

tung for leadership of the international proletariat is not going unnoticed in Asia. The rivalry even within orthodox communism shows that it is not the united, international force it purports to be. Anti-communism naturally infiltrates Red ranks when they hear from their own leaders, in debate and accusation, that the «idol blessed with universality» has «feet of clay.»

Forecasts of eventual conflict between communists owing allegiance to and those whose loyalty is claimed by Peiping are raising present-day discussions in Asia. At such time as these forecasts become reality, the consequence could easily be an unbridgeable chasm between communist East and West.

Can one discount the idea of authentic Revisionism appearing in Asia? No! Communists who oppose both the Kremlin and Peiping, while favoring Revisionism **within the Party** are thought to exist in the East. Why else is so much attention given to the organization of meetings everywhere: in Red China, North Viet Nam and North Korea, to condemn Djilas and Tito. These can be construed, with good certainty, as efforts to Asian communists who tend to oppose both the Party and Peiping.

All this is why Mao, more savagely than Khrushchev, decries Tito for his revisionist program. Through Tito, Mao is also attacking Khrushchev and seeking a return to the high, sure road to Stalin for his beloved Party which has been so shaken and threatened by Tito and by the consequences of the Imre Nagy execution.

Judging from the record, one may presume that the anti-communist movements in Asia differ from those in Eastern Europe, particularly in their aim for complete severance of communist ties as opposed to mere Revisionism, because in Asia, with the exception of a small percentage, most leading communists are not yet deeply imbued with Marxist doctrine and dogma.

### Revisionism in Asia?

At the same time, it is not improbable that Tito's Revisionism will eventually infect Asian communist circles, dividing this largest continent into blocs according to geographical location, political and economic situations and differing levels of «sophistication» among the communist leaders and rank and file.

Apart from the People's genuine anti-communist movements growing in communist-ruled countries, there can be discerned in Asia different developments which could impair the strength of communism through divers means. These include:

1. Communists who would follow the path of Tito and embrace his revisionist program.
2. Communists remaining faithful to Khrushchev, thus automatically breaking away from 100% adherence to the policy and leadership of Mao. Eventually this type of opposition could disturb Mao's planning as much as Titoism.
3. Communists breaking with communism altogether and seeking independence and real freedom in the tradition of Nagy, Maleter and Hungarian people etc.

### Hope of the World?

*Che sara sara*, goes the lyric of a popular song, and in those words — what will be, will be — in the fate of the communist movement and, let us not deny it, the world. But in the words also is the hope for the world; for human nature is universal, knowing and needing no Marx, Stalin or Khrushchev to guide it. **communism is antipathetic to human nature**, even communist human nature!

Freedom resides in the heart of every man, though the

man may not live in the heart of freedom. This love of liberty inherent in mankind sooner or later is bound to unite in a political upheaval beside which all previous upheavals will pale in comparison. Communism then, with its revisionists, orthodoxists, Marxists, Stalinists and the whole long long unwanted line, will be crushed by the weight of all humanities overwhelming desire — **Freedom!**

But this is the future, and today remains a force to be reckoned with, one whole internal struggle and strife is watched with interest, even hope, by the world.

Faced with dissension, will the communists remain passive and wait for what is in store? Or will they, more in keeping with their record, work to shape the future? Will they use war as a means to do away with all elements considered by them reactionary? And, is the statement Tito directed at Mao to come true: «War as a road to socialism?»

Mao may risk war. His dedication to purpose is too well known to doubt this. We might see in war a means to bring communism to an early end. However, we should not neglect any plausible means to halt and push back communism. Internal struggles of Communism are all «Fifth Columns» which play into our hands.

And favoring us is the sure knowledge that even communist adherents are human beings, and most still harbor a sense of Nationalism. These and the innocent millions who are today victims of communist tyranny are, by human nature, allies by spirit as the final showdown with Communism approaches.

The differences inside Communism are heartening proof that the mind and soul of man behind the Bamboo and Iron Curtains still function.

## CHAPTER SIX

### **Revisionism through the eyes of Russian and Red Chinese writers**

As ripples spread out from the spot where a pebble drops into a pond, so has the campaign of attacks on Yugoslav revisionism originated by the leaders in Moscow and Peiping been carried ahead by other men in other circles in the communist bloc.

Such diverse groups as Chinese economists, East German philosophers, Russian poets, Bulgarian intellectuals, Rumanian musicians and Polish theoreticians have all felt compelled to «get into the act.» All have joined in the concerted effort to style Yugoslav revisionism as the most serious menace to the survival of communism.

But why this «Greek chorus» concentrating their hate on a schismatic group of communists in one relatively minor country?

### A page from their own book

Perhaps it is because the communists have been astute enough to take the words of their own Master and transcribe them to fit their own case. Marx has said, «Capitalism will dig its own grave.» Could it be that the Party «faithful» now consider it possible that Marxist-Leninism might be buried by its own former adherents?

This may well be a valid reason for the continuing campaign against revisionism. Frightened, the «pure formists» are attacking revisionism with all weapons of the arsenal: psychological warfare, propaganda, even force. For, if Marx is right when he refers to other systems, why would his words not be valid in reference to communism itself. And if revisionism is evidence of prophecy come true, then no effort is too great if needed to uproot and destroy the poisonous growth on the body politique of communism.

### Date with destiny

It was Somerset Maugham, the skilled English story-teller, who wrote one of his finest short stories to cover a case remarkably similar to the dilemma of world communism today. This was «Appointment in Samarra» and told of a man who was warned that Death had fixed rendezvous with him. The man in question changed all his scheduled arrangements in order to thwart destiny. In the end, however his efforts proved nil as he arrived at his new destination, Samarra, only to be met by «the man in black» who told him, «I was expecting you here.»

Communism is doing the same desperate «shadow boxing» with its foe today. We know the ultimate enemy of communism is Man himself, but the communists are currently attacking the more tangible revisionism. When dogma succeeded no better

against revisionism than it did against the bulwark of Spiritual Values, other, more fiendish and telling weapons were tried. Among these has been the controlled Press and its writers.

Within the scope of this booklet there is room enough only to sum up the expressed opinions of two writers, V. Nikolayev and Chen-Bo-Da. These can be accepted as truly representative mouthpieces of the Soviet and Red Chinese Party leaders.

### Nikolayev

In his definitive attack, written for the May 21, 1958 issue of *Izvestia*, V. Nikolayev found it essential to hew closely to the «unholy three» of pure form communism: Marx, Lenin and Stalin. That the «stateless» condition which would mark the fulfillment of communism had not been achieved, Nikolayev blamed on the continuing «historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat.» «As long as the final victory of communism is not insured, one cannot bring to the fore the question of the 'withering away' of the State without weakening thereby the position of socialism.» There is, interestingly, the hint that if revisionism vanishes, the «historical tasks» would be very much nearer to achievement!

Generally, Nikolayev sticks to the frequently exposed quotations from Marx, Lenin and Stalin to document his attack on the Yugoslav Revisionists. These are so generally known, that they do not add great allure to his case, and certainly do not strengthen his arguments before an impartial critic. It is best, for the sake of concise exposition, to quote principally those passages in his article in which Nikolayev strikes at the Yugoslavs.

### Basically Opposed

«Contemporary revisionism,» writes Nikolayev, «which

opposes all basic principles of the revolutionary theory, selected the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the State as one of the main objects of its attack. The Revisionists try to cover up the exploiting bourgeois State. They assert that under contemporary conditions the bourgeois State has allegedly lost its class character and that it appears in some 'new social role,' as an 'above-class' force.»

«Such assertions, which are fundamentally opposed to Marxist-Leninism, are contained in the draft program of the League of Yugoslav Communists. The program declares that the bourgeois State apparatus, which has assumed considerable economic functions and acquired an independent economic character, is above society and tends to increasingly restrict the role of private capital, as well as the role of the working class.»

To Nikolayev, anything which would work in favor of capitalism is a boundless menace. This in itself would be enough to condemn revisionism. It is interesting to observe that everything Nikolayev states is backed up by references to Marx and Lenin. He virtually deifies the two communist theorists in order to substantiate his points, for only if he can have the writings these "masters" accepted as gospel can he hope to give a real aura of validity to his whole presentation.

Note the following, «Lenin played havoc with the bourgeois theory on the above-class character of the capitalist State. To champion this defeated, reactionary theory today is to hide from the masses the true meaning of the bourgeois State, which protects capitalist production built on the exploitation of man by man, deal cruelly with the workers' movement and persecute all (sic) progressive, democratic organizations.»

### **A Misunderstanding**

Nikolayev claims that the Yugoslavs misinterpret and mis-

understand the role of government in the Soviet. He continues to hold that the ultimate goal is the stateless society promised by Marx.

«The leading Yugoslav functionaries,» he writes, «grossly distorting the role and nature of the Soviet State and attributing to it «bureaucratic-State trends,» charge the Soviet communists with a «bureaucratic-opportunist idealization of the State, and try to prove the incompatibility of the development of the socialist State with the development of democracy.»

Nikolayev sees these charges as «by no means different from the fabrication of the bourgeois propaganda.»

This slander is not new,» writes Nikolayev, then he harks back to Lenin. «Decades ago, Lenin mercilessly exposed the reactionary essence of such expatiations. He asserted that as long as different classes exist, one can speak only of class democracy, and those who spread the empty and abstract phrases of «pure democracy» he called «people without ideas, without character, without a policy, without honor and without conscience—heroes of Philistine feeble-mindedness and petit bourgeois cowardice.»

**Ed. note:** Let it never be said that a true Red is caught short of invictive!

The reader will observe that, by now, Nikolayev has cleverly allied the Yugoslav Revisionists with the favorite foe of the communists—the bourgeois democracy. Having accomplished this tie in, Nikolayev can go ahead in his writing to attack well known targets and, by association, be casting aspersions simultaneously upon Yugoslavia.

«The ideologists of the bourgeoisie try to present the dictatorship of the proletariat as rough power and as compact violence,» writes Nikolayev. «Marxism never denounced the necessity for and progressiveness of violence in the suppression of the resistance of the exploiting classes. However, as was

significantly announced by Lenin in his famous greeting to the Hungarian workers, it is not only, or mainly, violence which makes up the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Its main essence lies in the great creative tasks of the proletariat as the organizer of the new, higher social order — communism.»

### Sputnik is «Pure Form»

Even the existence of «Sputnik» is seen as a strong proof that «pure» communism is a sounder philosophy than revisionism: «The construction of a socialist society in the USSR and the successful resolution of the tasks of a gradual transition to communism, the world-wide and historical achievements of the Soviet people in all fields of economic and cultural construction clearly and convincingly demonstrate to the entire world the great creative force of the proletariat dictatorship led by the Communist Party. The success of the Soviet artificial earth satellites and successes in the use of atomic energy... are striking examples of this creative force.»

To paraphrase Nikolayev, the one «clear and convincing» proof to the reader in his words is that he will use freely the widest parallels and irrelevant proofs to strengthen his case for the Soviet-style versus the Yugoslav brand of communism. He concludes his eulogy on Soviet industry by stating, «In these fields, as well as in the matter of training specialists, the US must now catch up with the USSR.» **There may well be some truth here, BUT, what has that got to do with revisionism?**

Nikolayev holds to Marx and Lenin for support through to the end when he defends the all-powerful presence of the State in communist countries even though the basic tenets of communism hold that it should «wither away.» «... to pose the question of the withering away of the State as a practical task at the contemporary stage would mean the commission of a gross

error.» This defense seems valid to Nikolayev since «Marxist-Leninism views the socialist State as being in development.»

Back to the Yugoslavs, Nikolayev holds that they have committed a gross error by asserting that «After the strengthening of the power of the working class and the working people in general, the question of the withering away of the State becomes a basic and decisive quest of the socialist social system.»

Apart from their conflict with Marx and Lenin, Nikolayev does not elaborate on the «gross error» of the Yugoslavs. Instead, he launches into yet another attack on old favorite enemies — words which as usual replace facts with vindictive: «Any weakening of the socialist States in the period of transition under conditions where the camp of socialism is opposed by an aggressive imperialist camp can only help the imperialists, the sworn enemies of democracy and socialism.» Again, the Yugoslavs are tied to Wall Street simply because they would oppose Moscow!

These ideas concluded Nikolayev's study on revisionism. The article was, if anything, distinguished by its relative mildness. Perhaps this was an example of the Soviet «soft approach» to revisionism which has been exposed elsewhere in this work. To the reader, the article was also noteworthy for its lack of direction, and the obvious necessity of far-fetched parallels to strengthen a most sketchy case.

### The Chinese Attack

There is no softness or «hedging» in the Chinese attacks on revisionism, as presented by the Red writer Chen-Bo-Da. These are mainly characterized by their outspokenness and acrid tone.

Chen-Bo-Da does not hesitate to state, **Yugoslav revisionism is the product of (American) imperialist policy.»**

He claims revisionism, rather than springing from the heart of the people or the nationalistic feelings of the leaders, came about through an outright bribe of money from the much maligned imperialists. «Yugoslavia's leading group headed by Tito,» writes Chen, «sold their services for a sum amounting to \$3 billion.» In passing, observe that the Red Chinese author does not speak of Yugoslav **communists**, but of the «leading group,» or elsewhere, the «Tito group.» Obviously, the Red Chinese do not wish to admit that revisionism is even a distant relative of communism. They are holding out no hope, however faint, of reconciliation between Revisionist and «pure form» communist.

Chen-Bo-Da concisely sets down 12 points which he considers characterize Yugoslav revisionism. He considers the evidence in these 12 points convincing proof that **The New Class**, of Djilas, is the basis of revisionism. He acknowledges that revisionism will remain the Yugoslav program unless a change comes by force, thus declares strongly that, «this struggle (to eradicate revisionism) should not be stopped half-way.»

### The 12 Points

There is enough interest in the 12 points of Chen-Bo-Da for them to be summarized here. At least, they are forthright statements, though the validity can and should be severely questioned. They are outlined, one by one, below:

1. The Yugoslavs have denied the existence of two opposing systems based on social, political and economic differences in the world. This is a keystone of communism and must be held to if «pure form» communism is to survive. The Yugoslav reference to «two military, political blocs» is inadmissible and questions the historical destiny for world communism promised first by Marx.

When the Revisionists go further and ask that «the United

Nations . . . bring about multilateral cooperation and a rapprochement between the nations . . . » they are, according to Chen-Bo-Da committing absolute heresy in accepting the continued existence of imperialism and leaving the communist world open to contamination from it.

2. Yugoslavs have declared that they do not belong to the socialist camp, and that their stand is «above that of the two blocs.» In these words, not only has the supremacy of Marxist-Leninism as interpreted from Moscow (and possibly Peiping) been denied, but communist leadership has been declared, in effect, human and open to error as much as that of the imperialist powers.

3. The «imperialist camp under leadership of the U. S. A.» is not considered by the Yugoslavs as a «potential source of war danger.» If this is true, and the «doves of peace» of the communists are flying strongly, then there could be no danger of conflict today. All know there is, so the Yugoslav assessment of the «imperialists» must be wrong, and dangerously so for it casts doubt on the intentions of the communists.

Indeed, Tito has confirmed this by speaking of «Stalin's cruel and unnecessarily menacing foreign policy.» «This, Tito declared, «was the basic reason for the establishment of the Atlantic Pact.» How such words must grate on the traditionalist communist who sees NATO as simply a weapon for aggression against «peace-loving peoples!»

4. Yugoslav have gone so far as to declare that both the imperialist era and the proletarian revolution are a matter of the past. This may be so, for we have seen imperialism recede in the Middle East, Asia and Africa since World War II. We have likewise seen that the State is not «withering away» under communism, and that the proletariat remains as far from power as ever in the communist world. However, if both these statements are correct, then the imperialists are not the menace

they are painted to be, and the communists are not world saviors as claimed. This is not good for the communist cause, and cannot be admitted if communism is to hold its strength.

5. A tempering of pure capitalism is seen by the Yugoslavs: They contend that «the State is steadily increasing its hold on capital...the regulating functions of the State are increasing also in the field of labor relations and with regard to property, social rights and services as well as social relations.» In other words, capitalism is adopting many of the features which communism claims it alone can guarantee. **A Marxist-Leninist could not admit that his avowed enemy was giving the people many of the advantages of communism under a capitalist State: To do so would be to seal his own fate.**

6. The working class, so say the Yugoslav, can make «the State apparatus subservient to society,» and not destroy it beforehand or in the process. If this is true, then there is no need for world revolution. But, without world revolution, where would communism be? Another black mark is chalked up against revisionism.

7. Opposed to a State subservient to its people, the Yugoslav revisionists regard «the dictatorship of the proletariat» (pure form communism) as leading to «bureaucratic predominance by the State.» What could be further from the «withering away» of the State foretold by Marx?

8. Under communism, since the State is theoretically the people, «people's property» is in actuality «State property,» and this puts the State into capitalism. A serious accusation to make against a communist State! Therefore, the Yugoslavs claim that «collective property,» that is, property held in common by the people themselves, with no intermediary, is preferable to «people's property,» BUT — «private property,» held by the individual, is preferable to either. Under communism, no room exists for private holdings, because of the sacred words of Marx: «From

each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.» The Yugoslav assessment of varying values of property systems bears no relation to communist teachings. It could not be other than condemned.

9. Getting to the heart of their original break with Moscow, the Yugoslavs are now saying that the «common ideology» and «unity of action» promoted by Moscow and supported by Peiping are respectively «ideological monopolism» and «political hegemony.» In other words, they will not have their course of national action and international relations dictated from outside. If this could be allowed, the whole Satellite system would be placed in jeopardy. **Another black mark against the Yugoslavs!**

10. Yugoslavs are no longer admitting that Communist parties provide the unique route toward socialism. This too is dangerous for the «pure formists.» If socialism is the goal, but if other systems than communism can provide access to the goal, why world communism, and why further allegiance to Marx and Lenin?

11. According to the Yugoslavs, the international workers' movement has not kept step with social developments. This is the pride and joy of communism, and any claim that a program for «the workers of the world» is lagging, is a blow at communism itself. The further remark by Yugoslavs that during the last years under Stalin the movement stagnated and even retrogressed is salt in the wounds, calculated to infuriate «pure formists.» **This it has obviously done.**

### The Summing Up

12. Taking into account the above 11 points, Chen-Bo-Da concludes that, under the pretext of struggling against «dogmatism,» the Yugoslav Revisionists have «talked a lot of

reactionary nonsense.» This is a rather weak, but typical communist rebuttal to charges which, to outsiders, appear well founded. Chen-Bo-Da ridicules Yugoslav attention to the «defense of humanity,» «human personality,» «truth concerning man as a part of the community,» «free personality» and «intellectual structure of man.»

The Red Chinese can well do this, for the «basic inhumanity» of communism would have no interest in these points. When he strikes revisionism for a show of humanism, he likewise points up the unbridgeable gulf between Communism and Man. He makes a case which will be feared and studied because it is the serious and considered opinion of a group of men, the leaders of Red China, who wield considerable power in the world today.

*It is a cold wind touching people free and striving to be free who are geographically close to the origin of the wind.* For Tito it is fortunate that he is geographically removed from the storm center.

### Last Thoughts

Again in this exposition of ideas from Soviet and Red Chinese writers on the subject of revisionism, the contrasting vituperance of the two attacks is clear. Red China carries the brunt of the attack, whether by plan or hazard or conviction we cannot tell. The Russian writers, represented by Nikolayev, are much more inclined to use generalities, and familiar words such as «imperialist» and «warmonger.» A basic theme in their condemnation is «Russia is great, Russia has 'pure form' communism, Yugoslavia opposes 'pure form' communism, therefore, Yugoslavia cannot be great, Yugoslavia is wrong, and only through a return to 'pure form' communism can Yugoslavia hope to be right and great.» There's a certain smugness in this Russian line.

The Red Chinese, with Chen-Bo-Da as spokesman, speak loudly and boisterously. They do delineate the Yugoslav case well, but their conclusions fail to impress since they are all seemingly dictated by utter devotion to the precepts of Marx and Lenin.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### **Tito and Djilas — Two ideas on Communism**



**Milovan Djilas**

Within the scope of this book, there is not room enough for a thorough-going study of the thoughts of Milovan Djilas, famous theorist of communist Yugoslavia.

Tito, his enemy within his own land, is already well-covered in these pages as concerns his ideology, and orthodox Marxist-Leninist thoughts are equally familiar to us.

Djilas sky-rocketed to international fame by his trail

blazing **within** communism. Tito is called brave for fostering revisionism — Djilas remains unique in his one-man crusade as exposed in **The New Class**.

When he set out on his new path, Djilas must have realized that he was divorcing himself from all possible sources of aid within communism. Only from the Free World has thoughtful recognition of Djilas' work been forthcoming.

Since the views of Khrushchev and Mao, representing the Supreme Soviet and «pure form» communists are familiar, let us examine the sources of divergence between Djilas and his former co-worker and national leader, Tito.

### No stranger

Tito is firmly established as premier enemy actively and openly opposed to «pure form» communism. He has set forth a program to build socialism in Yugoslavia through national communism.

Djilas knew and advocated communism since childhood. He is no stranger, therefore, to the system. Having chosen the communist road during his, and the Party's early days, he has been mixed with the «family» for most of his life.

Starting at the bottom, he has tasted delights of top echelon communist positions. Before his break and subsequent downfall he was a definite international figure in the communist world.

Despite, or perhaps because of, intimate acquaintance with international communism, and the national form preached by Tito, Djilas has seen fit to desert both paths and seek some other way — one which he terms «democratic socialism.»

It would be interesting to know the thoughts in the mind of Djilas when he smuggled out the draft copy of **The New Class**, the book which was to reveal his knowledge of com-

munims, and elaborate on the «democratic socialism» which he wished to substitute for «system.»

Surely he knew that this act would further alienate him from any who might help in his case. Certainly the man had the strongest of conviction that his cause was worthy to so place his future in jeopardy.

Whatever the book might do to Djilas personally, it has succeeded brilliantly in revealing additional facets of communism to those outside the system and, more important, shaken the positive faith of the followers of Tito and adepts of the Kremlin and Peking in their respective systems.

### **New Class**

Nothing existing presently in communism was spared in **The New Class**. Djilas spares no details in setting down the autocratic and inhuman acts which he knows characterize communism. As if this were not enough, he continues to attack what he considers the faulty tenets of Tito's national communism. Let us examine more closely these ideological differences separating Djilas from Tito.

Upon completing the reading of **The New Class**, one realizes that Djilas has done more than attack the better-known shortcomings of communism. These, of course, include the overall dictatorial policy, exploitation of workers, the one-way flow of ideas, a thoroughly perverted culture, continuing struggles for power, terrorism and cruelty.

Djilas undertakes a thorough examination of the basic proletarian philosophy and the soundness of a policy of inhumanity as advocated by «purists.» He hits at the monolithic governmental structure in communist countries.

### **Attack**

Yet it is apart from this valued appraisal of international communism that Djilas makes his greatest impact with his book.

When he outlines the differences of views and ideologies between himself and Tito over the conception of national communism, and the very contradictions of the Yugoslav Communist Party policy on national communism, then Djilas sets forth new ground for investigation and exploitation.

There he reveals himself as a type of social-democratic leader opposed to all forms of communism be they from the Kremlin, Belgrade or elsewhere. Actually, he shows he is opposed to the essence of communism, not merely one or another of varying forms under which it may appear.

So, at heart, Djilas exposes sentiments not far from those of the martyred Nagy and Maletier.

By attacking, in **The New Class**, both the theory and practice of communism as a whole, by condemning its cruelty and corruption, Djilas has, evidently, included in the onslaught the national communist regime of Yugoslavia in general, and Tito in particular.

According to Djilas, the successful defiance of Yugoslavia has made the Kremlin and other powers and people behind the Iron Curtain recognize that national communism was an actuality, and not as previously termed — «nonsense.»

With recognition of Yugoslavia's particular status, came the obvious realization that every communist country might build socialism to its own mold.

Even if Party policy varies and vacillates, national communism has been accorded official recognition. The recognition may only be **de facto**, simply because Yugoslavian National communism does exist ; it has given rise to nationalistic feeling in all Eastern Europe. And thanks to this fact, Tito has become an outstanding figure.

### Tito Loses Momentum

Now Djilas starts to break away from Tito. He sees his

former leader as losing momentum by the middle of this decade and dropping from the vanguard position of Yugoslavia.

Particularly, Djilas hits at the conciliatory policy which started (and lasted for only a short while) with the visit of Khrushchev to Yugoslavia in 1955. The rapprochement when Tito and Khrushchev, former implacable enemies, became friends again, burying for the moment disagreements and disputes, seemed to Djilas an unforgivable surrender of ideals.

Further, as a result, Djilas states that the national revolutionary movement in his homeland almost stopped in the years from 1955 to 1957.

Where national communism had been a good phenomenon gaining approval from most communist countries, including even the Ukraine within the USSR, its slow-down in 1955 lost much of the good accomplished.

### **Kremlin Plan**

Taking advantage of a stagnant condition within the national communist movement, the Kremlin wrought changes in its own policy.

In the Satellites, Russia started to substitute economic «cooperation» for outright political control. This gave equally effective control over Satellites, for with their economies in tight Soviet grip, the Satellites could afford no real independence in actions.

Because their recovery from effects of World War II lagged far behind Western Europe, the Satellites had little choice but to go along with new Soviet policy.

However, obedience to the dictates of that policy has been an expedient measure, temporary in nature, for it contradicts the Satellites' continuing aim.

Nationalism can be covered, delayed, pushed underground

— but it does not halt. Tito's accord with Khrushchev in 1955 did one or another of these things to nationalism in the Satellites. It certainly weakened resistance to Kremlin economic policy. Yet nationalism continued.

### **Ruse**

And, in spite of its «new look,» the imperialistic and aggressive policy of the Soviet Union continued. This cannot allow any nationalism. It depends on faithful puppet communist regimes in all the Satellites (to Russia, this term includes Yugoslavia).

Clever and subtle ruses may be used to conceal the true puppet character of Satellites regime, but the basic character of the government must not change.

Thus is the irrevocable conflict. Nationalism and true communist policy are as different as life and death.

Djilas knows and does not oppose this conflict, for he is at heart a nationalist. He does condemn Tito for acting in 1955 in a way which would weaken the side of nationalism.

For some years before, since 1948, the Kremlin had been in a weakened position. Nationalism promoted by Tito was robbing it of its position as the leading center of international proletarianism.

The leadership of the Soviet Union was, in fact, becoming an outmoded concept before newly awakened aspirations of the masses behind the Iron Curtain.

### **Fighter**

Djilas was with the present regime in Yugoslavia since Partisan days. He is a firm supporter of the fighting role for communist Yugoslavia.

In support of his beliefs he says, «Yugoslav national communism has played an important role in reducing the potential

of Russian imperialism and causing the decline of Stalinist policy, even with regard to the Soviet Communist Party.

Precisely, Khrushchev availed himself of the discord between Stalin and Tito in 1948 to suggest de-Stalinization at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

«I would say that political changes in Eastern Europe have been mostly due to the struggle of the Yugoslav Communist Party. Yugoslavia's struggle against Stalin in 1948 paved the way for a new phase in communist history.

«Because of its movement of national communism, Yugoslavia has upset the position and prestige of the Supreme Soviet and greatly influenced the labor movement in communist and non-communist countries.»

### Decadent

It is clear to see why Djilas would take issue with his former comrade Tito. The «surrender of 1955» when Tito and Khrushchev embraced was a surrender which weakened communist parties in Eastern Europe according to Djilas. Tito, says Djilas, was in 1955 an opportunist who weakened his whole movement by contradicting his principles.

It is under the mantle of nationalism, according to Djilas, that communism gains its meaning and importance with national communist parties not in power in government, such as those of France, Italy and certain Asian countries.

Such communist parties, by publicizing national communism, have won over a large number of workers and other supporters.

This has helped the cause, for these parties constitute an enduring «fifth column» which can be called upon when communism seeks to gain political supremacy in the country concerned.

However, though national communism gives a present advantage to the communist movement in many countries, Djilas, unlike Tito, believes that national communism is a decadent form of communism which cannot long endure under inevitable laws of evolution. He sees it as a way-station on the path of complete departure from communism.

When Djilas goes this far, the break with Tito is sure, for Tito's future is quite possibly at stake if Djilas is correct.

### Quiver and Quake

Yugoslavia, birthplace of national communism and revisionism, must also be credited with Djilas, whose theories in the long run may supersede others in importance.

If Russia and Red China quaked after Tito's pronouncements, Djilas did one better in making even the revolutionary Tito quiver. Time and history will tell the true value of all ideas which have emanated from Yugoslavia during the past decade, and will give the answer as to what further ideological developments will take place in this country.

## CONCLUSION

A new era in which the Kremlin lost its spiritual and mystical character was ushered in 1948 when the now famous schism took place between Moscow and Belgrade. No longer was Moscow to be a sacred place of worship, and the source of ultimate interpretation for Marxist-Leninist dogmas. From 1948, and from Belgrade, national communism made its appearance, spreading notably to the Middle East.

Leaders in the Supreme Soviet, who had long held that national communism betrayed «the revolution,» now had to recognize it as an enduring actuality. From the Kremlin had to come a renunciation of «monopoly of thought,» for it could not continue to pose as the only seminar for diffusing international communism.

Those first years after 1948 were but the initial period of the split within communism. In this period, Stalin underestimated Tito, thinking that, given the geographical positioning of Yugoslavia, and a continuing growth for international communism, sooner or later Tito would return perforce under the Moscow yoke.

### Subtlety

Despite prevailing complacency, the Supreme Soviet did undertake study of subtle means to strengthen the iron chains which kept other communist countries in line with the common destiny of the USSR. They particularly recognized that events in Yugoslavia had great effect on communists in the Middle East because of the proximity of the Balkans, and the Mohammedan minority in Yugoslavia.

Subtlety not being the strongest trait of the communists, whatever methods they use to achieve their goals, the true characteristics of communism had a habit of showing through any plan the Supreme Soviet could conceive at this time.

Communism in action had to use communist methods, or it necessarily would forego communist aims. The whole system — whose leaders publicly proclaim a basic inhumanity — was its own worst enemy in striving for a subtle approach.

Communism on the march is much like a house on fire, for the vermin and scavengers hidden in the woodwork come out in the heat of action.

### Truth Will Out

Slowly but very surely those under communism have awakened to the contradictions and basic injustice of the communist system. Even in leading communist cadres have appeared doubts about ideology and practices.

Though communism has laboriously created a substitute for human society, and imposed this «ersatz» system on its subjects, it has not been able to avoid the effects of the natural law of evolution. The death of Stalin not only brought about an all-too-natural struggle for supremacy among his successors, it also broke the favored silence surrounding the

communists as Khrushchev launched the de-Stalinization campaign at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

Though the astute Khrushchev sought to break the advance of national communism in one blow in 1955, by a rapprochement with Tito, thus returning Yugoslavia to its former status and obliterating the rallying point for the blooming spirit of nationalism in Eastern Europe, he failed and the normal evolution of events proceeded.

Ahead lay Gomulka and Poland, then the climax — until the present — of the nationalist movement: the uprising in Hungary, which Russia had to put down by armed force and which bloodstained the pages describing contemporary history.

### **Humanity Victorious**

Though the efforts to date have not succeeded in throwing off the communist yoke, they show that humanity has been victorious for it has retained all its normal desires and attributes in spite of the imposed re-education of communism. Good remains supreme in the mind of Man, and Evil does not sway spiritual human souls with its atheistic, immoral and inhuman doctrine.

Throughout the history of the anti-communist struggle appear people who have caused immeasurable trouble and uneasiness to communism. Many are little people, simple freedom-lovers who have acted to obtain that which they love. Others in the 40-year period of strife are well-known names today: Tito, Nagy and Djilas.

In renewing the anti-Kremlin campaign in 1958, Tito dropped an ideological bomb which shook the very foundations of Moscow, Peking and the Satellite centers. Revisionism, pursued with savage vigor by Tito is observed by all com-

munists, and attracts much attention in the Free World.

To forestall further unfavorable developments, Khrushchev has liquidated, in a relatively short period, many leading communist cadres. Nagy and Maleter are dead today because they might have proved rallying points for Revisionism.

### **Mao Intervenes**

Mao Tse-tung savagely attacked Tito while entering into indirect conflict with Khrushchev. He hastily established the so-called people's communes as a short-cut leading Red China to socialism, disregarding the Kremlin policy line.

The hammer-and-sickle solidarity has been broken piecemeal.

From the Kremlin to Peiping and other satellites, the struggle for influence and power has almost reached its climax, giving the Free World hope for success in its anti-communist fight.

The communists are now mutual foes ; they attack and counter-attack one another. They want to liquidate one another to build up communism. They are writing the bloodiest pages of history witnessed by mankind.

### **Triangle**

We can summarize the characteristics of this triangle conflict within the communist world, as follows :

**Tito** wants to revise the principles of Marx-Lenin, modify the communist doctrine and become the Marx of the present time.

He wants to build communist socialism in his own way without blind obedience to Marxist-Leninist principles.

He opposes the Kremlin's dictatorial leadership, promotes national communism, advocates friendly relationship with the Free World.

**Khrushchev** has denounced Stalin as a ruse to impute his crimes to the latter; but he will not depart from Stalin's policy and methods. He will go the Stalin way in establishing the communist world in which the Kremlin would hold supreme power over all other communist countries.

**Mao**, disregarding the Kremlin's line, hastily established the people's communes as the means toward «perfect socialism.»

He thinks that to wait longer would hinder this task because privileged communist members would think of consolidating their position and preserving their interests; they would become private owners and a new class would come into existence.

For this very reason, when Djilas published his «New Class» and Tito renewed his attacks on the Kremlin and the revisionist movement, Mao Tse-tung lost no time in launching an anti-Tito campaign and establishing the people's communes.

Mao's failure in design sharpens the present conflict between Mao and Khrushchev, the more so as Khrushchev as well as his Eastern European satellites disapprove the Maoist policy of people's communes.

### Impasse

It is now evident that the three top communist leaders in Moscow, Peking and Belgrade have adopted different ways and means to build communism. Their mutual discord in theory and in practice has reached such an impasse that even were Marx, Lenin and Stalin revived, they would not be able to reconcile them.

None of us can foretell what will be the final outcome of the present communist conflict. But one thing is clear: the rising influence of Mao is now decreasing. He has been obliged to quit the post of President of Red China.

In addition to the top communist leaders' triangle conflict,

Djilas's book which exposes the danger of communism, strikes another blow against the whole communist bloc, producing a fearful echo throughout the communist paradise from Moscow to Peking to Belgrade and other satellites, further adding to the internal crisis among top communist leaders.

### **New Headaches**

When we were about to conclude this book, the revisionist movement began rising in Poland, Rumania and Hungary. In Poland, Gomulka, Secretary General of the Polish Communist Party, disclosed that some 200,000 communist members had been expelled from the party.

As this number represents 14 per cent of the total membership of the Polish Communist Party, the situation created great trouble for the Polish valets of Russia.

The situation in Rumania, likewise, gives communist leaders serious headaches. They can no longer count on the loyalty of Rumanian communist members. A great storm is sweeping communist ranks in Rumania.

### **Flames**

In Hungary, communist authorities are taking measures to prevent repetition of the 1956 uprising.

In short, the flames of revisionism and opposition are smouldering in the hearts of the people as well as in the bosoms of East European communist members.

Certainly, the Kremlin and Peiping with its puppets in this part of the communist world, are thinking of appropriate measures to suppress any eventual uprising or opposition under whatever form it may come.

Surely, the communists will have to pay a high price;

probably all their capital earnings of the last forty years will not suffice to pay for such cleavages. Costly it is, because communist solidarity has been seriously flawed and the communist bloc has been split piecemeal.

The natural struggle for light and truth continues. One has but to regard the heroic efforts by millions behind the bamboo and iron curtains to know this is so. From North Viet Nam, Tibet and other communist controlled areas have come bloody testimonials proving to the Free World that those peoples subjugated presently to communist tyranny still have the courage and strength to resist Red domination with its accompanying inhumanity and pervading evil.

### **Spiritual Enemy**

The spiritual enemy of communism marches on. It cannot be stopped by attacks on humans, nor will economic conditions greatly affect this intangible foe. Human beings are not animals to be soothed solely by a full stomach or a ration of material comforts. Because it would control the human mind, Marxism has failed, and been condemned for its objectives by its own disciples.

Communists will not recognize that, besides material modern weapons, there are spiritual weapons of great power which in the long run are invincible.

These advance steadily into position, relentlessly acting against the communist dream of world domination. There are spiritual weapons stored in the religious nature and tradition of every nation, and in the heart of each human, even though he be a communist. These spiritual weapons, made more potent by their intrinsic truth, have no peers. They reach a peak of potency when man's hatred reacts sharply to the decline of morality.

### Love Triumphs

*Communists have forgotten, or knowingly ignore, the common laws of God to which history is the best witness. All history testifies that Virtue does triumph over Evil, and Love over Hate.*

«Reading between the lines» of the disputes and mutual accusations within the communist bloc, one sees written the gloomy future and decline of communism. **Time will prove the truth of this.**

It is admitted that, even under present difficult circumstances, communists still nurture their ambitious goal of world domination. They have not changed the plan of attack and have no compunctions against bloody wars and general barbarity.

### E Pluribus Unum

Heretofore we have struggled in individual capacities. Internal differences among free men concerning methods and philosophies meant isolation of one anti-communist group from another. Now unity is coming; coordinated policies and actions are appearing. Now reinforcement for the general attack is being given through cooperation from behind the Iron and bamboo curtains—**from the communists themselves!**

Let us be wary—under the present difficult and complex conditions; with dissention in their ranks, communists are being driven to increasingly drastic measures to promote world domination. It is the task of all, not just governments and officials, freedom-loving people in every social walk of life to check on communist action or aggression, to move and to act. This is a sacred and essential duty, demanding constant vigil, not allowing relaxation or underestimation of the foe. The enemy is patient, persistent and crafty.

### Waiting Unwise

Communism, in theory and in practice, has discredited itself before humanity. Nevertheless, it would not be wise to «wait and see» crumble the system's self-disintegration according to the natural law of evolution.

As long as communism exists there is a responsibility evinced in the history of mankind. Hundreds of millions of our fellows await liberation in the communist sphere. Weighed down by tyranny, they must have assistance if they are to enjoy in a near future their rights as men.

Moreover, millions are now in the Free World, separated from family and home, refugees from communism who desire most a day of reunion with those they love in their homeland. *We have a duty toward all these.*

### Summary: Courage

Thus is the historic task of the Free World, of all free people and their leaders. Everyone must be a freedom fighter, even if he is not called on to make the supreme sacrifice as his brothers in Hungary, or face the constant peril of fellow fighters behind the iron and bamboo curtains.

Determination and prompt action are demanded to assure success in the struggle. Delay through negotiation, discussion and indecision only serve the communist cause and betray our best plan of offense.

In addition, the veritable honor of mankind is ours to defend and avenge. Soiled and dishonored by the communists, it looks for a champion in the free peoples. The laws of God, which command paternal love and respect, must be restored to full value. We alone can assure that Man, as a free-willed individual,

can live a harmonious life in a peaceful society.

Though Virtue is on our side, we must prove our right to it, advancing steadily in its defense, not halting or forsaking vigilance.

### **A Hope**

As a closing thought, the author expresses his sincerest wish that all who read this work will see the day when the words written here will shed their present actuality and become a record of the past.

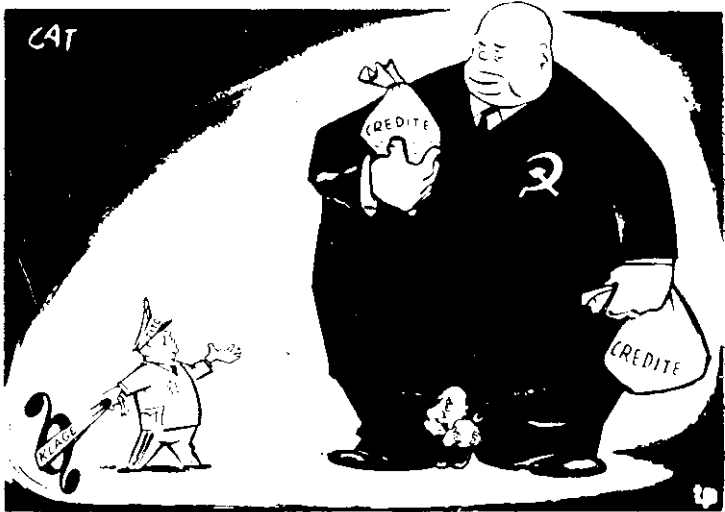
## Appendix One

### A. — The Populations of Eastern European Countries and the Communist Party Members of Each Country Are As Follows:

COUNTRY	POPULATION	CP MEMBERS
Albania	1,394,310	50,000
Bulgaria	7,350,000	455,000
Czechoslovakia	13,224,000	1,400,000
East Germany	16,500,000	1,200,000
Hungary	9,808,000	400,000
Poland	27,680,000	1,233,761
Rumania	17,489,794	600,000
Yugoslavia	17,799,000	687,000 (1)

(1) CF. Behind the Communist Line — May, 1958.

This number of CP members in Eastern European countries was extracted from a statistical statement of May 1958, when purges of CP members in the internal communist camp had not yet been launched. Since then, many purges and conflicts have occurred in internal communist parties of Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Poland (where 200,000 or 14% of the total CP members were purged). Therefore, at present,



(tarantel-press)

### David and Goliath

this number of CP members can be reduced greatly both in quantity and quality.

### Failure

According to the foreign press, as well as to documents and declarations made by Soviet Russia's leaders on communist governments in Eastern Europe we see clearly that the communists have reaped total failure in Eastern Europe.

The main reason is that 11 years of despotic communist rule have left Eastern European people with an exhausted economic life and a standard of living far lower than their former economic status when their political powers were not in communist hands.

In addition, the communist regime has brought to Eastern European people a political situation contradictory to their love of democracy and freedom; therefore, a hatred towards this inhuman regime has been aroused deep in the hearts of the people.

It may be said that Eastern European countries are living proof of the international communists' greatest failure.

### Degradation

Although Soviet Russia has put forward dozens of economic plans for its satellites, Eastern European people have never had a chance to taste the success of such plans.

Their hopes will never come true. Their way of living becomes more and more miserable. They are like beasts of burden forced to work 12 hours a day.

They can only condone their fate by comparing it with that of the people on the Chinese mainland now living under the yoke of the communist regime.

This is the lowest degradation of mankind perpetrated in the 20th Century by atheistic Red inhumanity.

## **B.— Soviet Foreign Aid — A Politico-Economic Tool**

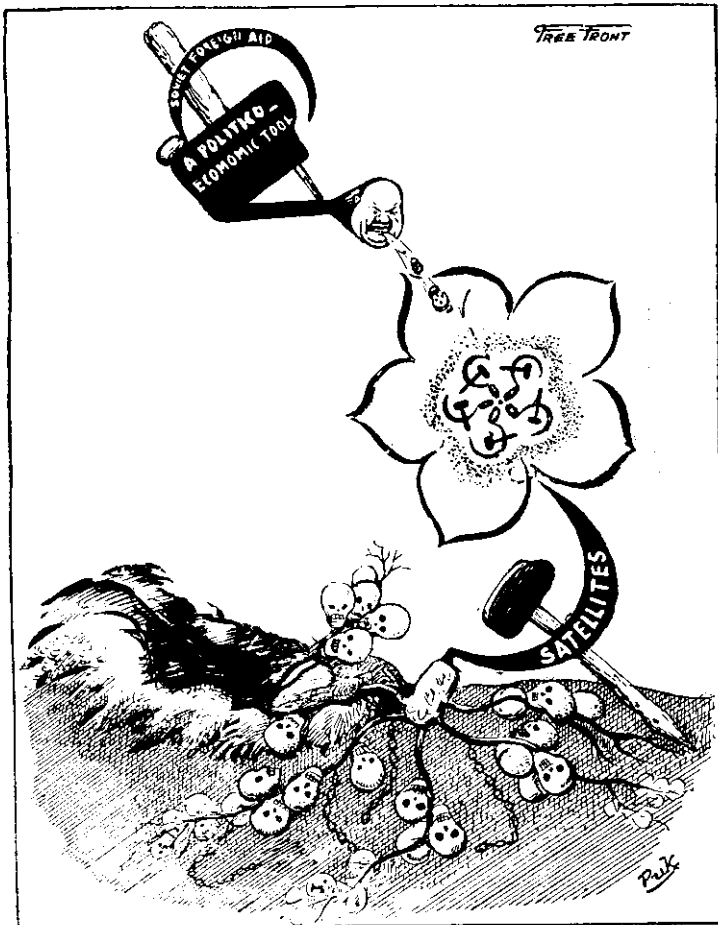
This year we had a long discussion one evening with an Italian business man dealing in glass and ceramics. Since his country is rather free from prejudice and partiality concerning trade with the communist bloc, this Italian, we felt, could speak with authority on the character and promise of commerce with Iron Curtain lands.

He could indeed. Business transactions he characterized as «erratic» in nature. Price and conditions of sale and purchase appeared to be completely dependent on political motives, instead of the normal «supply and demand» factors which tend to regulate normal commerce. For instance, a business man seeking to purchase Czechoslovakian glassware — traditionally one of the world's finest — might be quoted a price nearly double the going world rate.

This business man was so treated. In addition, the quantity of glass offered and delivery time were so at odds with his needs, that the offer appeared to have been made with anticipation of rejection.

### Unfeasible

This was one case. Another time, the Italian was offered a price far below the world quotation, for ample quantities and prompt delivery. All he could surmise was that the political directors had ordered an over-production for some reason not



Satellites

related to good economic practices, and further, there was a special desire at that time to place communist goods on the Italian market.

Naturally, under these conditions, it would not be feasible for a business man from the Free World to build his affairs around goods imported from behind the Iron Curtain. Prices would follow an up-and-down course which customers would not understand, and supplies would bear no relationship to demand.

Why is this, and what is the character of communist economy that supports a system so at odds with traditional economic laws?

### Djilas Answers

In **The New Class**, of Djilas, are plausible answers to these questions. To be sure, this small volume must not be regarded as **The World** but it does contain considered opinions of a man utterly familiar with top communist policy.

Djilas remarks in one chapter, «Dogmatism in the Economy,» that «communists cannot attain complete control over production, but they have succeeded in controlling it to such an extent that they *continuously subordinate it to their ideological and political goals.*»

Further, and more telling, Djilas sees that «*planning of political power (has) to come ahead of economic progress.*»

Here are sound reasons for the conditions our Italian business man found in one Satellite. Here are facts to keep in mind now as a study is made of the Soviet aid program in the world today. These concern the economy which is sending out the aid. With an understanding of the nature of the communist economy, one can clear up seeming inconsistencies in the aid program itself.

### Soviet Aid as a Weapon

A comprehensive Soviet aid program was developed for Yugoslavia as a result of Khrushchev's «olive branch» visit to Tito in 1955. It was implemented, with certain goods, services and finances being delivered to Yugoslavia. Then, when Tito returned to a forceful campaign of revisionism, the aid was immediately suspended.

What was behind this sudden reversal of policy? Simple—Khrushchev had obviously decided to punish Tito for his attitude. The economic program had a purely political foundation, and it mattered little to the Soviet economy (even less to the Soviet conscience) whether it continued or halted in its tracks.

Confirming what we have quoted from Djilas, Khrushchev faithfully followed Marx and Lenin when he «put the screws» on Tito. «Politics follow economy,» said the Masters, and Khrushchev sought by an economic squeeze to subdue Tito's rebellious nature. In two years, because Yugoslavia pursued its independent course, Khrushchev was proved wrong, perhaps because all Marxist-Leninist theory is **basically** unsound. Khrushchev not only failed to subdue Tito, in addition, had to see all Marxist-Leninist doctrine being slowly and systematically eliminated from official Yugoslav policy.

### No Brotherly Love

This incident with Tito is an effective disprover of the «brotherly love» and spirit of international camaraderie which the Soviets would have the world believe direct their foreign relations and economic aid programs for under-developed lands. Communist words, once again, are shown by practice to be lacking in real meaning.

Experience shows that the economic and financial aid granted

by the Kremlin to other nations, communist or otherwise, are dictated primarily by greed for aggrandizement or political interest. Kremlin leaders really only open the government purse when there is hope of holding or eventually subjugating the recipient of the largesse.

### Strings Attached

Soviet policy contains six forms of foreign aid. Differing slightly in appearance, these are united by a common goal. A study of them would be worthwhile.

1. *Aid to the communist countries of East Europe:* Here one deals with the «direct Satellites,» so called because of their geographical proximity to Russia.

Aid to these countries is termed the most «solid.» That is to say, it is copious and useful, though the «kind» is strictly dictated by Moscow. When the aid is given, those in the Kremlin are positive it will be used in a manner which will benefit them, and they are equally sure that repayment can be expected, not only in goods and services, but particularly in political cooperation.

As a matter of fact, the satellite markets are constantly filled with products from Soviet Russia. By means of economic aid and a host of imposed economic ties, Russia has been successful in forging almost indissoluble bonds between the Satellites and herself. These intimate ties, as well as the political bonds of communism, are effective safeguards against revolt.

A Hungarian patriot has put it well, «*The economic subjugation of East Europe in Satellite countries to Russia is much more humiliating than that of the colonized lands to their mother country in the past.*»

### Looking In

2. *Aid to the countries of Western Europe:* In Western Europe, with the exception of that part of Germany

which is militarily occupied by the Soviet Union, communism has not succeeded in taking over control of any single government. Because of this political failure, communism remains «outside looking in» and must utilize a foreign aid policy tailored to fit the special needs. Here, the political implications must be foremost, with propaganda value to be deeply considered. It would not do to develop industry in Western Europe as in the European Satellites, for industry and commerce in the West are not captive, and their produce would not necessarily be directed toward Russia if the economic rewards were higher elsewhere.

In this respect, it is helpful to turn back to Djilas for a time. First, let us point out that Soviet economic development, dictated as it is by political expediency, is not too often logical or in the best interest of the country or group concerned.

Djilas rightly says that economic planning «does not have much connection with anyone's theories, let alone those of Marx.» Yet for a long time, because «all of the historical and specific reasons for Soviet planning were attributed to corresponding theories, Marx's theory was the closest and most acceptable because of the social basis and the past of the communist movement.»

*Planning by politics can be undertaken in a totally captive society, such as the Soviet Union, or even in a subjugated Satellite, but, it is patently clear, it could not work among hard-headed business men such as those of Western Europe.*

### Sporadic Trade

Western Europe traditionally lives by international trade, and Russia, due to the peculiar nature of its economic structure, can neither consistently indulge in international trade nor

find it to its advantage to encourage others to do so. Were the Soviet Union to enter the field of international commerce, it would need to develop efficiency, and efficiency would be a serious blow to the communist economic set-up, according to Djilas.

Djilas cites the communist boast of full employment under their system. He claims this is only possible because «a number of branches of industry... survive at expense of another.» More extensive ties with the world market would lead to unemployment, it is also declared.

Thus, the communist world indulges in merely sporadic but spectacular trade and aid with Western Europe. Because of the strategic position of the country, and its strong NATO airbase, Iceland received orders and aid to assist its predominant fishing industry.

By a barter arrangement, Russia obtained a monopoly on the supply of petroleum products to this country. It sent the finest of cultural groups to entertain the small populace of 160,000 people.

It will never be known just how much is channeled into the work of the large Russian legation at Reykjavik. The aid-trade, and Russian-financed infiltration of government and labor circles has definitely hurt Iceland's NATO ties, and almost drew the country out of the Pact in 1956.

Fortunately for the Free World, these sensible Scandinavians of the far north could not stomach the rape of Hungary, and cancelled a requested withdrawal of NATO forces from Icelandic bases.

### **Bland Face**

Generally speaking, apart from sporadic campaigns such as sold many Russian automobiles in Benelux countries in 1954,

or Czech vehicles in Ireland in 1958 (then left the unfortunate purchasers without spare parts,) Russian trade has not flourished with the West. Aid, because of a satisfactory program from the U.S.A., and for previously cited reasons concerning economics, has not been channeled to any great degree to West Europe.

It comes today, but primarily in the form of grants to the Communist Party or sympathizers in each concerned country. The aid, then, is principally devoted to the favorite communist recipients: infiltration and subversion.

3. *Aid to the satellite countries of Asia*: This aid is generally granted under more favorable conditions than that received by the Satellites of Eastern Europe. This is for several reasons.

First, Asia is the sphere of Red China, and an attempt to bind the Satellites of Asia directly to the Soviet Union would not be well looked upon by Red China.

Secondly, there are great geographical distances between Russia and these Asian lands.

Lastly, Russian activity in Asia is closely watched by all uncommitted Asian nations, and these countries are the special target at the current time of communist Russia. Open interference and use of coercion on these nations would lose Russia much favor in Asia. This it cannot afford; thus to Asia it shows its blandest face.

Communist aid to North Viet Nam and North Korea, particularly, seems to be channeled through Red China, no matter where the original source. In the small Indian State of Kerala, Russia can supply its aid more openly labelled, but it must be cautious in propaganda, for Kerala is still part of the Republic of India.

Nevertheless, there is evidence that the infiltration part of the communist aid program goes ahead, with school books in Kerala now being rewritten to promote the Red cause.

### Calculated Aid

4. *Aid to Communist Parties in Asia*: As in Western Europe, communism has failed to gain top power in many countries throughout Asia. However, even more strongly than in Europe, Russia is striving to gain authority in Asia.

Such non-Communist and anti-communist nations as the Philippines, Malaya, Singapore, Thailand, Burma and Indonesia are receiving constant attention from the communist bloc.

To them, aid is generally sent through the medium of Red China, and mainly channeled into underground Party work. From time to time, nevertheless, Russia will proffer military aid, sometimes using one of its Satellites or Red China as an intermediary.

The extent of aid offered depends on the geographical and/or political positioning of the recipient country, and is always calculated to assist confusion, disorder or hatreds.

When aid of this manner is presented it should be considered in its true light — illegal supplies to strengthen the force of regional communist groups with the objective of defying and deposing the legally constituted governments.

There is too long a history of unrest in Asia, dating from the Huks in the Philippines, to doubt the truth of this statement. Though this aid may lie latent for long periods of time, it is constantly available for use at a crucial time when a small, well-organized force could take advantage of a momentary weakness. *Clearly, the objective would be to further communist imperialism.*

For this reason, there are few qualifications attached to the supply of this aid. Its extent can only be surmised. The sole prerequisite to receipt — political — is too well known to be repeated.

## Latin America

Placed with Asia, because its objectives are the same, is communist aid to the underground communist movements in Latin America. Few lines can be devoted to this important communist program, for documents recording it are almost non-existent.

It is fervently hoped that our fellow anti-communist organization in the Western Hemisphere is investigating all facets of an organized clandestine aid program that was powerful enough to cause the late unrest in Guatemala.

5. *Aid to neutral countries in Asia:* It is a matter of record that communist aid to neutral countries in Asia is more generous and easier to obtain than that afforded by Western powers.

This is not to be decried, for there is good reason to question the motives behind communist aid, whereas Free World cooperative projects have proven their worthiness in practice.

Fortunate recipients of communist aid find that they have been given a «*carte blanche*.» There are more than a few private individuals — well placed in their countries' affairs to be sure — who have found communist funds at their personal disposal, for individual expense or speculation, and no questions asked concerning the disposition of the funds.

To the communists, this money is wisely invested, giving valuable contacts for future political action. Rest assured that those «fortunate» enough to receive the communist gifts will be called upon some day to make repayment.

Additionally, the offering of temptations to officials and leading national figures creates an atmosphere of corruption in a country. This, as well as weakening a government, also causes a sense of social injustice in the people which ripens and prepares them for future communist **coups**.

### Modus Operandi

Communist operation in neutral countries follows an already recognized pattern. There are three phases to it:

First, a drive is made to win the sympathy of officials, leaders and the people of a country. If this can be accomplished primarily, the subsequent political infiltration will meet with appreciably less resistance.

In order not to arouse suspicion, or reveal their inherent brutality or callousness, the Reds frequently choose during this phase to spread their influence by means of cultural and economic activities.

It is later that the second phase is undertaken. This is political in nature, seeking to foster social struggles, thereby weakening the usually predominant nationalist bloc. At the same time, increased help is offered the local communists so that they may foment disturbances and undermine authority.

Finally comes the arming of the local communists and «passing the word» to come fully into the open. The stage is set for the last act — an open attack on the existing government and, it is hoped, a successful **coup d'état** which will enable a complete communist take-over.

*Should this be questioned, realize that it is but an Asian transcription of the time-table successfully used in such countries as Czechoslovakia and Hungary!*

### Heads in Sand

To be sure, the above time-table is not revealed in advance. At the time of the initial «wooning» neutral countries have scarcely any pretext for complaint about aid coming from the Soviet Union or Red China.

These countries are past masters at concealing the ultimate intention behind the aid.

In order to soothe feelings and be welcomed as guests, communists have no compunctions against seeing their aid become fast autos or investment property for key leaders. In fact, they are pleased, for if the aid is so dissipated, it cannot go to aid the general standard of living and unrest will be present at the time of the later drive for power.

*Communist aid to neutral countries may be likened to a narcotic, prepared to weaken the strong and kill the feeble.*

### Plum

6. *Aid to neutral countries in the Middle East:* The Middle East is a rich and key portion of Asia without doubt. Its geographical advantages, strategic positioning and immense wealth of resources make it a «plum» of inestimable value to any bloc in peace or war.

Because of these reasons, Russia has an inordinate interest in this area of the world. And, because the Middle East is entering upon a period of intense nationalism, filled with young governments not yet tempered in the furnace of time, Russia has found fertile ground for communist development here.

The communist policy for trade and aid is receiving fullest practice in the crucial area where Africa, Asia and Europe meet. Certainly, communist foreign policy has «gone overboard» to flatter and cajole the Arab nations.

In trade, communists have capitalized on inexperience to try an experiment not unlike their policy in Eastern European Satellites.

With Egypt, Russia has sought to monopolize the cotton crop, principal foreign trade item, in order to forge the tightest economic bonds between the Soviet Union and Egypt.

It is recognized today that only union with Egypt saved Syria from becoming a communist bastion after it accepted a

dangerous amount of financial credits (with advisers for management) from Russia.

### Spiders Web

Today a traveller through the Suez Canal is astounded at the display of communist military weapons in every military camp passed, not to mention flights of communist fighter planes overhead. All these are the return Egypt is getting for its crops and credits. All are drawing it toward a spider's web designed in Moscow!

The Soviet program is going ahead in the Middle East. Its progress, unfortunately, appears to be more rapid there than anywhere else. Communism is attempting any method from the five other systems for trade and aid which seem promising. Too many have worked for communist success to be belittled.

### Aid Lie

The preceding background material is intended to give the reader a suitable understanding of communist aid and trade methods before going into the case of Soviet trade and aid with Yugoslavia.

The advent of revisionism in Yugoslavia, and Soviet and communist bloc reaction to it, give the lie once-and-for-all to any claim that communist aid is offered «without strings,» or that economics in the communist world work separately from politics.

As mentioned before, Khrushchev, in 1957, because of his resentment of Tito, announced that Russia intended to defer for a period of 5 years the financial aid program earlier agreed upon after reconciliation between Tito and Khrushchev. The East German government, which was sharing in this Soviet program, rubber-stamped approval of Moscow's action.

For Yugoslavia, this was a heavy blow. Included in the

suspended agreement was a trade exchange amounting to 40 million pounds sterling.

This would have supplied finished goods from the communist bloc in exchange for Yugoslav raw materials, and manufactured goods and machinery are in the shortest supply in Tito's land. The financial aid was intended to further industrial development in Yugoslavia.

Since Yugoslavia had set out on the communist path following World War II, it had upset its whole traditional economy in order to industrialize. This communist aid would have been the best chance to put over industrialization and thus save the whole general economy.

### Clever Khrushchev

Digressing for a moment, the pre-war Yugoslav economy was agricultural. In common with such countries as Poland and Hungary, Yugoslavia was a food exporter. Now it found itself importing food, and not having the finished manufactured goods to pay for the imported food. Djilas notes that the standard of living of the white collar and blue collar classes—that is the office and factory workers—was lower in 1956 than before the war. Something plainly had to be done.

Khrushchev knew this, and hoped that economic necessity would bring Tito back under Moscow. He may even have thought when he re forged his friendship with Tito in 1955 that this would mark the end of the separatist movement by Tito.

For surely Tito and his country suffered economically after 1948 when Russia and the Satellites raised an economic blockade around Yugoslavia after the Yugoslav Communist Party was read out of the Cominform by Stalin.

But, again, the Soviets underestimated the power of nationalism, not realizing that even a degree of personal freedom often outweighs a full stomach or material comforts.