to the elements of nature in 1957 as crops were almost a complete loss.

Gone was the rice surplus which had hitherto been the main source of income to pay for Chinese imports. It decreased by 40%. And even if there had been an increased yield from agriculture, the increase would be hard pressed to meet the ever-growing Chinese population to which 12 million are added each and every year.

In brief, the very rhythm of production in China worked against success for the "hundred flowers" campaign. The slow increases in production did not even meet increasing requirements of population, and the shortage of those basic needs of life for the people increased their unrest at a time when the campaign sought to appease them.

Grain, which was to be the basis of payment for the "new" China's needs was available in ever decreasing quantities for exports. Other raw materials, such as metal ores, likewise, were not extracted in anticipated quantities. Increased exports for capital goods would have to come out of quantities destined for the people, thus increasing their unrest. And yet, Red China needed desperately food and raw materials to pay for imported machinery, to secure capital investment and to refund the 900 billion rouble debt to her Soviet creditor, this last coming due within 5 years.

All this does not even taken into account the ploughs, trucks, tractors, water pumps and generators, not to mention steel, coal and oil essential for mechanization and modernization of Red China. It would be folly to even mention consumer goods for the people, which always have last priority under communism.

With the failure of the campaign to "let a hundred flowers

bloom,» Red China felt compelled to launch immediately a «rectification» campaign, vigorous in the extreme, to pull the country back toward «orthodox» communism. Having noted rapid spread under liberalism, Red China also set out to purge regional thinking in Red China. In 11 provinces, party leaders and members were «sent out to pasture» literally in other words, banished to labor on the farms or in the factories.

Double Talk

Lin Chao Tchi, a high-ranking Chinese communist, searched long and came up with the following communist «double talk,» worthy of George Orwell and «1984»: «We have gone backward instead of «forward,» referring to the «hundred flowers.» Then he launched the following «progressive» slogans «A few years of toil will bring a thousand years of prosperity.» How reminiscent of Adolf Hitler when he confidently declared the future Europe determined for «the next 1,000 years!»

In the progressive slogan of Lin Chao Tchi there is an almost unbelievable intent: Red China has the serious ambition to become, within 15 years, the third industrial power of the world, replacing Great Britain.

Avoiding the extremist ambitions of Stalin, though holding to his policy of heartless sacrifice of the people to achieve a goal, Red China dreams, and is determined to achieve, a comparatively prosperous era. She will, to gain this end, pitilessly attack those who are indifferent or sceptical to the potential of the working masses and the peasantry. There is no place in her State for those who lean to the Right rather than the Left, and are willing to settle for slow, sure progress instead of rapid, almost cataclysmic leaps.

Dragging Foot

Tito represents this «dragging foot» tendency to Mao, and

It is natural that he will be struck at by Mao in the same manner Mao would attack a revisionist in his own country. By smothering the seed of Titoism at the source, Mao seeks to keep the menace he considers most grave far from his shore. The collapse of Titoism or Revisionism, and Mao uses the terms interchangeably, in Yugoslavia, will be the best assurance to him that no others may be tempted to follow a dangerous path. Tito is Mao's scapegoat for Revisionism and for the now embarrassing spectacle of the «hundred flowers» in Red China. *He must be made to pay.*

Mao and War

Comrade Mao has a potentially dangerous idea that only through a continuance of the «cold war» or the threat of a «hot war» can he assure a strong position for Red China in the communist bloc. He is, unfortunately for the world, not particularly concerned with the consequences of his «playing with fire.» He wishes full support from the Soviet Union, even concessions, and crisis seems to him the best atmosphere to guarantee these. Co-existence and peaceful competition, on the other hand, could easily isolate Red China in the twin field of diplomacy and economic affairs. It is apparent on what evidence Tito has more than once accused the Chinese communist leaders of «using war as a road to socialism.»

Mao's ambitions are very far-reaching, and, if known, might even surprise his allies today. He obviously is striving to strengthen Peiping's present claim to be the chief defender of the principles and prestige of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. By identifying himself with the founders of Communism, he clearly wants to be considered as a fourth to the «unholy three.» Khrushchev, then, by elimination, becomes a mere *nouveau venu*. Ultimately, as unquestioned leader of almost 600 million Chinese, Mao's

side will be Asia's, and the day when Red China will reverse completely the tide power, dictating to Moscow and its Eastern European Satellites, shall dawn.

Asia and Tito's Revisionism

Thus far, there is no evidence that the Yugoslav brand of Revisionism has spread as far as Asia; neither can a definite answer now be given as to whether Revisionism will appear in Asia. This is the product of men long trained in communist school, and experienced in the ways of the Party. These men are no longer idealists, indeed, disillusion is their hallmark.

There is unrest in communist Asia, but its source is more likely to be the burgeoning Asian Nationalism than Revisionism. It is best to review the disturbances in these communist-dominated countries without asking the "why" of the trouble. One must realize, also, that Revisionism means changes within the framework of communism in an effort to make the system more palatable without abolishing it altogether. There is every reason to believe that efforts by Asian people for change are directed toward a break with communism which was «tried and found wanting.»

Red China

Well-documented reports tell of major revolts in Tibet and Mongolia against Communist Chinese rule. These uprisings are continuing also, giving further evidence that the whole people and not merely one clique share in the dissatisfaction.

We know, according to Red Chinese press releases, that several ministers and many high government and Party officials have been purged for their opposition to the controlling Communist Party.

The Chinese students, intellectuals and professors all took advantage of Mao's «hundred flowers» campaign to express

themselves against the policy of the Party. Thus uncovered, they could be «taken care of» by Mao and his agents. Their words, however, are part of the permanent records, and stand as a condemnation of the Chinese Reds.

Trials of Chinese writers who expressed divergent political ideas during the short period of comparative free speech under the communists were many and sentences passed severe.

North Viet-Nam

In 1956, pro-communist Nguyen-Manh-Tuong, a prominent intellectual of North Viet-Nam, denounced the errors of the Communist Party in his country in a remarkable speech before the National Congress of the Fatherland Front. The speech was more remarkable in that it was allowed to be uttered; however, this was during the time of the «hundred flowers.» Because of the revealing nature of these utterances, excerpts are here included,

«... bow before the memory of all the innocent people killed; not by the enemy, but by our own hands.

«Casting a glance at the countryside, we see lack of unity everywhere. Ever since the policy of land reform was wrongly carried out, the peasants in different strata have been opposed to each other... While destroying the landowner class, we simultaneously condemned to dreadful death numberless old people and children.

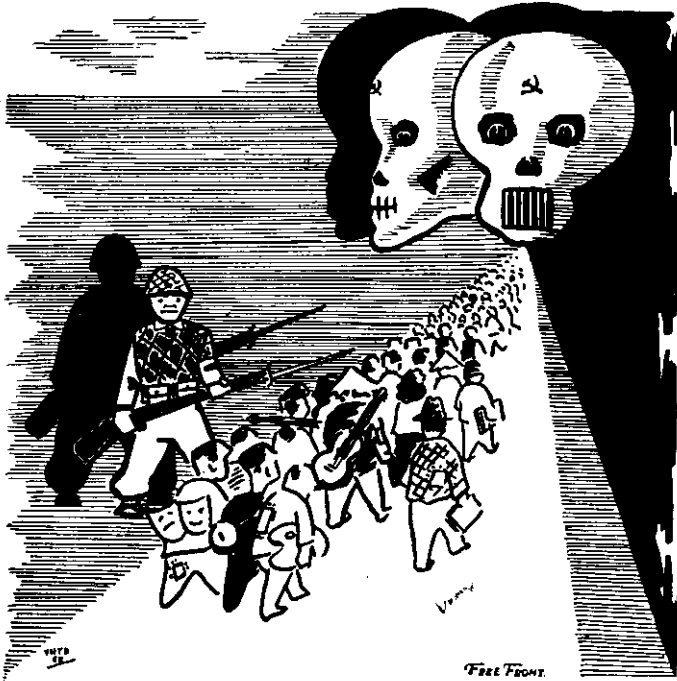
«Everybody knows how the Trade Service was used to strangle private enterprise... how it sold bad butter and mouldy tobacco, damaging the health of people.

«How can I neglect to mention these Southern compatriots brought North, when I think of their fate and the fate reserved for their children now concentrated in Hanoi and Haiphong? They suffer so much...»

In this same year, 1956, driven to the end of their patience,

... people and communist cadres of the village of Quynh Luu ... against the Party and communist government. Though, ... Hungary, these people were able to take many of their ... professors with them to death, freedom fighters of Quynh Luu ... were repressed mercilessly.

As in Red China, the *literati* of North Viet Nam paid for their independence during the period of the «hundred flowers»



The communist way to freedom of thought

when this campaign was halted abruptly. Writers, students and professors all went to trial and severe sentences for opposing communist policy.

Some 300 intellectuals, writers, journalists, and artists went off to exile for «betraying» the regime.

Since early 1958, the government structure of North Vietnam has been reorganized along more rigid lines to assure the Communist Party's most effective control over the government and the people and prevent any such revolt as had taken place in Quynh Luu.

North Korea

Internal purges keep constant uncertainty and fear prevailing among high ranking Party officers.

There has been an abortive attempt at revolt by top members of the Korean Communist Party against dictator Kim Il Sung and his followers.

In Korea, because of the communist war of aggression against South Korea starting in 1950, the intellectual class has either been put down in battle or been able to flee to the Republic of Korea. Therefore, much less is heard of them.

However, confirmed statistics put the number of anti-communist riots in this northern land during the past eight years at a total of 890,000.

Asia as a whole

All the above facts, together with scattered but substantiated instances of internal strife in other national communist parties of Asia, give striking and irrefutable proof that in the past three years Asian communism has, indeed, come in for its share of trouble. The inspiration for troubles in Asia may be different from those in Europe, though, in fact, the single largest source for opposition to communism is its inherent incompatibility with the true nature of all men.

Dissatisfaction and disillusion, even hatred, have inspired attacks against the Reds throughout their so-called hegemony. Party members and cadres have joined people from all walks to oppose the dictatorial policy of communism.

In Europe, Revisionism may be the outstanding form of revolt, while in Asia, an outright break with the system is sought, but everywhere the brotherhood of Man has acted in concert to protest the communist tyranny.

Asian peoples are aware of communist abuses in Asia. Though communist flattery has gained certain success over the past ten years, the enslavement of their brothers is not being ignored by the Asians. Communist harshness has brought discontent to those forced to live under it, as has been seen, and this discontent is rubbing off on free and uncommitted Asia.

Magic Words

Cleverly, communists have sought to make the magic words with mass appeal — patriotism, nationalism, anti-colonialism and liberation — their own. They want to be identified with these words because through them people can be hypnotized.

The efforts and sacrifices made by honest people seeking no more than their «place in the sun» are what communists seek to harness in the communist machine. Words of sympathy for these people cost the Reds nothing, but could gain them a valuable foothold.

When the mask slips from the true face of communism before or after a people have declared themselves, the opposition begins; for people awaken quickly when faced with the truth.

The fortunate people know to start their criticism, before communism is upon them; the unfortunate may die for the truth as in the revolts of Tibet, Mongolia and North Viet Nam. Passive resistance is a practice and defense with which Asians have long been familiar, but, of late, they have also shown an adeptness for open opposition.

Feet of Clay

The obvious struggle between Khrushchev and Mao-Tse-