

25X1C10b

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000200030002-6

Next 3 Page(s) In Document Exempt

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000200030002-6

Briefly Noted

Moscow Irked at Display of Democracy in Action

An article entitled "March Stirs Conscience of the World" (Washington Post August 29, 1963, see Press Comment same date) reports the first reactions from around the world to the Negro and White demonstration in Washington, D.C. in support of civil liberties. But one small paragraph, aside from the sour remarks of several Communist leaders, penetrates to the attitude of the Soviet Union, reflecting its fear and disappointment that things can go well for a minority group in a free country. That passage reads:

"Moscow, however, cancelled plans to televise the Freedom March five minutes before it was due to pick up from the Telstar satellite. No explanation was given.

"The arrangement had been to pick the signal up from Eurovision, and feed it into the Soviet satellites' Intevision TV network."

The obvious prosperity of the Negro (and White) marchers; the self-imposed discipline and holiday spirit which pervaded the vast crowds; the hospitality of the national government and local officials; and beyond all the dignity of the democratic processes displayed -- all are anathema to Communist leaders, who preach that rights in capitalist countries can be grasped only through violent class struggle.

The Chinese Communists in their turn attempted to lay claim to the demonstration as successful class warfare (i.e. as an example of Communist revolutionary concepts) and sent a message of support to Negro leaders. The CCP, of course, did not disseminate NAACP official Wilkins' dignified rejection of this message (see Press Comment 29 August for editorial comment in the 25 August Washington Post) in which he said:

"We await the opportunity to send our felicitations to Chinese citizens gathered in a huge demonstration in your nation's capital to protest living conditions under your government and welcomed there by your heads of state."

Moscow and Peking's control of their iron curtain, censorship of information, fear that their people might know the true facts of events in the free world and attempts to distort these facts even in the free world, should be constantly held before Communist sympathizer audiences through publication of incidents such as reported here. The USSR action is more revealing because Moscow had previously reduced its jamming of US broadcasts in an attempt to improve its image of peaceful coexistence. But this American democratic demonstration was more than the Kremlin could afford to have its people see. Equally revealing is the opportunism of the CPR's racist policy, hiding here under orthodox Communist class warfare terminology.

~~SECRET~~

(Briefly Noted Cont.)

25X1C10b

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000200030002-6

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000200030002-6

~~SECRET~~

9 September 1963

DATES [REDACTED] 25X1C10b

- 29 Sept International Union of Architects (UIA), seventh Congress, Havana, Cuba, 29 Sept. - 3 Oct. to be followed by UIA General Assembly and International Symposium on Architecture, Mexico City, 6-15 Oct.
- 14 Oct 2nd International Trade Unions (WFTU) Conference on Problems of Women Workers, Bucharest, 14-19 Oct.
- 20 Oct Chinese Communist troops begin advance into India, escalating border war, 1962.
- 23 Oct Hungarian revolution fails under force of Soviet brutal military repression. 23 Oct-4 Nov 1956.
- 23 Oct Leon Trotsky expelled from CPSU Politburo in 1926.
- 23 Oct Czechoslovakia proclaims independence after collapse Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, 1913.
- 7 Nov October Revolution. Lenin and Trotsky seize power from the Provisional Government, 1917.
- 10 Nov Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEF), Djakarta 10-17 Nov.
- 10 Nov World Youth Day (Communist)
- 11 Nov International Student Week 11-17 November, concluding with International Students Day on the 17th (International Union of Students, Communist)
- 12 Nov Leon Trotsky expelled from the CPSU, 1927.
- 14 Nov (China-Russia) (Unequal) Treaty of Peking cedes Chinese "Great Northeast" to Russia, 1860.
- 15 Nov Bolsheviks proclaim "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia," affirming principle of self-determination to peoples of the former Empire, 1917.
- December Afro-Asian Organization for Economic Co-operation, 4th AAOEC, scheduled for Karachi during December 1963.

~~SECRET~~

(Briefly Noted)

25X1C10b

~~SECRET~~

#11

COMMUNIST DISSENSIONS

17-30 August 1963

Commentary

Principal Developments:

1. The test-ban treaty, China's revelation of the abrogated Soviet agreement for nuclear assistance to China, and Soviet aid to India were focal points in the deepening Sino-Soviet hostility reflected in an undiminished volume of charges and counter-charges. The Soviets played heavily on the popular appeals of their position, especially as defenders of peace against a Chinese leadership ready to sacrifice half the world's (and their own) population in nuclear holocaust, and as defenders of pure proletarian internationalism against ugly Chinese racism and national chauvinism. The Chinese lashed wildly in various directions, apparently furiously frustrated at their difficult position and hoping to strike a responsive note somewhere. The other parties in the "socialist camp" and the free world more or less trailed along in their former "me-too" roles, except for the Czechs and Albanians as noted below.

2. A 10,000-word Soviet Govt statement of 21 August not only criticizes the Chinese leaders for their attitude toward nuclear war and inordinate craving for a bomb of their own but lectures them that "the CPR is yet unprepared to produce nuclear arms in quantity." Even if the CPR could produce two or three bombs, it would be at the cost of "a great exhaustion of the CPR economy" without really making any difference. "The most reasonable policy for the CPR in present conditions" would be to devote its efforts to developing its national economy and improving the welfare of its people, who already suffer from many privations. With typical Communist inconsistency, the Soviets play directly to the Chinese people by asking if they empowered the CPR leadership to sound their death ahead of time,--and then turn to denounce the CPR leaders for their "undisguised interference in the domestic affairs of other socialist states, in particular the Soviet Union." The Soviet statement blasts Chinese pretensions to speak for the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America by noting that the states of those continents had promptly acceded to the test ban treaty. And finally, it implied a threat to terminate their military assistance pact with China by accusing the CPR Govt of disregarding its duty as an ally and abusing relations of trust by disclosing classified defense documents.

3. This and other Soviet statements exploited a resolution of the Trotskyite Fourth International to work for a united front with the Chinese. The most extreme Soviet statement on racism came in a 27 August Pravda article linking the Chinese leaders with the "new fuehrers" of the Japanese racists who stress the same color of skin and same written language: this and other Soviet articles identify Chinese chauvinism with "the spirit of Genghis Khan."

~~SECRET~~

(#11 Commentary Cont.)

And a 26 August Izvestiya article by "Soviet international law expert Tunkin," noting that "some 70% of all known disputes about national frontiers refer to Asia and Africa," warns that "the supreme interests of peace insist on respect for existing frontiers, since any other attitude toward frontiers is fraught with the danger of war."

4. On the Soviet side, the Czechs followed their earlier ouster of NCNA correspondents from Prague by ordering the closing of that office on 23 August. The other E. European satellites (except Rumania) poured out repeated statements and articles supporting the Soviets and denouncing the Chinese.

5. The Chinese seized on border tensions with India to accuse the Soviet leaders of collaborating with U.S. imperialism to ally with India against China (Govt statement of 20 August and People's Daily editorial of 22nd); used the U.S. reservation re E. German signature to the test ban treaty to charge the Soviets with an "ignoble act of betrayal" of the GDR people, appealing to all 18 million of them not to "allow others to dictate their destiny" (People's Daily 23 August); and found in the Nationalist Chinese signature on the test ban treaty a reason to accuse the Soviet leaders of "gleeful consent" with the U.S. imperialists in setting a deceptive "two Chinas" trap which would have brought "untold humiliation on the great Chinese people." The Chinese also struck back bitterly at the Czechs for their "outrageous" closing of the NCNA office, an act which "reveals the role of the conductor's baton and the sycophantic nature of the Czechoslovak Govt" (Peking press, 25 August).

6. The Albanians again came forward, turning the "racist" charge against the Soviets, capitalizing on a Khrushchev expression in Yugoslavia to depict him as "coming out openly in the role of a pan-Slavist," and of using "demagogy borrowed from the arsenal of the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie...." "We are here face to face with a new aspect of modern revisionism which replaces proletarian internationalism by the ideology of racism." (Zeri I Popullit, 29 August)

7. The Chinese have further charged international front organizations with serving the interests of Soviet foreign policy and inferred that they might withdraw (People's Daily of 17 August on WIDF, WPC on 24th, and IOJ on 26th).

8. Speeches and comments by the two during Khrushchev's visit with Tito indicated a general accord in views, resulting largely from K's accommodation to Yugoslav views rather than the other way around, and with few if any concrete results announced so far.

Significance:

New charges and threats keep widening the gulf between the two as reflected in the Soviet warnings: that any attitude other

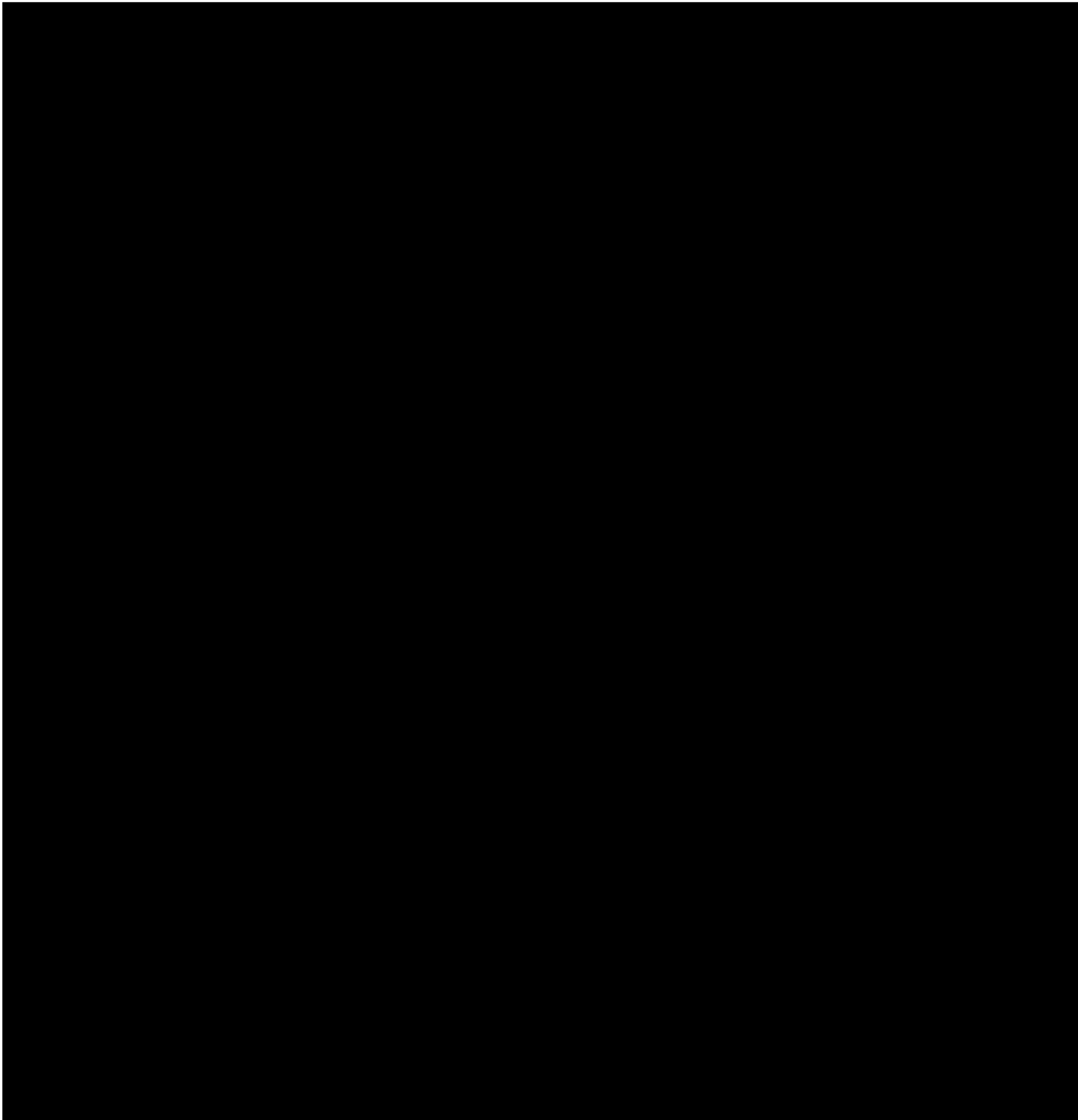
(#11 Commentary Cont.)

~~SECRET~~

9 September 1963

than respect for existing frontiers is fraught with the danger of war; and that the Chinese revelation of details of their nuclear aid agreement might be cause for terminating their military mutual assistance pact. Both sides focused more sharply on charges of national interest and racism, and both increased their efforts to appeal directly to the people over the heads of their antagonists.

25X1C10b



#11

17-30 August 1963

August 17 - Pravda carries an article by Borovsky on the arrest in Ecuador of CP General Secretary Saad and other "progressive leaders," and the threatened mass deportation of "Communists and other patriots" to the Galapagos by the junta. "One of the reasons for the putsch used by reaction was the irresponsible activities of adventurists-dogmatists who had wormed their way into the CP. Supported ideologically and materially by their alien friends of like views, these leftist elements knifed the Party in the back." Izvestiya also carries a letter from "Akhned Szif Harusi, member of the Executive Committee of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party," exposing Peking's duplicity in reporting speeches and statements by two persons representing Zanzibar organizations, but who are supported by the Chinese in Peking, and represent nothing in Zanzibar. And Radio Moscow reports that Lucha Obrera, organ of the Trotskyite Party of Bolivia, published

"the resolution of the 22nd Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Trotskyite Fourth International" which "approved the historic task of joining with the Chinese and struggling for formation of a united front between the Fourth International and the Chinese comrades." The Radio concludes: "The ideological mistakes of the Chinese leaders -- the stubborn unwillingness to admit political mistakes -- are leading Peking's politicians into the Trotskyite quagmire. Despite this, they dare to portray themselves as supporters of the purity of Marxism-Leninism. The Chinese leaders have apparently forgotten the wise proverb of their people which says that "a frog living in mud has no right to talk about the sea."

August 17 - People's Daily front-pages the CPR National Women's Federation denouncement of the 29 July declaration of Mme. Eugenie Cotton, WIDF President, supporting the test ban treaty, "usurping the name of hundreds of millions of women."

August 17-24-25-30 - The Hungarian party organ Nepszabadsag continues support of the Soviets and criticism of the Chinese with a Pecsai article, "Past Words and Present Deeds," on the 17th, a Szabo article, "The Slanderers Unmask Themselves," on the 24th and Foldes articles on CEMA on the 25th and 30th complaining that the Chinese leaders, "in the role of unwanted advocates, are trying to exhort us to national self-sufficiency, although this would clearly be a step backward."

August 18 - The All-Burma Peace Committee issues a statement condemning the test ban treaty as "contrary to the demands of the peace-loving people and benefitting the nuclear war preparations of U.S. imperialism." (NCNA)

August 19 - Secretary General of Sohyo (General Council of Japanese Trade Unions), Akira Iwai, calls for a complete break with the CP. After further discussions in September and October, Iwai hopes his plan will be adopted as the basic policy guide for

Sohyo. Iwai says that the CP considers itself infallible and is incapable of adapting itself to conditions in Japan. (Asahi Evening News, Tokyo)

August 20 - A Pravda article by Prof. Chkhikvadze describes how,

"since 1959, Chinese delegates at international meeting of peace champions began opposing the concerted line of the world peace movement and discrediting its purposes and tasks. Since the end of 1961, they have been launching an open attack on the World Peace Council"

In a TASS interview on the same day, Director Gafurov of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia of the USSR Academy of Sciences declares that the Chinese dogmatists "practically substitute chauvinist, nationalist and even racist conceptions for Marxist-Leninist historical science" idealizing the past, glorifying feudal methods of policy -- conquests, internecine wars, bloody invasions -- and praise the role of Genghis Kahn. "There is only one step between the glorification of the 'great' conquerors and defense of the personality cult."

August 20-23-29 - The Bulgarians continue their support of the Soviets and criticism of the Chinese with articles in Party news paper Rabotnichesko Delo on the 20th, the theoretical journal Party Life No. 11 appearing the 23rd, and an article by CC Secretary Grigorov published in the Moscow Pravda of the 29th.

August 20 and continuing - Khrushchev arrives in Belgrade with wife for heralded "vacation" visit. Subsequent reporting has indicated accord in views but little in the way of concrete developments.

August 21 - Pravda publishes text of 10,000-word-plus Soviet Govt statement in response to Chinese Govt statements of 31 July and 15 August. Most of it is in a tone of calm reasoning (based on facts of life, not Marxism), capitalizing on the popular appeal of their test ban treaty position.

"The position of the CPR Govt, set forth in the statement of August, can be understood only in the sense that the Chinese leaders do not care how nuclear weapons spread among the capitalist countries as long as the CPR leaders get a chance to lay their hands on a nuclear bomb and see what it is like."

The statement then points to the tremendous economic effort required and declares that

"the CPR is yet unprepared to produce nuclear arms in quantity. Even if the CPR were to produce two or three bombs, this would not solve its problem but would bring about a great exhaustion of the CPR economy."

The Soviets lecture the CCP:

"This is why the most reasonable policy for the CPR in present conditions -- if, of course, its desires and potential are to be commensurate -- would be to devote its efforts to the development of the national economy, science, technology, and agriculture, devoting them to raising the welfare of the Chinese people, to meeting their vital needs. The Chinese people are experiencing many privations...."

The Soviets then make a significant threat:

"One more circumstance cannot be overlooked: the CPR Govt, disregarding its duty as an ally, abusing relations of trust existing among the socialist countries, has embarked upon the road of making public classified documents and information related to the defenses of the countries of the socialist commonwealth, and, what is more, of presenting the facts tendentiously, in a distorted light.... The Soviet Govt is compelled to state that after these actions of the CPR Govt there is hardly anyone who will believe the sincerity of its assurances and trust it with information of defensive importance. It is natural that the Soviet Govt will draw its conclusion on this score."

They continue:

"Who has asked those Chinese doomed in advance to death if they are willing to be tinder in the furnace of a nuclear missile war? Did they empower the CPR leadership to sound their death knell ahead of time?"

After this play to the Chinese people, the Soviets chastise the CPR leaders for their

"undisguised interference in the domestic affairs of other socialist states, in particular the Soviet Union," by arrogating the right to speak on behalf of other peoples. "Not a single imperialist government has yet gone so far as to dare to assert that it and not the Soviet Government is representing the Soviet Union in international affairs, to speak on behalf of the Soviet people!"

Noting that, despite Chinese pretensions to speak for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the states of those continents are acceding to the treaty one after the other, the Soviets say:

"The only thing that remains for the authors of the CPR Govt statements to do is to use as trump cards the pronouncements of a few apostates who have long since lost ground in their countries and in their parties and whom Peking is trying hard to woo. Oh yes, the CPR Govt can

also boast of a resolution of the so-called 'Fourth International' uniting Trotskyite groups. 'Worthy' partners in 'proletarian internationalism,' no gainsaying that!"

August 21 - Peking press plays a 20 August statement by the CPR Foreign Ministry "refuting the Indian myth of Chinese troops concentrations along the border." "Even the Western imperialists regard them (the Indian reports) with only mild credulity, feeling that the Indian Govt has gone too far. It is only the official press of the Soviet Union that energetically echoes the Indian Govt. ... Pravda has published articles trying to shift the blame onto China for the Sino-Indian border conflict started by the Nehru Govt." Sharing the front page is N. Vietnam Premier Pham Van Dong's reply to Chou En-lai approving the CPR-proposed heads-of-all-states meeting (but not criticizing the test ban treaty).

August 22 - People's Daily expands on the Foreign Ministry statement on India with a 4,000-word editorial noting that "it became obvious around the time of the signing of the Moscow tripartite treaty that Soviet-Indian relations had become extraordinarily intimate." It says that "Nehru's lackey Dange (CPI Chairman), who recently returned triumphantly to India after visiting Moscow, gleefully played up the 'disinterested assistance' of the Soviet Union the moment he landed in New Delhi." Dange is quoted as saying: "Soviet assistance has no conditions. That government has already decided to set up a factory in this country for the manufacture of arms so India should not have to depend upon others for spare parts." People's Daily comments: "This is not just a 'new chapter' in Indian-Soviet relations. It is also a new chapter of collaboration between the Soviet leaders and U.S. imperialism to ally with India against China."

August 22 - The N. Korean organ Nodong Sinmun 6,000-word editorial "Yugoslav Revisionists Serve Imperialism," is obviously timed to correspond with Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia but curiously contains no criticism of the USSR, even implied.

August 22 - The Albanians marked Khrushchev's visit to their neighbor with a Zeri I Popullit article headed "N. Khrushchev and J. B. Tito Are Hatching New Plots."

August 22-23 - Mongolia supported again the Soviet side with a report by the official agency Montsame on the 22nd that "the Mongolian public has welcomed with deep understanding the Soviet Govt's statement exposing the Chinese leaders' adventurous course and crude anti-Soviet and anti-Communist attacks," and a 23 August editorial in the Party organ Unen, "The Soviet Union-- Dependable Stronghold of Peace."

August 23 - Pravda publishes a statement of the Sudan CP hailing the test ban treaty and expressing "full support and profound appreciation to the CPSU CC and the Soviet Govt for their gigantic efforts...."

August 23 - A People's Daily commentator denounces the Soviet leader who

"Went to the length of ... accepting the unreasonable demand by U.S. imperialism and agreeing that the signing of this treaty by the GDR does not imply its recognition as a state. This amounts to annulling the international status of the GDR and in fact recognizing the Bonn regime as the sole representative of the German people. It is an extremely ignoble act of betrayal which not only seriously impairs the interests of the GDR but also greatly enhances the arrogance of the aggressive West German militarists. ... In order to seek a moment of ease and please U.S. imperialism, the Soviet leaders have not scrupled to sell out the interests of the fraternal countries. ... However, we firmly believe that the 13 million GDR people will not allow others to dictate their destiny."

August 23 - The celebration of Rumania's National Holiday brings effusive tributes from both camps.

August 23-30 - The Czechoslovak Govt informs the Chinese that the operating license of the Prague NCNA office was withdrawn immediately because of continued "inadmissible activities" in spreading "materials slandering the Czechoslovak people and grossly attacking the Czechoslovak Govt and CP." On the 30th, Party organ Rude Pravo gives more details. "Instead of paying attention to the immense successes of the Soviet Union it publishes distorted and so-called critical articles which generalize isolated negative features in the Soviet Union. How far its hatred goes is shown by the fact that central Chinese newspapers featured on the front page a large picture of a woman black market operator sentenced by a Soviet court. At a time when the entire world excitedly followed the space flight of Valentina Tereshkova, not a single Chinese paper found space to publish her picture.

August 23 - The Austrian CP CC unanimously approves a speech of General Secretary Fuernberg supporting the Soviet Union against China. After this meeting, observers conclude that the "open letter" supporting Chinese views, recently addressed to Austrian Communists, is the work of a single person and not even of a group. (AFP)

August 23 - Professor of International Law Kozhevnikov in Izvestiya analyzes "violation by the Chinese leadership of the elementary standards of international law" in its foreign policy toward the USSR and the socialist countries. He stresses that "by divulging information about the defenses of the socialist community, the CPR Govt has taken to the road of disregarding its duty as an ally to a point verging on a clear violation...."

August 24 - Following Izvestiya's exposure of Chinese tricks in using Peking residents as "representatives" of Zanzibar (see August 17), TASS transmits a letter by several Soviet writers who had been at the Afro-Asian writer's session in Denpasar, Indonesia, expressing indignation over a similar Chinese trick. The "prominent Sudanese writer Abdullah Hamid el Amin, who came from Khartoum, was denied the right to represent his country" in favor of one Ahmed Heir, "who does not live in Sudan and represents no one. The latter came with the Chinese delegation from Peking, where he has been living for about seven years." Furthermore, one of the letter's authors, the "well-known Uzbek writer Hamid Gulyam" told TASS: "the shocking incident with Amin is by far not the only one inspired by Chinese representatives in the Afro-Asian writers movement." (See August 24 - Peking mass rally - for other use made of Heir/Kheir.)

August 24 - A Peking mass rally of more than 10,000 "as a celebration of the success of the 9th World Conference Against A & H Bombs in Hiroshima" gave "a rousing welcome to peace fighters from various countries who have come to China after the world conference and to the Chinese delegation that has returned from Japan crowned with success." Chao Pu-chu, head of the Chinese delegation, attacked not only the Soviet delegation but also the secretariat of the World Peace Council, which "has become to an increasing extent a tool of the Soviet Govt's diplomacy and an organization serving U.S. imperialism." Among the foreign speakers were Mrs. Theja Gurnawahdana of the pro-Chinese faction in Ceylon (author of the recently published book Khrushchevism), Mrs. Flora Gould and Rewi Alley of New Zealand, George A. Williams of Ghana, A. M. Kheir of the Sudan (see August 24 Izvestiya/TASS for Soviet "exposure" of Kheir/Heir) and Ndek Akanga from the Cameroons.

August 24-28 - A massive volume of major Soviet comments over this 5-day period, responding to Chinese behavior, covers a wide range of the counts against them, the most important as follows:

-- Red Star, 25th - Leontyev commentary: recalling "an old Chinese proverb: when drinking water, remember who dug the well. Judging by the statements of the Chinese leaders, they are forgetting this proverb."

-- Izvestiya, 26th - Article by "prominent Soviet international law expert Tunkin" entitled "National Frontiers and Peaceful Coexistence." Noting that "some 70% of all known disputes about national frontiers refer to Asia and Africa," the article goes on to warn that "the supreme interests of peace insist on respect for existing frontiers, since any other attitude toward frontiers is fraught with the danger of war."

-- Pravda, 26th - A Peking dispatch recalling "an old adage of the East says that if you watch a man through a keyhole you

can form a wrong opinion about him. But this is precisely what the Chinese press is engaged in at present, disregarding popular wisdom."

-- Pravda, 27th - Nepomnyashchiy article denounces the "theory" invented in Peking about a "special" unity of interests of Asian peoples, asking: "Is there any connection between this false theory" and the Chinese statement that "the whites had nothing to do at Moshi?: He answers "yes," and cites a statement made by Kenzo Matsumura, an outspoken Japanese racist, former member of the Tojo cabinet, after his visit to Peking last year on the invitation of Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. Matsumura said: "Deputy Premier Chen I had many talks with me, during which it was said that the East still remains the East and the Asian people must change world history. We must unite and increase contacts between our peoples which have the same color of skin and the same system of writing." Pravda adds that this statement was published not in some bourgeois Japanese newspaper but in People's Daily,--and "without any comment from the position of Marxist-Leninist theory!" And on 20 September 1962, the day after the Chinese farewell reception for Matsumura (attended by Chen I and Kuo Mo-jo, among others), NCNA reported that "these talks laid a foundation stone for the development of friendship between Japan and China insofar as the populations of the two countries have the same color of skin and the same written language." Adding that "lately NCNA statements have been more and more often laying stress again on the color of skin," the article asks: "Do they weigh the significance of such statements which correspond more readily to the spirit of the time of Genghis Khan than to our times." It concludes by asking if the Chinese action at Moshi does not "confirm the fact that the Chinese leaders have gone so far as to arm themselves with the "theory" of Mr. Matsumura, one of the new "fuehrers" of the Japanese racists?"

August 25-28 - E. German Party organ Neues Deutschland editorial on 25th strongly attacks the "boundless arrogance" of the Chinese leaders who "presume to be able to judge better than the party, government and people of the GDR what serves the interests of the GDR and the German people." An even stronger statement of the GDR Govt on the 28th rejects "with utmost emphasis the insinuations and imputations contained in the Chinese statement (of 15 August). For this reason the statement has been sent back to the CPR Ministry of Foreign Affairs."

August 25 - Front-paging their report of the Czechs' "outrageous closing down of the Prague office of NCNA as a deliberate step to worsen relations," the Peking press says that this act "reveals the role of the conductor's baton and the sycophantic nature of the Czechoslovak Govt."

August 26 - The Peking press statement dated 25th of the All-China Journalists Association denouncing the Czech Govt's action in closing the NCNA office in Prague says:

"It is known to all that the International Organization of Journalists --IOJ-- has always called for opposition to persecution of journalists in discharging of their normal duties... The work of NCNA's Prague office completely conforms to these aims of IOJ. In a place where the IOJ headquarters is situated, the Czechoslovak Govt has openly trampled on IOJ aims, has time and again attacked the normal functioning of NCNA's Prague office and, finally, has ordered its closure....This constitutes a serious provocation...."

August 26 - India has banned the distribution of anti-Soviet material by Chinese diplomatic representatives, according to the Indian Information Office as reported by Tass. Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, Minister of State in the Ministry for External Affairs, said in Parliament that the Indian Govt had expressed to the Chinese Embassy its disapproval of the hostile campaign conducted by the CPR against a friendly country.

August 29 - The Albanian organ Zeri I Popullit in an article "The Revisionist Khrushchev in the Role of a Pan-Slavist" turns to a 21 August speech at Rakovica near Belgrade in which K quoted the words of Petar II Njegos, bishop of Montenegro during the first half of the 19th Century, who told Napoleon's diplomats:

"We know full well that if the Russians die all other Slavs will die likewise, and that he who is against the Russians is against all Slavs." ZIP says: "Certainly this is not just historic reminiscence or random talk. We are here face to face with a new aspect of modern revisionism which replaces proletarian internationalism by the ideology of racism....by the narrow concept of a unity based on the ethnic origin of a certain group of peoples....He has come out openly in the role of a pan-Slavist. In the mouth of a chauvinist-revisionist, these remarks about the unity and fraternity of the Slav peoples have a definite political implication. By means of this demagogy borrowed from the arsenal of the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie, but brightened up with modern colors, the Khrushchev group is trying to deceive the Slav peoples in the socialist countries and the peoples of Yugoslavia in order to tie them more closely to its own policy in the name of Slav unity."

August 28 - Indonesian CP Chairman Aidit completed his visit to the CPSU and flew to Peking. Tass reports his praise of Soviet aid: NCNA his rousing welcome by 1000 Chinese headed by Premier Chou En-lai.

August 28 - Two more prominent Australian pro-Chinese Communists have been expelled from the Party, including E. F. Hill, leader of the Victoria pro-Chinese group. (Australian Overseas Service, citing the Sydney Tribune of 28 August.)

August 29 - Pravda reprints a letter published in the Beirut daily Al Akhbar by "the Iraqi CP which, in the past two years, has sent four letters to the Chinese comrades requesting them to revise their erroneous positions." It supports the CPSU 14 July open letter and denounces the stand of the Chinese leaders.

August 30 - People's Daily editorial entitled "Further Exposure of the Soviet Leaders' Act of Betrayal" strikes out bitterly in a new attack directed at Nationalist China's signature on the test ban treaty.

"The 'two-Chinas' trap was set with the gleeful consent of the Soviet leaders, who had boastfully called themselves the protectors of China...." PD cites a West German DPA report of a deal whereby the two Germany's and the two Chinas would be accepted as signatories, with E. Germany signing in Moscow and W. Germany in Washington, and vice versa for the two Chinas. "The Soviet Govt has the audacity to demand, or pretend to hope, that China will sign the treaty....The 650 million Chinese people cannot but feel shocked and outraged that the Soviet Union, an ally of China, should have supposed that China should and could play such a humiliating role.... Now it is clear to all that the Soviet leaders are making use of the trap of the Moscow treaty to oppose socialist China.... They have indeed lost all sense of shame.... All the things they have sold to U.S. imperialism are now coming to light one after another.... The betrayal of the interests of the Chinese people over the question of Taiwan, and the betrayal of those of the German people over the question of the international status of the GDR are a naked exposure of the line of capitulation.... From all this there is only one conclusion: in order to carry on their general line of capitulation, to beg U.S. imperialism for peace, the Soviet leaders will stop at no deals of betrayal."

(The word "betrayal" is used at least a dozen times in this 1000-word editorial, in addition to the heading.) Under a banner headline "We Have Friends and Comrades All Over the World," PD says that "tens of thousands of friends and comrades hitherto unknown to us" have written in since the beginning of this year, and particularly since the publication of the 14 June CCP letter. "Letters from 13 countries" published in this issue include one from "an American Indian, Braswell."

CRONOLOGIA -- DISENSIONES COMUNISTAS

No. 11

17-30 Agosto 1963

17 Agosto: "Pravda" publica un artículo de Borovsky sobre el arresto por la junta en Ecuador del secretario general del PC, Saad, y otros "líderes progresistas" y la amenaza de deportación masiva de "comunistas y otros patriotas" a las Galápagos." Uno de los motivos del golpe utilizados por la reacción fue la actuación irresponsable de aventuristas-dogmatistas que se habían introducido en el PC. Apoyados ideológica y materialmente por sus amigos extranjeros de opinión parecida, dichos elementos de izquierda apuñalaron al Partido por la espalda." "Izvestiya" a su vez publica una carta de "Ahmed Szif Harusi, miembro del comité ejecutivo del Partido Nacionalista de Zanzibar", denunciando la doblez de Pekín al publicar discursos y declaraciones de dos personas que representan organizaciones de Zanzibar pero que son apoyadas por los chinos de Pekín y nada representan en Zanzibar. Y Radio Moscú informa que "Lucha Obrera", órgano del Partido Boliviano Trotskista, publicó:

"la resolución del XXIII Pleno del Comité Ejecutivo de la Cuarta Internacional Trotskista" que "aprobó la tarea histórica de unirse a los chinos y luchar por la formación de un frente unido entre la Cuarta Internacional y los canaradas chinos".

La radio concluye:

"Los errores ideológicos de los líderes chinos -- la terca negativa a reconocer errores políticos -- están conduciendo a los políticos de Pekín al tremedal trotskista. A pesar de ello se atreven a hacerse ver como partidarios de la pureza del marxismo-leninismo. Los líderes parecen haber olvidado el sabio proverbio de su pueblo que dice que 'una rana que vive en el lodo no tiene derecho a hablar del mar'".

17 Agosto: - El "Diario del Pueblo" publica en primera plana el rechazo por parte de la Federación Nacional Femenina de la RPCh de la declaración de 29 de julio de la Señora Eugénie Cotton, presidenta de la FDIM, en apoyo del tratado proscriptorio de los ensayos, "usurpando el nombre de centenares de millones de mujeres".

17-24-25-30 Agosto: "Nepszabásag", órgano del PC húngaro, prosigue en su apoyo de los soviéticos y crítica de los chinos, con un artículo de Pecsí, "Palabras pasadas y hechos presentes", el 17; un artículo de Szabo, "Los Calumniadores se desemmascaran", el 24; y artículos de Foldes sobre el CAEM el 25 y el 30 quejándose de que los líderes chinos, "en el papel de abogados indeseados, están tratando de ohortarnos a la autosuficiencia nacional, aunque esto claramente sería un paso hacia atrás".

18 Agosto: El Comité de Paz de toda Birmania publica una declaración condenando el tratado proscriptorio de los ensayos como "contrario a las demandas de las gentes amantes de la paz y beneficio a los preparativos bélicos del imperialismo norteamericano". (Agencia Nueva China).

19 Agosto: Akira Iwai, secretario general del Sohyo (Consejo General de Sindicatos Japoneses, reclama una ruptura completa con el PC. Luego de

tener lugar otras discusiones en septiembre y octubre, Iwai confía que su plan será adoptado como la pauta básica de política para el "Sohyo". Iwai declara que el PC se considera infalible y es incapaz de adaptarse a las condiciones en Japón. ("Asahi Evening News", de Tokio).

20 Agosto - Un artículo del profesor Chkhikvadze en "Pravda" describe cómo:

"desde 1959, los delegados chinos a reuniones internacionales de campeones de la paz empezaron a oponerse a la línea concertada del movimiento mundial de la paz y a desacreditar sus propósitos y tareas. Desde fin de 1960 han estado lanzando un ataque abierto contra el Consejo Mundial de la Paz".

En entrevista con la agencia TASS el mismo día, el director Gafurov del Instituto de los Pueblos de Asia de la Academia de Ciencias de la URSS, declara que los dogmáticos chinos "prácticamente sustituyen con conceptos chovinistas, nacionalistas y hasta racistas la ciencia histórica marxista-leninista" idealizando el pasado, glorificando métodos de política feudales -- conquistas, guerras intestinas, invasiones sangrientas -- y elogian el papel de Genghis Khan. Hay solo un paso entre la glorificación de los 'grandes' conquistadores y la defensa del culto a la personalidad".

20-23-29 Agosto - Los búlgaros prosiguen su apoyo de los soviéticos y la crítica de los chinos con artículos en el órgano partidista "Rabotnichesko Delo" el día 20, el órgano teórico "Vida del Partido" No. 11 el día 23 y un artículo por el secretario del CC Grigorov publicado en "Pravda" de Moscú el 29.

20 Agosto et seq - Krushev llega a Belgrado con su esposa en su tan anunciada visita de "vacaciones". Las informaciones subsiguientes han indicado acuerdo de opiniones pero poco en cuanto a acontecimientos concretos.

21 Agosto - "Pravda" publica el texto de más de 10.000 palabras de la declaración del Gobierno soviético en respuesta a las declaraciones del Gobierno chino de 31 de julio y 15 de agosto. La mayor parte está en tono de raciocinio tranquilo (basado en realidades de la vida y no en el marxismo), aprovechando la inclinación popular favorable a su posición en cuanto al tratado de proscripción de ensayos.

"La posición del Gobierno de la RPCh, expuesta en la declaración de agosto, se puede comprender solo en el sentido de que a los líderes chinos no les importa de qué modo se difundan entre los países capitalistas las armas nucleares siempre y cuando los líderes de la RPCh pongan manos en una bomba nuclear y vean cómo es."

La declaración se refiere luego al estupendo esfuerzo económico que se requiere y declara que:

"la RPCh no está aún preparada para producir armas nucleares en cantidad. Aun si la RPCh produjera dos o tres bombas, esto no resolvería su problema pero sí produciría un gran agotamiento en la economía de la RPCh."

Los soviéticos ofrecen consejo al PC chino:

"Por esto es que la política más razonable para la RPCh en las actuales condiciones -- si es que por supuesto, su fuerza latente va a estar a la medida de sus deseos -- sería dedicar sus esfuerzos al desarrollo de la economía nacional, la ciencia, la tecnología y la agricultura, dedicándolas a elevar el bienestar del pueblo chino y llenar sus necesidades vitales. El pueblo chino está experimentando muchas privaciones ..."

Los soviéticos entonces hacen una significativa amenaza:

"Otra circunstancia tampoco puede pasar inadvertida: el Gobierno de la RPCh, a despecho de su deber de aliado, abusando de las relaciones de confianza existentes entre los países socialistas, se ha echado a la senda de hacer públicos documentos y datos de naturaleza reservada relacionados con la defensa de los países de la comunidad socialista y, lo que es más, de presentar los hechos de manera tendenciosa, de modo tergiversado ... El Gobierno soviético se ve obligado a declarar que después de semejantes actuaciones del Gobierno de la RPCh apenas hay quien crea en la sinceridad de sus seguridades y le confie datos de importancia en la defensa. Es natural que el Gobierno soviético sacará sus conclusiones sobre este particular."

Prosiguen:

"¿Quién ha preguntado a los chinos que están condenados a muerte por adelantado si están dispuestos a servir de mecha en el horno de una guerra de proyectiles nucleares? ¿Han autorizado ellos a la dirección de la RPCh a tocar a muerto antes de tiempo?"

Después de este pase hacia el pueblo chino, los soviéticos fustigan a los líderes de la RPCh por su

"desencubierta intromisión en los asuntos domésticos de otros estados socialistas y en particular de la Unión Soviética," arrogándose el derecho a hablar por otros pueblos. "¡Ni un solo gobierno imperialista se ha atrevido todavía llegar al extremo de asegurar que él mismo y no el Gobierno soviético está representando a la Unión Soviética en asuntos internacionales, para hablar por el pueblo soviético!"

Tomando nota de que, a pesar de las pretensiones chinas de hablar a nombre de los pueblos de Asia, Africa y América Latina, los estados de dichos continentes están adhiriéndose al tratado uno tras otro, expresan los soviéticos:

"Lo único que les queda por hacer a los redactores de las declaraciones del Gobierno de la RPCh es emplear como carta de triunfo los pronunciamientos de unos cuantos apóstatas que hace tiempo han perdido terreno en sus propios países y en sus partidos y a los cuales Pekín está tratando con gran empeño de congraciarse. Sí, sí, el Gobierno de la RPCh también puede ufanarse de una resolución de la llamada 'Cuarta Internacional' que reúne a grupos trotskistas. 'Dignos' socios en el 'internacionalismo proletario' no se puede negar!"

21 Agosto: La prensa de Pekín utiliza una declaración del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de la RPCh de fecha 20 de agosto "refutando el mito indio sobre concentración de tropas chinas en la frontera." "Hasta los imperialistas occidentales los ven (los informes indios) con poca credulidad, en la impresión de que el Gobierno indio se ha extralimitado. Solamente la prensa oficial de la Unión Soviética se hace enérgico eco del Gobierno indio ... "Pravda" ha publicado artículos tratando de echar la culpa a China por el conflicto fronterizo chino-indio iniciado por el Gobierno de Nehru." También en primera plana aparece la contestación del premier norvietnamés Pham Van Dong a Chou En-lai aprobando la reunión de los jefes de todos los estados que fuera propuesta por la RPCh (pero absteniéndose de criticar el tratado que proscribe los ensayos).

22 Agosto: El "Diario del Pueblo" añade a la declaración sobre India del Ministerio de Relaciones con un editorial de 4.000 palabras apuntando que "se hizo evidente para la fecha de la firma del tratado tripartita que las relaciones indo-soviéticas habían alcanzado extraordinaria intimidad." Declara que "el lacayo de Nehru, Dange (presidente del PC indio), que hace poco regresó en triunfo de una visita a Moscú, gozosamente hizo resaltar 'la asistencia desinteresada' de la Unión Soviética en cuanto puso pie en tierra en Nueva Delhi." Dange declaró según noticias: "La asistencia soviética es incondicional. Dicho Gobierno ya ha resuelto establecer una fábrica en este país para la manufactura de armas de modo que India no tenga que depender de otros por sus piezas de repuesto." El "Diario del Pueblo" comenta: "Esto no es solo un 'nuevo capítulo' en las relaciones indo-soviéticas. Constituye también un nuevo capítulo en la colaboración entre los líderes soviéticos y el imperialismo norteamericano para aliarse con India contra China."

22 Agosto: El órgano norcoreano "Nodong Sinmun" publica un editorial de 6.000 palabras, "Los revisionistas yugoslavos sirven al imperialismo", a tiempo de coincidir con la visita de Krushev a Yugoslavia, pero es extraño que no contiene crítica de la URSS, ni siquiera indirectamente.

22 Agosto: Los albaneses tomaron nota de la visita de Krushev al vecino país con un artículo en "Zeri i Popullit" titulado "N. Krushev y J. B. Tito están empujando nuevos complots."

22-28 Agosto: Mongolia una vez más apoyó el lado soviético con un informe de la agencia oficial Montsame el día 22 de que "el público mongol ha aceptado con profunda comprensión la declaración del Gobierno soviético denunciando el rumbo aventurista y los burdos ataques antisoviéticos y anticomunistas de los líderes chinos", y un editorial el 28 de agosto en el órgano partidista "Unen" titulado "La Unión Soviética -- confiable fortaleza de la paz".

23 Agosto: "Pravda" publica una declaración del PC sudanés saludando el tratado proscriptorio de los ensayos y expresando "pleno apoyo y profundo aprecio al CC del PCUS y al Gobierno soviético por sus gigantescos esfuerzos ..."

23 Agosto: Un comentarista del "Diario del Pueblo" condena al líder soviético que

"llegó hasta el extremo de ... aceptar la irrazonable exigencia del imperialismo norteamericano y acordar que la firma de dicho tratado por la RDA no implica su reconocimiento como estado. Esto equivale a anular la situación internacional de la RDA y en efecto reconocer el régimen de Bonn como único representante del pueblo alemán. Es un acto de traición innoble en extremo que no solo seriamente perjudica los intereses de la RDA sino que también amplía grandemente la arrogancia de los agresivos militaristas de Alemania Occidental.

... Para conseguir un momento de asueto y complacer al imperialismo norteamericano, los líderes soviéticos no han tenido escrúpulos en vender los intereses de los países hermanos.

... Sin embargo, firmemente creemos que los 18 millones de gente de la RDA no permitirán que otros dicten sus destinos".

23 Agosto: La celebración de la fiesta nacional de Rumania es ocasión de efusivos tributos de ambos campos.

23-30 Agosto: El Gobierno checoslovaco informa a los chinos que el permiso de la oficina de Praga de la Agencia Nueva China queda cancelado inmediatamente por haber continuado "actividades inadmisibles" difundiendo "materiales que calumnian al pueblo checoslovaco y burdamente atacan al Gobierno y PC checoslovaco." El día 30 el órgano partidista "Rude Pravo" da mayores detalles. "En lugar de prestar atención a los inmensos éxitos de la Unión Soviética, publica artículos tergiversados y de sedicente crítica que generalizan características negativas aisladas de la Unión Soviética. El extremo a que llega su odio lo demuestra el hecho de que los diarios centrales chinos exhibieron en primera plana una foto de gran tamaño de una estraperlista sentenciada por un tribunal soviético. En momentos en que el mundo entero seguía emocionado el vuelo espacial de Valentina Tereshkova, ni un solo diario chino encontró lugar para publicar su fotografía."

23 Agosto: El CC del PC austriaco unánimemente aprueba un discurso de su secretario general Fuernberg en apoyo de la Unión Soviética contra China. Después de la reunión, los observadores llegan a la conclusión de que la "carta abierta" en apoyo de las opiniones chinas dirigida recientemente a los comunistas austriacos es obra de una sola persona y no de un grupo. (AFP)

23 Agosto: El profesor de derecho internacional Kozhevnikov analiza en "Izvestiya" la "violación por parte del liderato chino de las normas elementales del derecho internacional" en su política exterior hacia la URSS y los países socialistas. Hace resaltar que "divulgando datos sobre las defensas de la comunidad socialista, el Gobierno de la RPCh ha tomado la senda de hacer caso omiso de su deber como aliado hasta un punto que raya en una clara violación ..."

24 Agosto: Después de la denuncia en "Izvestiya" del truco chino de utilizar residentes de Pekín como "representantes de Zanzibar (vea el 17 de agosto), TASS transmite una carta de unos cuantos escritores soviéticos que habían asistido a la reunión de escritores afroasiáticos en Denpasar, Indonesia, haciendo saber su indignación por un truco parecido de los chinos. Al "prominente escritor sudanés Abdullah Hamid el Amin, llegado de Khartum, le fue negado el derecho

a representar a su país" en favor de cierto Ahmed Heir, "que no vive en Sudán ni representa a nadie. Este vino con la delegación china de Pekín, donde ha estado viviendo unos siete años." Además, uno de los autores de la carta, el "conocido escritor de Uzbek, Hamid Gulyam", declaró a TASS: "El vergonzoso incidente con Amin dista mucho de ser el único inspirado por los representantes chinos en el movimiento de escritores afroasiáticos". (Vea el 24 de agosto -- la manifestación de masa en Pekín -- otra utilización de Heir/Kheir.)

24 Agosto: Una manifestación de masa en Pekín de más de 10.000 asistentes "en celebración del éxito de la Novena Conferencia Mundial Contra las Bombas A y H en Hiroshima," rindió una "delirante bienvenida a luchadores de la paz de varios países que han venido a China después de la conferencia mundial y a la delegación china que ha regresado de Japón coronada por el éxito. Chao Pu-chu, a cargo de la delegación china, atacó no solo a la delegación soviética sino al secretariado del Consejo Mundial de la Paz, que "se ha convertido más y más en un instrumento de la diplomacia soviética y una organización al servicio del imperialismo norteamericano". Entre los oradores extranjeros estaban Mrs. Theja Gurnawahdana de la facción pro-China de Ceilán (autora del libro "Krsuchevismo" publicado hace poco), Mrs Flora Gould y Rewi Alley de Nueva Zelandia, George A. Williams de Ghana, A. M. Kheir del Sudán (vea 24 Agosto "Izvestiya" - TASS - la "denuncia" soviética de Kheir/Heir), y Ndek Akanga de Camerún.

24-28 Agosto: Un gran número de comentarios soviéticos de importancia durante estos 5 días con respecto a la conducta de China recorre una amplia lista de los cargos contra dicho país, siendo los más importantes los siguientes:

--"Estrella Roja", el 26- Comentario de Leontyev; recuerda un "antiguo proverbio chino: cuando bebas agua, recuerda quién cavó el pozo. A juzgar por las declaraciones de los líderes chinos, están olvidando este proverbio".

-- "Izvestiya", el 26 - Artículo del "prominente perito en derecho internacional Tunkin" titulado "Fronteras nacionales y coexistencia pacífica". Apuntando que "el 70 por ciento de las disputas conocidas sobre fronteras nacionales se refieren a Asia y Africa," el artículo advierte que "los supremos intereses de la paz insisten en el respeto a las fronteras existentes, ya que cualquier otra actitud hacia las fronteras está cargada del peligro de guerra".

-- "Pravda", el 26 - Despacho de Pekín recordando, "un antiguo adagio del Este dice que si uno vigila a un hombre por el ojo de una cerradura puede formarse de él una opinión equivocada. Pero esto es precisamente lo que ocupa ahora a la prensa china, haciendo caso omiso a la sabiduría popular".

-- "Pravda," el 27 - Nepomniashchiy en un artículo condena la "teoría" inventada en Pekín sobre un unidad "especial" de intereses de los pueblos asiáticos, preguntando: "¿Hay alguna relación entre dicha teoría falsa" y la declaración china de que "los blancos nada tenían que hacer en Moshi?" Conesta afirmativamente y cita una declaración de Kenzo Matsumura, descomedido racista japonés y ex miembro del gabinete de Tojo, luego de su visita a Pekín el año pasado

a invitación de Liao Cheng-chih, presidente del Comité Chino de Solidaridad Afroasiática. Matsumura expresó: "El vicepremier Chen I sostuvo muchas conversaciones conmigo durante las cuales se dijo que el Este sigue siendo el Este y el pueblo asiático deberá cambiar la historia mundial. Deberemos unirnos y aumentar los contactos entre nuestros pueblos que tienen el mismo color de la tez y el mismo sistema de escritura." "Pravda" añade que dicha declaración fue publicada no en algún diario burgués japonés sino en el "Diario del Pueblo" -- ¡y sin comentario alguno desde el punto de vista de la teoría marxista-leninista!" Y el 20 de septiembre de 1962, el día después de la recepción de despedida a Matsumura (con asistencia de Chen I y Kuo Mo-jo, entre otros), la Agencia Nueva China informó que "dichas conversaciones echaron una primera piedra para el desenvolvimiento de la unidad entre Japón y China puesto que las poblaciones de ambos países tienen la tez del mismo color y el mismo lenguaje escrito". Apuntando que "últimamente las declaraciones de la Agencia Nueva China han estado más y más poniendo énfasis de nuevo en el color de la tez", el artículo pregunta: "¿Sopesan ellos la significación de semejantes declaraciones que corresponden más fácilmente al espíritu de la época de Genghis Khan que de la nuestra?" Concluye preguntando si la actuación china en Moshi no "confirma el hecho de que los líderes chinos han llegado al extremo de armarse con la 'teoría' de Matsumura, uno de los nuevos 'führers' de los racistas nipones".

25-28 Agosto: "Neues Deutschland," órgano del PC de Alemania Oriental, el 25 ataca editorialmente con gran violencia la "arrogancia sin límites" de los líderes chinos que "pretenden poder juzgar mejor que el Partido, el Gobierno y el pueblo de la RDA lo que sirve a los intereses de la RDA y del pueblo alemán." Una declaración aun más fuerte del Gobierno de la RDA el día 28 rechaza "con el mayor énfasis las insinuaciones e imputaciones contenidas en la declaración china (del 15 de agosto). Por este motivo la declaración ha sido devuelta al Ministerio de Relaciones de la RPh." "

25 Agosto: Poniendo en primera plana la información sobre la "injuriosa clausura" por los checos de la oficina de Praga de la Agencia Nueva China como "medida intencional para empeorar las relaciones", la prensa de Pekín declara que dicha acción "revela el papel de la batuta del conductor y la naturaleza sicofante del Gobierno checoslovaco".

26 Agosto: La declaración de prensa en Pekín de la Asociación de Periodistas de Toda China, fechada el 25, condenando la acción del Gobierno checo al cerrar la oficina de la Agencia Nueva China en Praga dice:

"Es de todos conocido que la Organización Internacional de Periodistas -- OIP -- siempre ha solicitado la oposición a la persecución de los periodistas en el desempeño de sus obligaciones normales ... El trabajo de la oficina de Praga de la Agencia Nueva China se ajusta por completo a dichos fines de la OIP. En un lugar en que está situada la sede de la OIP, el Gobierno checoslovaco ha pisoteado abiertamente los fines de la OIP, ha atacado repetidas veces el normal funcionamiento de la oficina de Praga de la Agencia Nueva China y, por fin, ha dispuesto su clausura ... Esto constituye grave provocación ..."

26 Agosto: India ha prohibido la distribución de materiales antisoviéticos por los representantes diplomáticos chinos, de acuerdo con la Oficina India de Información, según informa TASS. La señora Lakshmi Menon, la Ministra de Estado en el Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, declaró en el Parlamento que el Gobierno indio había expresado a la embajada china su desaprobación de la campaña de hostilidad hacia un país amigo mantenida por la RPCh.

29 Agosto: El órgano albanés "Zeri I Popullit" en el artículo "El revisionista Krushev en el papel de paneslavista", hace referencia a un discurso por Krushev el 21 de agosto pronunciado en Rakovica, cerca de Belgrado, en el cual repetía K las palabras de Petar II Njegos, obispo de Montenegro en la primera mitad del siglo 19, a los diplomáticos de Napoleón: "Sabemos muy bien que si los rusos mueren todos los otros eslavos morirán también, y que quien esté contra los rusos está también contra todos los eslavos". Dice "Zeri I Popullit":

"Por supuesto que esto no es sencillamente reminiscencia histórica ni conversación al azar. Estamos aquí cara a cara con un nuevo aspecto del revisionismo contemporáneo que reemplaza el internacionalismo proletario con la, ideología del racismo ... con el estrecho concepto de una unidad basada en el origen étnico de cierto grupo de pueblos... Ha salido abiertamente con el papel de un paneslavista. En boca de un chovinista-revisionista, estas palabras sobre la unidad y fraternidad de los pueblos eslavos tienen implicación política definida. Por medio de esta demagogia prestada del arsenal de la burguesía imperialista rusa, pero abillantada con colores modernos, el grupo de Krushev está pretendiendo engañar a los pueblos eslavos de los países socialistas y los pueblos de Yugoslavia para atarlos más estrechamente a su propia política en nombre de la unidad eslava".

28 Agosto: El presidente Aidit del PC indonesio concluyó su visita al PCUS y voló a Pekín. TASS informa su elogio a la ayuda soviética; la Agencia Nueva China la gran bienvenida rendida por 1.000 chinos encabezados por Chou En-lai.

28 Agosto: Otros dos prominentes comunistas pro-China son expulsados del PC australiano, entre ellos E. F. Hill, líder del grupo pro-China de Victoria. (Australian Overseas Service, en informe atribuido al "Tribune" de Sydney de 28 de agosto).

29 Agosto: "Pravda" reproduce una carta publicada en el diario "Al Akhbar" de Beirut por "el PC irakí, que en los últimos dos años ha escrito cuatro cartas a los camaradas chinos pidiéndoles que revisen sus opiniones erradas." Apoya la carta abierta del PCUS de 14 de julio y condena la actitud de los líderes chinos.

30 Agosto: Un editorial del "Diario del Pueblo" titulado "Otra denuncia del acto de traición de los líderes soviéticos" ataca violentamente en un nuevo golpe motivado por haber China Nacionalista suscrito el tratado contra los ensayos nucleares.

"La trampa de las 'dos Chinas' fue colocada con el regocijado consentimiento de los líderes soviéticos, que se habían dado el pisto de llamarse protectores de China ..." El "Diario" cita

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000200030002-6

un informe de la agencia DPA de Alemania Occidental sobre un arreglo mediante el cual las dos Alemanias y las dos Chinas serían aceptadas como suscribientes, con Alemania Oriental firmando en Moscú y Alemania Occidental en Washington, y vice versa con las dos Chinas. "El Gobierno soviético tiene la sudacia de exigir, o pretender esperar, que China firme el tratado ... Los 160 millones de seres del pueblo chino no pueden sino sentirse horrorizados y ofendidos de que la Unión Soviética, aliada de China, haya supuesto que China pudiera y quisiera jugar papel tan humillante ... Ahora queda en claro ante todos que los líderes soviéticos están empleando la trampa del tratado de Moscú para oponerse a China socialista ... En verdad han perdido todo sentido de vergüenza ... Todas las cosas que han vendido al imperialismo norteamericano están ahora saliendo a luz una tras otra ... La traición a los intereses del pueblo chino sobre la cuestión de Taiwán y la traición a los del pueblo alemán sobre la cuestión del status internacional de la RDA son una exposición al desnudo de la línea de capitulación ... De todo esto hay solo una conclusión: para proseguir con su línea general de capitulación, para suplicar la paz a los Estados Unidos, los líderes soviéticos no se eximen de ninguna componenda de traición".

(La palabra "traición" aparece usada por lo menos doce veces en este editorial de 1.000 palabras, aparte del título). Bajo un titular a todo lo ancho, "Tenemos amigos y camaradas en todo el mundo", el "Diario del Pueblo" dice que "decenas de millares de amigos y camaradas que nos eran antes desconocidos" han escrito desde el principio de este año y especialmente desde la publicación de la carta del PC chino de 14 de junio. Entre las "cartas de 13 países" publicadas en esta edición aparece una de "un indio americano, Braswell".

CHRONOLOGIE -- DISSENTIONS COMMUNISTES

No. 11

17-30 août 1963

17 août - "Pravda" publie un article par Borovsky sur l'arrestation en Ecuador du secrétaire-général du parti communiste Saad et d'autres "leaders progressistes" ainsi que sur la menace de déportation par la junta des "communistes et autres patriotes" aux îles Galapagos. "Les agissements irresponsables des aventuriers-dogmatistes qui s'étaient infiltrés dans le parti communiste furent une des raisons données par la réaction pour expliquer le poutche. Ces éléments de gauche, soutenus idéologiquement et matériellement par leurs amis étrangers partageant leurs opinions poignardèrent le parti dans le dos". "Izvestiya", également, publiait une lettre de "Akhned Szif Harusi, membre du comité exécutif du parti nationaliste de Zanzibar", qui dénonçait la duplicité dont Pékin avait fait preuve dans ses communiqués sur les discours et les déclarations faites par deux personnes représentant des organisations de Zanzibar qui sont soutenues par les Chinois à Pékin, et qui ne représentent rien à Zanzibar. Radio-Moscou de son côté annonce que "Lucha Obrera", organe du parti trotskiste de Bolivie, avait publié:

"la résolution du 22^e plénum du comité exécutif de la IV^e Internationale trotskiste" qui "a approuvé la tâche historique de se joindre aux Chinois et de lutter pour la formation d'un front uni entre la IV^e Internationale et les camarades chinois". La radio concluait: "Les erreurs idéologiques des leaders chinois, leur entêtement dans le refus d'admettre leurs erreurs politiques, conduisent les politiciens de Pékin dans le borbier trotskiste. Malgré cela, ils n'osent pas se présenter en tant que supporteurs de la pureté du marxisme-léninisme. Les leaders chinois semblent avoir oublié le proverbe plein de sagesse de leur peuple qui dit que "une grenouille vivant dans la boue n'a pas le droit de parler de la mer".

17 août - "Le Quotidien du peuple" publie en première page le communiqué de la Fédération nationale des femmes de la République populaire chinoise, dénonçant la déclaration faite le 29 juillet par Madame Eugénie Cotton, présidente de la Fédération démocratique internationale des femmes, qui s'est prononcée en faveur du traité interdisant les essais nucléaires, "usurpant le nom de centaines de millions de femmes".

17-24-25-30 août - "Nepszabadsag", organe du parti communiste hongrois, continue à soutenir les Soviets et a critiquer les Chinois dans un article de Pecs, "paroles et actions du passé", en date du 17, un article de Szabo, "Les calombis se démasquent elles-mêmes", du 24, et des articles de Foldes sur le Conseil de l'Assistance économique mutuelle, en date du 25 et du 30, se plaignant que les leaders chinois "dans leur rôle d'avocats que l'on n'a pas invités, essaient de nous exhorter à nous suffire à nous-mêmes sur le plan national, bien que cela équivaudrait nettement à un pas en arrière".

18 août - Le Comité Pan-Birman de la Paix fait paraître une déclaration condamnant le traité interdisant les essais nucléaires en tant que "contraire aux revendications des peuples pacifiques et favorisant les préparations à la guerre nucléaire de l'impérialisme des Etats-Unis". (Agence de presse de la Chine nouvelle).

19 août - Le secrétaire-général du "Sohyo" (Conseil général des syndicats professionnels japonais), Akira Iwai, réclame une rupture complète avec le parti communiste. Après plus ample discussion en septembre et en octobre, Iwai espère que son plan sera adopté en tant que directive fondamentale de la politique du "Sohyo". Iwai déclare que le parti communiste se considère infallible et qu'il est incapable de s'adapter aux conditions qui existent au Japon. ("Asahi" - "Nouvelles du soir", Tokyo).

20 août - Un article de "Pravda" par le professeur Chkhikvadze dépeint la manière dont:

"depuis 1959 les délégués chinois aux réunions internationales des champions de la paix entemèrent une opposition à la ligne concertée du mouvement de paix mondial et discréditèrent ses objectifs et ses travaux. Depuis la fin de 1961, ils ont poursuivi des attaques ouvertes contre le Conseil mondial de la paix".

Dans une interview tu TASS du même jour, Gafurov, directeur de l'Institut des peuples de l'Asie de l'Académie des sciences de l'Union soviétique, déclarait que les dogmatistes chinois "avaient pratiquement substitué à la science historique marxiste-léniniste des conceptions chauvinistes, nationalistes et même racistes, glorifiant les méthodes de politique féodales, les conquêtes, les guerres intestines, les invasions sanglantes et qu'ils glofifiaient le rôle de Genghis Khan. Il ne suffit que d'un seul pas entre la glorification des grands conquérants et la défense du culte de personnalité".

20-23-29 août - Les Bulgares continuent à soutenir les Soviets et à critiquer les Chinois dans des articles parus dans le journal du parti "Rabotnichesko" du 20, dans le journal théorique "Vie du parti" numéro 11, paru le 23, et dans un article du secrétaire du comité central Grigorov publié dans la "Pravda" de Moscou le 29.

20 août et la suite - Khrouchtchev et sa femme arrivent à Belgrade pour leur visite "de vacance" qui fut précédée d'une grande publicité. Les communiqués de presse qui suivirent soulignent qu'il y a accord de vues mais ne disent que peu de choses au sujet de développements concrets.

21 août - La "Pravda" publie un texte de 10.000 mots en plus d'une déclaration du gouvernement soviétique répondant aux déclarations du gouvernement chinois du 31 juillet et du 15 août. Le ton pour la plupart est celui d'un calme raisonnement (basé sur des faits, et non sur le marxisme), montrant un désir de profiter du succès populaire dont jouit leur position à l'égard du traité interdisant les essais nucléaires.

"La position du gouvernement de la République populaire chinoise, définie dans la déclaration d'août, ne peut s'interpréter que dans le sens que les leaders chinois se désintéressent totalement de la propagation des armes nucléaires dans les pays capitalistes aussi longtemps que les leaders de la République populaire chinoise conservent une chance de mettre la main sur une bombe nucléaire et voient à quoi elle ressemble."

La déclaration enchaîne en soulignant l'effort économique énorme que cela comporte et déclare que:

"la République populaire chinoise manque encore de préparations pour produire des armes nucléaires en quantité suffisante. Même si la République populaire chinoise parvenait à produire 2 ou 3 bombes, elle ne parviendrait pas à résoudre ses problèmes mais aboutirait à épuiser considérablement l'économie de la République populaire chinoise".

"C'est pourquoi dans les conditions présentes, et naturellement si les désirs de la République populaire chinoise sont à la hauteur de ses possibilités, sa politique la plus raisonnable serait de concentrer tous ses efforts à développer l'économie nationale, la science, la technologie et l'agriculture, les mettant au service du bien-être du peuple chinois pour pouvoir satisfaire les besoins vitaux. Le peuple chinois a souffert de bien des privations..."

Les Soviets ensuite profèrent une menace significative:

"Il est un point encore que l'on ne peut passer sous silence: le gouvernement de la République populaire chinoise méprisant ses devoirs en tant qu'allié, et profitant des relations de confiance qui existent entre les pays socialistes, s'est embarqué sur la voie de rendre publics des documents secrets et des renseignements concernant la défense des pays de la communauté socialiste, et, qui plus est, de présenter les faits d'une manière tendancieuse, et sous un faux jour... Le gouvernement soviétique est forcé de déclarer qu'en présence des agissements du gouvernement de la République populaire chinoise il ne reste pratiquement personne pour faire confiance en ses assurances et pour lui communiquer des informations intéressant la défense. Il est naturel que le gouvernement soviétique tire des conclusions à ce sujet."

Les Soviets continuent:

"Qui donc a demandé à ces Chinois condamnés d'avance à mourir, si leur désir est de devenir le combustible dans la fournaise d'une guerre nucléaire? Ont-ils accordé aux leaders de la République populaire chinoise le pouvoir de sonner leur glas prématurément?"

Après cette courbette au peuple chinois, les Soviets font la leçon aux leaders de la République populaire chinoise en raison de leur "intervention non déguisée dans les affaires intérieures des autres Etats socialistes, en particulier dans ceux de l'Union Soviétique", en s'arrogeant le droit de parler pour les autres peuples. "Aucun des gouvernements impérialistes n'est encore allé jusqu'à oser d'affirmer que c'est lui et non le gouvernement soviétique qui représente l'Union Soviétique dans les affaires internationales, ou à parler au nom du peuple soviétique!"

Après avoir souligné que malgré les prétentions qu'ont les Chinois de parler au nom des peuples de l'Asie, de l'Afrique et de l'Amérique Latine, les Etats de ces continents adhèrent au traité les uns après les autres,

les Soviets déclarent:

"La seule chose qui reste à faire pour les auteurs des déclarations du gouvernement de la République populaire chinoise est de prendre comme atout les prononcements de quelques apostats qui depuis longtemps ont perdu position dans leur pays et dans leur parti et que Pékin s'efforce de courtiser. Oui, en effet, le gouvernement de la République populaire chinoise peut se vanter d'une résolution de la prétendue IV^e Internationale unissant les groupes trotskistes. On ne peut nier que ce sont là de dignes partenaires dans un internationalisme prolétarien!"

21 août - La presse de Pékin souligne une déclaration du 20 août du Ministère des affaires*de la République populaire chinoise "réfutant le mythe propagé par les Indiens selon lequel les Chinois concentreraient des troupes le long de la frontière." "Les impérialistes occidentaux eux-mêmes n'y attachent (aux déclarations des Indiens) qu'une foi limitée, estimant que le gouvernement de l'Inde est allé trop loin. Il n'y a que la presse officielle de l'Union Soviétique à faire écho énergiquement au gouvernement indien... La "Pravda" publie des articles tendant à rejeter sur la Chine la responsabilité pour le conflit frontalier sino-indien provoqué par le gouvernement de Nehru." En première page également se trouve la réponse à Chou En-lai du premier ministre du Vietnam du Nord Pham Van Dong qui approuve la proposition de la République populaire chinoise de faire réunir tous les chefs d'Etat (mais qui ne critique pas le traité interdisant les essais nucléaires).

22 août - Le "Quotidien du peuple" publie un éditorial de 4.000 mots sur la déclaration du Ministère des affaires étrangères concernant l'Inde, dans lequel il souligne "Il était devenu évident à l'époque de la signature du traité tripartite de Moscou que les relations indo-soviétiques étaient devenues d'une intimité extraordinaire." L'éditorial déclare que Dange (président du parti communiste indien), laquais de Nehru, est rentré récemment aux Indes en triomphe, et dès son arrivée à New Delhi s'est mis à souligner joyeusement "l'assistance désintéressée" de l'Union Soviétique". D'après l'éditorial, Dange aurait dit: "L'assistance soviétique ne comporte aucune condition. Le gouvernement de l'Union Soviétique a déjà décidé de construire une usine d'armements dans notre pays afin que l'Inde n'ait pas à dépendre de l'aide des autres pour obtenir des pièces détachées." Le "Quotidien du peuple" commente: "Ceci n'est pas seulement un nouveau chapitre dans les relations indo-soviétiques. C'est également un nouveau chapitre de la collaboration entre les leaders soviétiques et l'impérialisme des Etats-Unis que de s'allier avec l'Inde contre la Chine".

22 août - L'organe nord-coréen "Nodong Sinmun" publie un éditorial de 6.000 mots "Les révisionnistes yougoslaves au service de l'impérialisme". Il est évident que la date de sa publication correspond à dessein avec celle de la visite de Khrouchtchev en Yougoslavie, mais il est curieux qu'il ne contient aucune critique, même sous-entendue, de l'Union Soviétique.

22 août - Les Albanais accueillent la visite de Khrouchtchev chez leur voisin par un article de "Zeri i Popullit" intitulé "N. Khrouchtchev et J. B. Tito sont en train de couvrir de nouveaux complots".

22-28 août - La Mongolie se range de nouveau du côté des Soviets, dans un communiqué de l'agence officielle "Montsame" du 22, qui déclare que "Le public mongol accueille très favorablement la déclaration du gouvernement soviétique qui dénonce la politique aventureuse des leaders chinois et les attaques anti-soviétiques et anti-communistes grossières," et dans un éditorial du 28 août de l'organe du parti "Unen" intitulé "L'Union Soviétique, forteresse de la paix digne de confiance".

23 août - La "Pravda" publie une déclaration du parti communiste soudanais, qui salue le traité interdisant les essais nucléaires et assure de "son soutien entier et de sa profonde gratitude à l'égard du comité central du parti communiste de l'Union Soviétique et du gouvernement soviétique dans leurs efforts gigantesques..."

23 août - Un commentateur du "Quotidien du peuple" expose le leader qui:

"alla jusqu'à se soumettre aux exigences déraisonnables de l'impérialisme des Etats-Unis, et admettre que la signature du traité par la République démocratique allemande n'impliquait pas la reconnaissance de celle-ci. Cela équivaut à une annulation du statut international de la République démocratique allemande et à une reconnaissance de fait du régime de Bonn en tant que seul représentant du peuple allemand. C'est un acte de trahison particulièrement ignoble qui non seulement porte atteinte aux intérêts de la République démocratique allemande mais contribue également à accroître considérablement l'arrogance des militaristes agressifs de l'Allemagne de l'Ouest... afin d'obtenir un moment de répit et de plaire à l'impérialisme des Etats-Unis, les leaders soviétiques n'ont pas hésité à vendre les intérêts des pays fraternels. ...Cependant, nous croyons fermement que les 18.000.000 d'habitants de la République démocratique allemande ne permettront pas aux autres de décider de leur destinée."

23 août - La célébration de la fête nationale roumaine provoque des tributs chaleureux de la part des deux camps.

23-30 août - Le gouvernement tchécoslovaque informe les Chinois que l'autorisation de travail accordée à l'Agence de Presse de la Chine nouvelle à Prague lui était retirée immédiatement en raison "d'agissements inadmissibles" qui se poursuivent sous forme de distribution "d'une documentation calomniant le peuple slovaque et attaquant grossièrement le gouvernement tchécoslovaque et le parti communiste." Le 30, l'organe du parti "Rude Pravo" donnait des détails plus nombreux. "Au lieu de reconnaître les succès immenses remportés par l'Union Soviétique, elle publie des articles de soi-

disant critique déformant la vérité, qui généralise quelques caractéristiques négatives isolées de l'Union Soviétique. A quel point cette haine peut s'étendre et démontrer par le fait que les journaux chinois publient en première page une photographie de grande dimension montrant une femme condamnée par les tribunaux soviétiques pour marché noir. A l'époque où le monde entier suivait avec émotion le vol spatial de Valentina Tereshkova, aucun journal chinois n'a trouvé de place pour publier sa photographie.

23 août - Le comité central du parti communiste autrichien approuve unanimement le discours du secrétaire-général Fuernberg, qui soutient l'Union Soviétique contre la Chine. A la suite de cette réunion que les observateurs sont parvenus à la conclusion que "la lettre ouverte" soutenant le point de vue chinois, et adressée récemment aux communistes autrichiens est le fait d'un individu et non pas même d'un groupe. (AFP)

23 août - Le professeur de droit international Kozhevnikov analyse dans "Izvestiya" "l'enfreinte portée par les leaders chinois aux règles les plus élémentaires de droit international" dans sa politique à l'égard de l'Union Soviétique et des pays socialistes. Il souligne que "en divulguant les secrets concernant la défense de la communauté socialiste, le gouvernement de la République populaire chinoise a pris le cours de ne tenir aucun compte de ses devoirs d'allié au point de se trouver à la limite d'une violation caractérisée."

24 août - Après avoir dénoncé les manigances des Chinois qui utilisent des résidents de Pékin en tant que "représentants" de Zanzibar (voir 17 août), TASS publie une lettre de plusieurs écrivains soviétiques ayant participé à une réunion d'auteurs afro-asiatiques à Denpasar, Indonésie, leur exprimant l'indignation des Soviétiques au sujet d'une fraude analogue perpétrée par les Chinois. "L'auteur soudanais éminent Abdullah Hamid el Amin, qui vint de Khartoum, se vit interdire le droit de représenter son pays", privilège qui fut accordé à un certain Ahmed Heir, "qui n'habite même pas au Soudan et qui ne représente personne. Celui-ci arriva avec la délégation chinoise en provenance de Pékin, où il a vécu depuis 7 ans. D'autre part, l'un des auteurs de la lettre "l'écrivain ouzbek bien connu Hamid Gulyam" déclara à TASS: "L'incident choquant dont Amin fut l'objet est loin d'être le seul inspiré par les représentants chinois au sein du mouvement des écrivains afro-asiatiques." (Voir 24 août - Ralliement en masse de Pékin - autre fonction dévolue à Heir/Kheir.)

24 août - Un ralliement en masse de plus de 10.000 personnes à Pékin "pour célébrer le succès de la 9^e conférence mondiale contre les bombes atomiques et les bombes à l'hydrogène à Hiroshima" a fait une "réception chaleureuse aux combattants pour la paix des divers pays, qui se rendirent en Chine après la conférence ainsi que la délégation chinoise revenue du Japon couronnée de succès". Chao Pu-chu, chef de la délégation chinoise, s'est attaqué non seulement à la délégation soviétique mais aussi au secrétariat du conseil mondial pour la paix, qui "devient de plus en plus un instrument de la

diplomatie du gouvernement soviétique et une organisation au service de l'imperialisme des Etats-Unis." Parmi les orateurs étrangers se trouvaient Mme Theja Gurnawahdana de la faction pro-chinoise de Coylan (auteur d'un livre publié récemment intitulé "Khrouchtchevisme"), Mme Flora Gould et Rewi Ally de la Nouvelle-Zélande, George A. Williams de Ghana, A.M. Kheir du Soudan (Voir "Izvestiya"/TASS du 24 août pour les "dénonciations" soviétiques de Kheir/Heir) et Ndek Akanga représentant les Camerounes.

24-28 août - Une quantité massive de commentaires soviétiques importants au cours de cette période de 5 jours, en réponse à la conduite des Chinois, traite d'un grand nombre d'accusations faites contre ceux-ci, les plus importantes étant les suivantes:

-- Etoile Rouge du 25 août - Commentaires de Leontyev: rappelant "un vieux proverbe chinois: lorsque l'on boit de l'eau il faut se rappeler qui a creusé le puits. A en juger par les déclarations de leaders chinois, ceux-ci ont oublié le proverbe."

-- Izvestiya du 26 août - Article par "l'éminent expert soviétique en droit international Tounkine", intitulé "Frontières nationales et coexistence pacifique". Soulignant que "70 pour-cent de toutes les disputes connues au sujet de frontières nationales intéressent l'Asie et l'Afrique", l'article prévient que "l'intérêt suprême de la paix exige que l'on respecte les frontières existantes, car toute autre attitude à l'égard de frontières porte en elle le danger de guerre".

-- Pravda du 26 août - Une dépêche de Pékin rappelant "un vieil adage de l'Est qui dit que si vous observez un homme par le trou d'une serrure vous risquez de vous en faire une opinion erronée. Mais c'est précisément ce que la presse chinoise est en train de faire, au mépris de la sagesse populaire".

-- Pravda du 27 août - Un article de Nepomnyashchiy dénonce la "théorie inventée par Pékin au sujet de l'uniformité particulière d'intérêts des pays asiatiques, et demande: "Y a-t-il un lien quelconque entre cette fausse théorie" et la déclaration des Chinois "qui veut que les Blancs n'ont rien à faire à Moshî? Il répond: "Oui", et cite une déclaration de Kenzo Matsumura, un raciste japonais avéré, ancien membre du cabinet Tôjo, réponse faite après sa visite à Pékin l'année dernière, invité par Liao Cheng-chich, président du comité chinois de la solidarité afro-asiatique. Matsumura déclara: "Le premier ministre adjoint Chen I eut un grand nombre de conversations avec moi, au cours desquelles il a été dit que l'Orient reste toujours l'Orient et que les peuples de l'Asie doivent changer l'histoire du monde. Nous devons nous unir et développer les contacts entre nos peuples qui ont la même couleur de peau et les mêmes systèmes d'écriture". Pravda ajoute que cette déclaration a été publiée non

seulement dans certains journaux bourgeois japonais mais également dans le "Quotidien du Peuple", et "sans aucun commentaire du point de vue de la théorie marxiste-léniniste!" Et le 20 septembre 1962, un jour après la réception d'adieu en l'honneur de Matsumura (à laquelle se trouvaient Chen I et Kuo Mo-jo entre autres), l'Agence de presse de la Chine nouvelle annonçait que "ces entretiens ont posé les fondements du développement de l'amitié entre le Japon et la Chine, les populations des deux pays ayant la même couleur de peau et le même langage écrit". Ajoutant que "ces derniers temps les déclarations de l'Agence de presse de la Chine nouvelle soulignent de plus en plus fréquemment la question de couleur de peau," l'article se demande: "Est-ce qu'ils pèsent la valeur de déclarations pareilles qui reflètent plutôt les conceptions de l'époque de Genghis Khan que la nôtre". L'article conclut en se demandant si l'activité des Chinois à Moshi ne "confirmerait pas le fait que les leaders chinois sont allés jusqu'à s'armer de la "théorie" de M. Matsumura, un des nouveaux "fuereurs" des racistes japonais?"

25-28 août - "Neues Deutschland", organe du parti communiste de l'Allemagne de l'Est, attaque violemment dans son éditorial du 25 "l'arrogance déchaînée" des leaders chinois qui "s'imaginent être capables de mieux juger que ne le sont capables le parti, le gouvernement et le peuple de la République démocratique allemande de ce qui est des intérêts de la République démocratique allemande et du peuple allemand". Une déclaration plus forte encore du gouvernement de la République démocratique allemande faite le 28 rejette "le plus emphatiquement les insinuations et les accusations contenues dans la déclaration chinoise "du 15 août". Pour cette raison la déclaration a été renvoyée au Ministère des affaires étrangères de la République populaire chinoise".

25 août - La presse de Pékin publie en première page leur communiqué sur "la décision outrageuse des Tchèques de fermer le bureau de l'Agence de presse de la Chine nouvelle à Prague qui constitue une mesure concertée destinée à faire détériorer les relations"; la presse de Pékin déclare que cette mesure "met en lumière celui qui conduit l'orchestre, ainsi que l'esprit de flagornerie qui caractérise le gouvernement tchécoslovaque".

26 août - En date du 25 la presse de Pékin publie une déclaration de l'association pan-chinoise des journalistes, qui condamne le gouvernement tchèque pour avoir fermé le bureau de l'Agence de presse de la Chine nouvelle à Prague, et déclare:

"Tout le monde sait que l'organisation internationale des journalistes s'est toujours élevée contre la persécution des journalistes dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions... Le travail du bureau de l'Agence de presse de la Chine nouvelle à Prague s'est toujours entièrement conformé aux objectifs de l'organisation internationale des journalistes. Dans la

ville où se trouve le quartier-général de cette organisation le gouvernement tchécoslovaque a piétiné ouvertement les objectifs de l'organisation internationale des journalistes, s'est attaqué à coups répétés au fonctionnement normal de l'Agence de presse de la Chine nouvelle à Prague et finalement a ordonné qu'il soit fermé... Cela constitue une provocation sérieuse..."

26 août - L'Inde a interdit la distribution d'une documentation anti-soviétique par des représentants diplomatiques chinois selon un communiqué de l'Office indien d'information publié par TASS. Madame Lakshmi Menon, ministre d'Etat du Ministère des affaires extérieures, a déclaré au Parlement que le gouvernement indien a protesté auprès de l'ambassade chinoise contre la campagne hostile conduite par la République populaire chinoise contre un pays ami.

29 août - L'organe albanais "Zeri i Popullit" dans un article intitulé "Le révisionniste Khrouchtchev dans le rôle d'un pan-slaviste" reprend un discours du 21 août fait à Rakovica près de Belgrade dans lequel Khrouchtchev cita les mots de Petar II Njegos, évêque de Montenegro, au cours de la première moitié du XIX^e siècle, qui déclara aux diplomates de Napoléon:

"Nous savons parfaitement que si les Russes mourraient, tous les Slaves mourraient de même, et celui qui est contre les Russes est contre tous les Slaves". "Zeri i Popullit" déclare: "Cela très certainement n'est pas exclusivement une réminiscence historique ni des paroles en l'air. Nous avons à faire face ici avec un nouvel aspect du révisionnisme moderne qui remplace l'internationalisme prolétarien par une idéologie de racisme... par un concept étroit d'unité basé sur l'origine ethnique d'un certain groupe de populations... Il s'est découvert dans son rôle de pan-slavisme. Dans la bouche d'un chauviniste-révisionniste ces remarques concernant l'unité et la fraternité des peuples slaves possèdent un sens politique bien défini. Au moyen de cette démagogie empruntée à l'arsenal de la bourgeoisie impérialiste russe, et ravivée de teinte moderne, le groupe de Khrouchtchev cherche à tromper les peuples slaves des pays socialistes et les peuples de la Yougoslavie afin de les enchaîner plus étroitement à sa propre politique au nom de l'unité slave."

28 août - Aidit, président du parti communiste indonésien a terminé sa visite auprès du parti communiste de l'Union Soviétique et s'est envolé vers Pékin. TASS communique les louanges qu'il a faites au sujet de l'aide soviétique. L'Agence de presse de la Chine nouvelle fait connaître la réception enthousiaste qui lui fut faite par 1.000 Chinois ayant à la tête le premier ministre Chou En-Lai.

28 août - Deux autres communistes pro-Chinois ont été expulsés du parti australien où ils jouaient un rôle important. L'un des deux est E. F. Hill, chef du groupe pro-Chinois de la Province de Victoria (Australian Overseas Service, d'après la Sydney Tribune du 28 août.)

29 août - "Pravda" reproduit une lettre publiée à Beirout dans le quotidien "Al Akhbar" par "le parti communiste iraquien qui, au cours des deux dernières années, a adressé quatre lettres aux camarades chinois leur demandant de réviser leur position erronée. Cette lettre approuve la lettre ouverte du parti communiste de l'Union Soviétique du 14 juillet, et condamne la position prise par les leaders chinois.

30 août - Un éditorial du "Quotidien du Peuple" intitulé: "Suite des dénonciations des leaders soviétiques pour leur acte de trahison" lance une nouvelle attaque violente contre la Chine nationaliste pour avoir signé le traité interdisant les expériences nucléaires.

"Le piège des deux Chines a été monté avec le consentement ravi des leaders soviétiques, qui se sont vantés d'être les protecteurs de la Chine..." Le "Quotidien du Peuple" cite un communiqué émanant de l'Agence de presse de l'Allemagne de l'Est selon lequel les deux Allemandes et les deux Chines seraient admises en tant que signataires, avec l'Allemagne de l'Est signant à Moscou et l'Allemagne de l'Ouest à Washington et vice-versa pour les deux Chines. "Le gouvernement soviétique a eu l'audacité de demander, ou de prétendre espérer, que la Chine signerait le traité... Les 650.000.000 de Chinois ne peuvent que se sentir outragés du fait que l'Union Soviétique, une alliée de la Chine, ait pu supposer que la Chine jouerait un rôle aussi humiliant... Il est clair maintenant pour tout le monde que les leaders soviétiques utilisent le piège que constitue le traité de Moscou dans son opposition à la Chine socialiste... Ils ont en effet perdu tout sentiment de honte... Toutes les choses qu'ils ont vendues à l'impérialisme des Etats-Unis sont en train de paraître à la lumière l'une après l'autre... La trahison des intérêts du peuple chinois au sujet de la question de Taiwan, et la trahison des intérêts du peuple allemand au sujet de la question du statut international de la République démocratique allemande exposent ouvertement la ligne de capitulation... Il n'y a à tout cela qu'une seule conclusion: dans le but de promouvoir leur ligne générale de capitulation, d'implorer l'impérialisme des Etats-Unis de leur accorder la paix, les leaders soviétiques ne s'arrêteront devant aucun compromis de trahison."

(Le mot "trahison" est employé au moins une douzaine de fois)

dans cet éditorial de 1.000 mots, sans compter le titre.)
Sous la manchette "Nous avons des amis et des camarades dans le monde entier", le "Quotidien du Peuple" déclare que "Des dizaines d'amis et de camarades qui jusque là étaient restés inconnus pour nous" ont écrit depuis le début de cette année, et en particulier depuis la publication de la lettre du parti communiste chinois du 14 juin. "Des lettres de 13 pays" publiées dans ce numéro incluent une lettre adressée par "un Américain indien, Braswell".

~~SECRET~~ 9 September 1963

25X1C105 694.

One Way to Avoid Helping the Communists

BACKGROUND: During World War II, Nazi and Vichy propaganda activity claimed that the entire French Resistance, especially its violent sabotage, was Communist. Actually, while Communists took part in the Resistance after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, the movement was predominantly a national one, including people from all parties and social classes. But the Nazi-Vichy charges helped to give Communism a stature it had never had before in France. Not only did the Communists claim to be the backbone of the Resistance itself, but they gained new prestige as a mass party, reflected in post-war elections: in 1936, the Communists had won 1½ million votes, a pre-war high, but in 1945 they won over 5 million. As in this case, the effect of a shotgun attack, lumping disparate groups together, can be to give a single opponent a mass following he would otherwise lack.

It may be that the Nazis and Vichyites really believed that all their enemies in the Resistance were Communist. People are generally inclined to see issues in black and white, and to divide the world into friends and enemies; adherents of movements like the Nazi movement are especially prone to do this. Actually, of course, opponents seldom constitute a single, monolithic group. It would have been more realistic, and probably also more effective, if Nazi-Vichy propaganda had distinguished the different elements that made up the Resistance, and had tried to turn them against each other.

It is also possible that some, at least, of the Nazi propagandists recognized that they were exaggerating Communist influence, but believed that it was wisest to draw a black and white picture. Perhaps they thought this would turn the respectable French bourgeoisie against the Resistance. Propagandists often, especially in war-time, consider it advantageous to present a picture in black and white terms, and to stress the enemy threat. Such propaganda helps to unify a nation, to frighten laggards and waverers into line, and to end indecision and uncertainty. Seeing others as like himself, the Goebbels type of propagandist may calculate that people enjoy hating, and he may consider it his job to provide them with a suitable object for their hatred. Examples of this type of propaganda are the "hate campaign" fostered in Germany during World War I, or certain unofficial anti-Japanese propaganda appearing in American comic books and Grade-B movies during World War II.

It is doubtful, however, that even in wartime, the advantages of black-and-white propaganda outweigh the disadvantages. Such propaganda may block rational decisions. The German hate campaign, for example, probably helped to cause the unfortunate

~~SECRET~~

(694. Continued)

(694. Cont.)

~~SECRET~~

9 September 1963

German decision to proceed with unconditional submarine warfare despite the likelihood that this would bring the United States into the war. Fear frequently accompanies and reinforces the black-and-white outlook, and fear tends to be contagious; in extreme cases, the black-and-white outlook turns into paranoia, i.e., psychopathic delusions of persecution and of one's own greatness. Responsible leaders may also be deceived by their own propaganda.

Obviously, we as propagandists should try not to let our own propaganda affect our judgment of the situation; we should try to avoid thinking in simple black-and-white terms. What may be less obvious is that, in addressing the public, it is a mistake to paint everyone who disagrees with us the same uniform black -- or red. Some groups, such as the World Peace Council (WPC) and World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) are of course controlled Communist fronts, mere puppets, and are to be exposed as such. But many other groups and activities, while exploited by the Communists, and sometimes penetrated by the Communists, are far from being Communist instruments. Such are the British Ban-the-Bomb marchers, Albert Luthuli's African National Congress, and the Buddhists of South Vietnam. Frequently the Communists pretend that protest movements and strikes in Western countries are expressions of class conflict and signs of world solidarity behind Communist leadership, when the real issues are jobs, civil rights, housing, or wage scales; a recent example was the attempt by Mao to claim that "The speedy development of the struggle of American Negroes is a manifestation of the sharpening of class struggle and national struggles within the United States." The current Communist emphasis on "united front tactics" will probably increase the number of such cases. From a counter-intelligence point of view, some Communist-exploited groups bear watching, but from the point of view of the propagandist, there are important reasons for not branding these groups as Communist unless and until they become flagrantly Communist-controlled. If we brand non-Communist groups as Communist:

1. Members of these groups will often accept the identification, saying, "If we and the Communists are on the same side, maybe we are Communists. Maybe we should go all the way."
2. These groups will be encouraged to turn to the Communists for aid and support, thus assisting Communist efforts at penetration and control.
3. Communist claims that they support legitimate popular causes will appear as endorsed and strengthened by anti-Communist admissions.
4. Communist strength, as indicated by its followers, will appear greater as the number of groups branded Communist increases.

~~SECRET~~

(694. Continued)

(694. Cont.)

~~SECRET~~

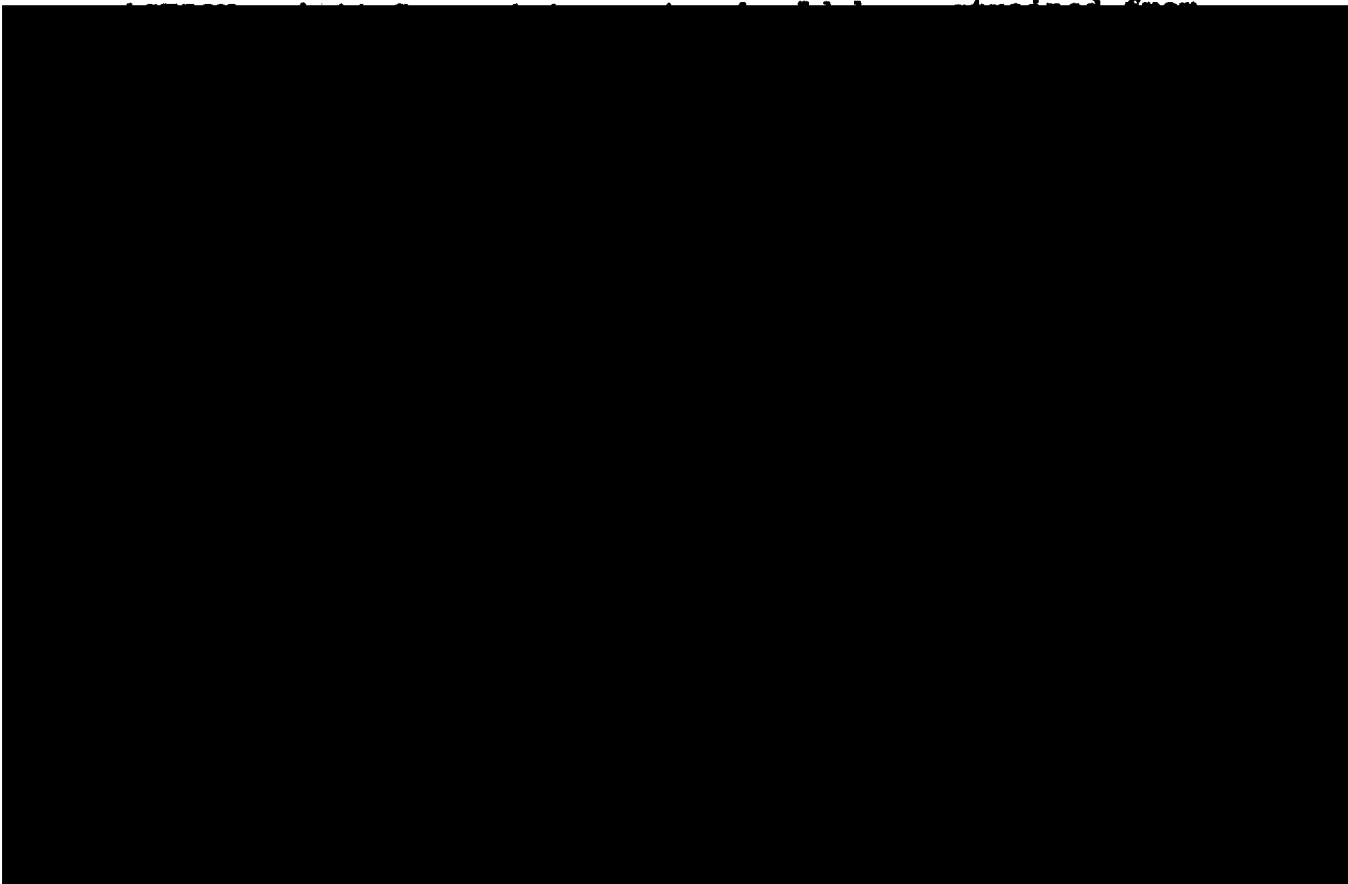
9 September 1963

5. Other non-committed people, unaware of any evidence of Communist penetration of these groups, will sympathize with the groups, and condemn our attack.

6. We will appear frightened, either afraid of shadows or else unable to cope with a real danger. It is a good rule not to propagandize the existence of a problem when this will make our own position seem weaker.

Our present situation does not warrant desperate tarbrush tactics. While we should avoid complacency, it is we, not the Communists, who have grounds for optimism today. Their movement seems destined to split, their cold war and near-hot war offensives have failed, and signs are multiplying that the Soviet monolith is beginning to evolve away from Marxism, which does not satisfy the younger generation and which cannot solve Soviet economic problems. On the other hand, serious problems exist in the free world. Stabilization of socio-economic and political conditions in numerous countries around the world will involve years of conflict in which irrational, radical but non-Communist programs will be advocated by groups with divergent views, interests and aspirations. Instead of fearing that someone is on the road to Communism, we have reason to hope that he may be on the road away from it. We should encourage people to move in our direction, not push them into the arms of Communism. If some groups are not necessarily our friends, we need not take this too tragically, and we need not turn them into enemies.

25X1C10b



25X1C10b

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000200030002-6

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000200030002-6

~~SECRET~~ 9 September 1963

695.

Religion: Soviet Instrument for a United Front

25X1C10b

BACKGROUND: / See unclassified attachment for background material. / Communism has always attempted to infiltrate all sectors of human activity. While this effort is perhaps most notable in the political area, it is prominent also in the religious, as indicated by Adzhubei's audience with Pope John XXIII in early 1963 and in negotiations between the Vatican and several Soviet Bloc countries on Church and religious questions in those countries. The new unity tactic towards the international religious community was probably inaugurated with the appointment of CPSU-controlled Archbishop Nikodim as chairman of the Department of Relations with Foreign Churches in 1960. In 1960-1961 emissaries of the Russian Orthodox Church, headed by Patriarch Alexiy, participated in meetings with Greek Orthodox Church leaders and joined the World Council of Churches; in 1962 they held meetings with church leaders from the Communist Bloc to strengthen these ties and consolidate the Soviet position. This change in Soviet tactics toward religion and religious institutions was not the first one. In the early years after the revolution, crude suppression of all aspects of religion was carried out under the aegis of an organization called "The Union of Militant Godless." This pattern continued with only slight variations until the early years of World War II when the Soviet leaders embraced any idea or organization that might encourage the Russian people to strengthen their resistance to Hitler's onslaught. Russian Churches and religious sects were allowed to perform religious rites freely and even to propagandize their religious sentiments.

After World War II, "The Union of Militant Godless" was renamed the "Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge"; while some of the harshness was thus removed from the name of the organization, none was removed from the manner in which religious institutions and individuals were persecuted. Education, indoctrination, and propaganda, carried on by the Society and making extensive use of the Komsomol youth organizations, are designed to replace religion with "scientific atheism." To backstop this effort, the CPSU has installed Communist agents in the religious hierarchy to carry out Party instructions and to assure that religious institutions are adaptable for the Party's political purposes.

Today, the extent to which a certain religious group or sect in the USSR is attacked and persecuted is a directly inverse indicator of the extent to which that organization is controlled by the CPSU. The Russian Orthodox Church, as a completely controlled agency of the CPSU, is relatively free from official

~~SECRET~~ (695. Continued)

repression, and the Baptist organization in Russia has apparently succumbed sufficiently to Soviet pressures to make it nearly reliable and hence nearly free from attack. At the other end of the scale are the Roman Catholic Church and the Pentacostalist sect, followed at the very end by Jehovah's Witnesses.

Soviet action toward religious institutions has become more subtle in recent years: now they are apparently satisfied to let religion die out, whereas earlier they felt under extreme compulsion to stamp it out. The essence of their present position is that older people may be allowed to indulge their religious instincts, but must not be allowed to pass them on to their children. Most of the anti-religious articles in the Soviet press emphasize the deleterious effects that religious individuals and institutions exert on younger people.

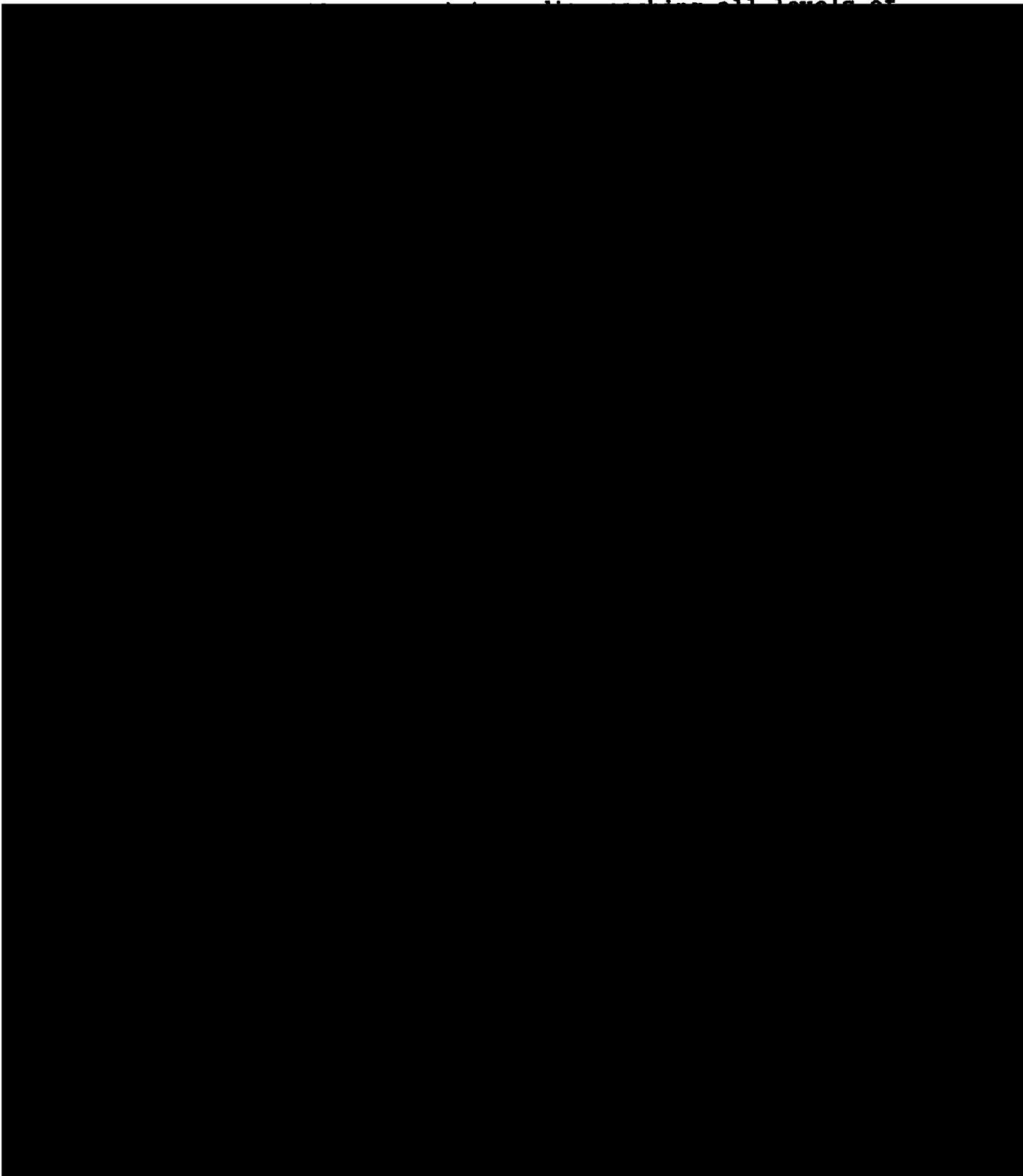
With the expansion of the peaceful coexistence policy and the revival of united front tactics, Russian Orthodox Church leaders went into the international arena to further basic Communist propaganda lines under the guise of religious fellowship, and with some success. In the past few years the Soviets seem to have learned (at least in some fields) that "more flies can be caught with honey than with vinegar," and they have altered their tactics accordingly. In no field is this change more apparent than in the religious field. Once there was a time when religion and Communism were irrevocably incompatible, black and white; if a man were religious he was an enemy of Communism and if he were a Communist he was an enemy of religion. This distinction was made absolutely clear by the vigor with which each group publicly denounced the other. The basic premise of incompatibility remains true and valid, but is obscured by the fact that the Communist bloc has put into action agents who wear the Robes of the Church and pose on the international scene as fellow-servants of God. The basic irreconcilability of religion and Communism is further obscured by the naiveness with which some Western clergymen (as well as many of the non-clergy) have accepted the CPSU's pose of tolerance toward its own religious groups. The pre-eminent symbol of this apparent truce between religion and communism is perhaps the increased contacts and seemingly cordial relations between the Vatican and various Communist spokesmen. Indeed, for those who did not read carefully Pope John's encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, the Vatican appeared to endorse Communism or at least to encourage equal relations with Communists. For refutation of this idea, one need look no further than an official Vatican radio broadcast on the subject. It states in explicit terms that Marxism and Communism are "irreconcilable with Christianity." Further, the Vatican said,

"There is no international situation, no relaxation, no historical pretext which can justify an indulgence, a conciliatory attitude toward Marxism and communism."

While calling on all Christians to support "meetings and understandings with human beings who are not endowed with faith," the

Vatican warned that there should be "cautious, constant, and in-
domitable opposition to the Marxist penetration."

25X1C10b



696 WH,a. Target: Venezuela!

25X1C10b

~~OBJECTIVE: To expose the hypocrisy and the reactionary char-~~

BACKGROUND: "We consider that the Cuban Revolution contributed three fundamental lessons to the conduct of revolutionary movements in America. They are:

"(1) Popular forces can win a war against the army.

"(2) It is not necessary to wait until all conditions for making revolution exist; the insurrection can create them.

"(3) In underdeveloped America the countryside is the basic area for armed fighting."

-- Ernesto "Che" Guevara
La Guerra de Guerrillas, 1960

Castro cited Venezuela as a special target for armed rebellion in his 26 of July speech commemorating the 10th anniversary of the start of his own revolution and repeated his exhortations to other Latin American countries to follow Cuba's example. He praised the "heroic Venezuelan revolutionaries" for their skill in acquiring funds and weapons via robbery and terrorism and sent a special "warm, fraternal greeting" to them.

Cuba's support of rebellion in Venezuela prompted President Romulo Betancourt to declare last October (in requesting the Supreme Court to outlaw the Communist Party):

"Very abundant proof has been substantiated. Irrefutable testimony has been gathered that the agents of Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Fidel Castro in Venezuela are responsible for the murder-from-the-back of uniformed police and members of the armed forces.

"They also have been guilty of holding up banks and commercial and industrial concerns, of fomenting and spurring on guerrillas and bandit bands, of indirect and active cooperation in the armed revolts in the Carapano and Puerto Cabello naval bases, and attempts against persons and properties, with the confessed and unbending purpose of creating chaos in the country and leading it to a civil war."

Before the Organization of American States Council last year, the Venezuelan delegate charged that acts of sabotage against Venezuela's oil industry "were part of a general plan directed from Cuba." President Betancourt accused Cuba of supplying money and arms to subversive groups in Venezuela in

a February speech and added that he had evidence also that "continent-wide subversion is directed from Moscow and Peking."

In spite of the polemics of the Sino-Soviet dispute, Chinese, Soviet and Cuban leaders appear to agree on the course to be followed in Venezuela. [REDACTED] "Communism in Latin America.") Documents seized by police, in a 28 July raid on the house occupied by a top member of the Venezuelan CP, reveal the long-range plans to achieve political power via prolonged armed struggle. Other documents reveal foreign financing and support for the local CP effort. 25X1A2g

Why Venezuela? Why has Communism focused on Venezuela as a target? On the surface it has much to recommend itself as a fertile ground for rebellion. Since the death of Liberator Simon Bolivar in 1830, Venezuela has had 26 constitutions. In the years from 1830 to 1900 there were at least 50 major rebellions and the central government was violently overthrown 13 times. It can claim only two relatively honest elections in this century, Venezuela having been ruled by dictatorships for all but 15 years of this period.

These historical facts make Betancourt's presidential term a remarkable achievement. He is the first popularly-elected civilian president in Venezuela's 152 years to remain in office for as long as one year, to say nothing of completing his 5-year term next February. He has also been the target of political attacks and attempts to overthrow his government by force (including assassination attempts of which he still bears the scars) to a number and degree exceptional even in Latin American history.

Betancourt's term is remarkable not only for its durability, but because of its progressive and democratic accomplishments. He has moved ahead on three main fronts: agrarian reform to give land to the landless peasants (more than 3.5 million acres to 53,000 farmers so far with hopes of including another 50,000 farmers before the end of his term); education to eliminate illiteracy (including 1500 schools in the cities and rural areas which especially meet educational problems in the primary grades); industrialization to decentralize wealth and population (new industries and industrial centers have created jobs and, coupled with ambitious slum clearance and community development projects, have revived degenerating areas).

Betancourt's substantial program has won him the loyalty of a large part of the population as follows: the laboring class, benefited by a generous labor law strongly enforced and continuing support for higher wages, welfare benefits and free trade unionism; the peasants, "upgraded" by land reform programs; and the middle class, enjoying new and rising standards of living. Without the dramatic convulsions that have shaken other countries in the area, within the framework of the constitution and in observance of democratic ideals, and with the support of the classes from which the Communists traditionally draw their strength, Betancourt has made Venezuela the fastest growing

nation in the hemisphere with the largest surplus in its balance of trade and the highest per capita income.

Venezuela's agrarian reform program has been described by Professor Robert J. Alexander, a Socialist, as "the best-planned and most scientific effort of this kind which has yet been made in Latin America." In his book, Communism in Latin America (Rutgers University Press, 1957), Professor Alexander cited earlier accomplishments of Betancourt and his Accion Democratica (AD) Party in concluding that "history has demonstrated the fact that the best antidote to Communism in Latin America is a vigorous party of the democratic left."

Terrorism. History and success are the two major factors that make Venezuela the target for Communism--a history of rebellion and violence and the success of a progressive democratic alternative to Communism. Failing to make much headway via political avenues, the Communists have turned to more violent methods.

Communist guerrillas have taken to the mountainous countryside, practiced terror, robbery and murder in the cities and sabotaged the oilfields which provide the lifeblood for Venezuelan exports. Petty acts of terrorism include a bomb on the top floor of the US Embassy, another in the ladies' lavatory of a hotel, a teacher shot at his blackboard, a commando-style seizure of a maternity hospital where 600 women were confined, the theft of \$500,000 worth of French art masterpieces, the hijacking of a Venezuelan freighter on the high seas, kidnaping the leading soccer player and an assassination attempt on the Minister of Defense. The focus of the terrorist attacks has been on US-owned businesses and Venezuelan security forces.

In an interview with an American newsman (Louis R. Stein, Copley News Service, Washington Daily News 1 August), Gustavo Machado Morales, national secretary of the Venezuela CP, laughed at incidents against US citizens -- forcing members of the American military mission to take off their pants and invading the home of a US Embassy official, binding his wife and writing anti-American slogans on the walls. They were perpetrated "just to show Americans they are not immune from attack," Machado said. Machado also declared that "there will be bloodshed during the election campaign."

Elections. This warning is ominous as Venezuela approaches the first attempt in its 152 year history to transfer power from one elected government to another by strictly constitutional means. Presidential and congressional elections are scheduled for November. Betancourt is barred constitutionally from succeeding himself. His AD Party has lost some of its strength and opposition elements are bidding to form a united opposition front. He was elected in 1953 with only 49 per cent of the votes -- losing Caracas but winning rural areas. Separate presidential candidates named by parties which joined in supporting his administration, lack of a candidate with Betancourt's stature or national appeal, and contending factions, may cut into the AD vote.

The Communists can be counted upon to exploit the elections but their struggle for power is going to continue to be waged on all fronts. Most Latin American CPs appear to lean at present towards Moscow's more cautious tactics; but Venezuelan Communists, following the views of Guevara, the exhortations of Castro and with the support of foreign elements, are not abandoning violence and armed rebellion as a tactic. In the words of Pompeyo Marquez, CP political bureau member writing in the clandestine CP organ Tribuna Popular, "The existence of the guerrilla movement demonstrates that this form of struggle can coexist with other forms of struggle, except that at no time must it be the only form."

25X1C10b

SECRET - All suitable assets:



25X1C10b

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000200030002-6

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000200030002-6

25X1C106 697 AF, WE, g. African Decolonization Efforts

BACKGROUND: The Organization of African Unity (OAU), established at the African summit meeting in Addis Ababa in May 1963, has become an important vehicle for pan-African efforts to achieve their common goal: a continent of independent states. OAU commissions established to liberate dependent countries and peoples have taken their first diplomatic, political and military steps. But divergent opinions on procedure, leadership rivalries and inability to agree on basic organizational questions reflect the regional and political divisions among 32 countries (excluding South Africa), some of which have little more in common than their geographic location. In contrast to their lack of unanimity on moves within the continent, the African nations have recently displayed a solid front in international organizations, the United Nations in particular.

The focus of the African liberation effort is on the Portuguese colonies and the independent, but apartheid, state of South Africa. Of these, the Portuguese colonies are undoubtedly the more vulnerable for many reasons including weaker administrative and military control and more exposed geographic location.

Angola, a Portuguese colony for over 400 years, is already under attack from guerrilla forces, the strongest of which is Holden Roberto's Union of Angola Peoples (UPA). Roberto, who has established an exile government based in neighboring Leopoldville, draws most of his followers from Angola and much of his backing from the moderate African countries. The only other movement of significant strength is the rival Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), led by Agostinho Neto. The MPLA, which includes a more intellectual, urban element of a more leftist persuasion, has received outside backing from Algeria and other Casablanca countries and, reportedly, from the Communist bloc. Efforts to merge the two groups into a more effective front have failed; Roberto is reportedly willing to absorb the MPLA military forces but not its political leaders.

Portuguese Guinea. Two guerrilla groups are fighting for the independence of Portuguese Guinea: the African Independence Party for Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), led by Amilcar Cabral, which has received help from both the radical African countries and from the Communist bloc; and the Movement for Liberation of Guinea (MLG), primarily a tribal group. Inter-group rivalry is also strong here. Five emigre organizations forming a Front for Struggle of the National Independence of Portuguese Guinea refuse to cooperate with the PAIGC.

To date Mozambique is free of fighting but action could begin at any time.

South Africa's industrial economy, great natural wealth and efficient military machine present a formidable obstacle to liberation of the segregated African majority. Military attacks are impractical; boycotts and sanctions have proved ineffective up to this time. Organized internal resistance has been largely broken by Verwoerd's police-state tactics, despite rising racial tensions. Verwoerd's proposal to divide the country into white inhabited and black inhabited areas has met with resistance from all sides. (See BPG Item #670, "Danger of Racial Explosion in South Africa." Copies available on request.)

South Africa's principal vulnerability lies in her total dependence on African native labor to maintain her economic independence and relative prosperity. Native labor is indispensable not only because it is cheap and available in large numbers but because the European settler would not readily perform such essential work as mining. Thus the Bantu workers would have, if sufficiently organized, a potent anti-government weapon: the general strike.

OUA Activities. The African summit decolonization resolution set up a nine-member Coordinating Committee with headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika, "for harmonizing the assistance from African States" to the liberation campaigns. A special fund was also established to provide financial aid for the African liberation movements. The resolutions were fairly clear on three countries: Portugal was to be the principal target of decolonization, South Africa the target of anti-apartheid efforts and Southern Rhodesia the target of vigorous opposition to establishment of a newly independent government based on white minority control. Implicit in the proceedings was the belief that non-violent action would not suffice to gain these goals. Nationalists from African liberation movements (21 of which had observers at the Addis Ababa conference), the resolution said, would be trained "in all sectors" by the independent states.

The Coordinating Committee's first meeting was held at Dar-es-Salaam, the African center for exiles and nationalist groups, from 25 June to 5 July. The Committee was able to agree only on recommending that all assistance to Angola go to Roberto's group.

The OAU Foreign Ministers meeting at Dakar, Senegal from 2 to 11 August, continued the factional wrangling and failed to decide several major questions. However they accepted the Coordinating Committee's recommendation to recognize Roberto's Government of the Republic of Angola in Exile (GRAE) as the legal government of Angola. No Portuguese Guinea nationalist group was endorsed; the issue was referred back to the next Coordinating Committee meeting scheduled for Lagos, February 1964.

International conferences held since Addis Ababa have felt the impact of the new African determination. The first test was the June 5th Geneva Conference of the International Labor

Organization (ILO), a specialized agency of the UN. The African nations walked out when the South African representative took the floor, thus pressuring the ILO Executive Committee to bar South Africa from ILO meetings and bodies for one year. The UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) endorsed the vote to leave South Africa out of the ILO until "conditions for cooperation have been restored by a change in racial policy."

African delegates also walked out of the 26th International Conference on Education (ICE), July 4th, in Geneva, when Portugal did not bow to an expulsion resolution. The UN Education, Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which sponsors ICE, questioned the legality of the resolution on grounds that only the UN General Assembly (UNGA) and the Security Council (SC), have the power to suspend members, a position supported by the US.

The Security Council passed, on July 31st, an African-sponsored resolution probably designed to push Portugal's most powerful friends, the US and the UK, into taking a pro-African position. The resolution requested Portugal to: recognize the right of her territories to self-determination and independence; cease repression of her colonies and withdraw military forces; grant political amnesty and permit free political parties; and, most significantly, asked other states to embargo arms for use in Africa. The US, UK and France abstained from voting on the resolution directed at their NATO ally. The US, although not opposed to the substance of the resolution, did not believe the version offered would bring about the desired results -- similar resolutions having been passed before, the most recent in December 1962.

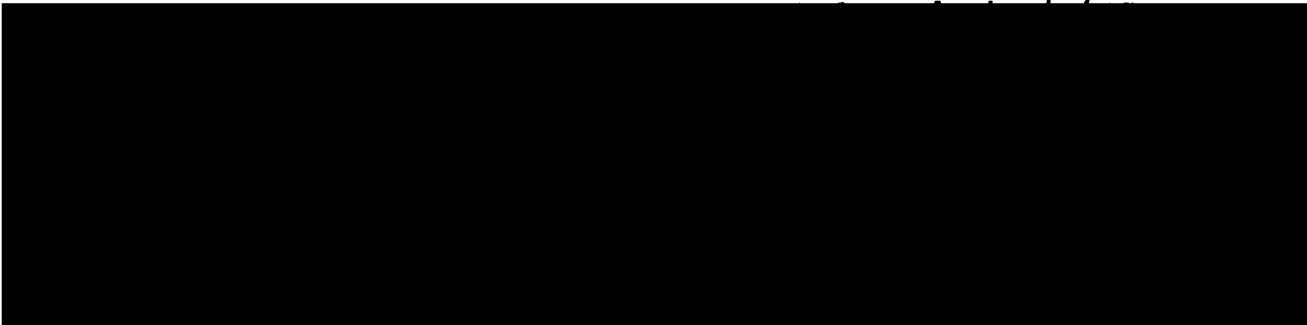
A Security Council meeting requested by the 32 African states voted in August to request all UN members to bar shipment of arms, ammunition and military vehicles to South Africa (UK and France abstained). The US had announced a few days earlier that it would cease all sales of military equipment to South Africa by January 1964, but would honor previous contracts.

Portugal's Prime Minister Salazar has reacted only slightly to these various African pressures. He spoke vaguely of a future "autonomous" African government in Portuguese Guinea and indicated a willingness to confere with what he considers moderate nationalists in Angola. Only a Portuguese plan for ultimate withdrawal from Africa is expected to satisfy the African powers now, although their own differences may prevent the show of strength which could force Portugal to acquiesce.

5X1C10b

25X1C10b

25X1C10b



25X1C10b

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000200030002-6

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000200030002-6

Soviets Increase Activity in Religious Field

During the past two years the Russian Orthodox Church has intensified its efforts to consolidate relations with Western religious organizations and to gain acceptance in the international religious community. During the winter of 1960-61 a delegation led by Patriarch Aleksiy toured the Near East visiting Istanbul, Jerusalem, Beirut, Athens and elsewhere to discuss preparations for the Greek Orthodox Conference to be held at Rhodes in September 1961. In June 1961 a Russian delegation attended the World Christian Congress for the Defense of Peace in Prague and Archbishop Nikodim visited England for the installation of the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. A. M. Ramsay. In September 1961 the Russian delegation to the Rhodes Greek Orthodox Conference failed in its attempt to take over leadership of the Greek Orthodox Church, but was able nevertheless to exert considerable influence and to plug the familiar Communist themes on disarmament, world peace and anti-imperialism. And even more indicative of the Russian delegation's viewpoint specifically on religion, it successfully engineered the discarding of a proposal to condemn atheism!

In November 1961, the Third General Assembly of the World Council of Churches voted to admit the Russian Orthodox Church to full membership. The Soviet position of influence in the World Council of Churches was strengthened in August 1962 when the Union of Russian Baptists was admitted to membership.

Between May 21 and June 5, 1962, Patriarch Aleksiy, Archbishop Nikodim, and other representatives of the Moscow Patriarchate visited Bulgaria, Rumania and Yugoslavia where they were received by the heads of the "sister churches," Patriarch Kiril of Bulgaria, Patriarch Justinian Marina of Rumania and Patriarch German of Serbia and Macedonia. The communiques issued after each visit reflected the degree of influence exercised on each by the Moscow Patriarchate. Patriarch Kiril of Bulgaria condemned the United States in harsh terms, demanding for example that the United States cease nuclear tests immediately. Rumanian Patriarch Justinian Marina also denounced the United States, but in less reproachful terms, and Patriarch German of Serbia and Macedonia appealed in general for peace and conciliation among the Great Powers. The communiques of the Church officials conform precisely to the degree to which each country is subordinated to Soviet policy.

Also during 1962, delegations from the Russian churches exchanged visits with U.S. clergymen, who apparently were impressed by the "devotion" and "sincerity" of the Russian churchmen. A statement by the Methodist Church, for example, rejoiced that "in a world divided into hostile camps and living dangerously near the brink of war, it is possible through the World Council

of Churches to sustain fellowship with Christians which reaches across almost every kind of political barrier." Other religious groups issued similar statements and the majority of American clergymen involved seem to have taken at face value the religious connotations, overlooking the political nature of the Russian Church's leaders statements and their similarity to the CPSU's political-propaganda lines. One small group, however, did dissent and issued a statement saying that acceptance of the Russian Orthodox Church into the international religious community constitutes "the greatest single victory of the Communist conspiracy in its use of churches," and also adds that "all the activities of the churches are now opened to Communist agents."

Probably the most publicized aspect of the Soviet state-controlled church's activity is the initiation of contacts with the Vatican, primarily through Adzhubei's* private audience with Pope John XXIII and the apparent acceptance by Communist authorities of the Pope's encyclical *Pacem in Terris*. It has also been reliably reported that the Soviet Embassy in Rome has from time to time put out feelers to the Italian government concerning diplomatic relations with the Vatican. There are also reports that Communist authorities in Hungary and Czechoslovakia are interested in reaching a modus vivendi with the Church hierarchy. The Vatican's purpose in these moves appears to be the hope that it can more readily influence members of the faith who are Communists or Communist sympathizers and to play a more positive role in the prevention of a nuclear war. The Vatican is also undoubtedly hopeful that it can improve the lot of the "nearly 80 million" faithful who live behind the Iron Curtain.

Russia's new spokesman in the international religious field is Archbishop Nikodim, who was made chairman of the Soviet Government's Department of Relations with Foreign Churches in 1960, just prior to the Orthodox Church's bid for membership in free world, independent church organizations. Archbishop Nikodim is a remarkable personality whose rise in the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church has truly been meteoric. At the time he became an archbishop he was 32 years old, having risen to the post of archbishop from that of a monk in only 14 years! It has been said that such a brilliant career must obviously imply that he is considered thoroughly reliable and cooperative by the Russian authorities.

In this same period of heightened activity for respectability on the international religious scene, life within the USSR has gone on as before. More churches and monasteries have been closed, more religious holidays have been pre-empted, more

* N. Khrushchev's son-in-law and editor of the government's principal organ Izvestiya.

uncooperative clergymen have been persecuted and silenced through false charges, and the drive to indoctrinate the masses with "scientific atheism" has gone on. It will be recalled that during this period a group of Pentacostalists found conditions so intolerable in the Soviet Union that it travelled half way across the country to seek asylum at the U.S. Embassy. Cardinal Wyszynski of Poland recently challenged Communist officials to grant basic human and social rights "not only to a small privileged group, but to all citizens, particularly those who are believers." The Cardinal charged that two seminaries had recently been closed and that attempts had been made to persuade seminary students, conscripted into the Polish army, to abandon the Church on completion of their military service. Communist regimes continue to publish anti-religious, atheistic propaganda in massive quantities, and to press upon youth organizations their responsibility for eradicating religious beliefs among the young.

There follows the text of a statement by the Vatican Radio, broadcast on 1 August 1963, that defines and explains the Catholic position on Marxism and Communism:

"Marxism and its political expression communism are unredeemable. They are irreconcilable, both with Christianity as well as with a free, understanding humanity. Neither evolution nor geographical and ethnical configurations can credit Marxism and communism with titles of recommendation among free people, and even less among Catholics. Promoting, encouraging and seconding activities and understanding which favors peace among people is a duty, but cautious, constant, and indomitable opposition to the Marxism ideology and sealing each of its ways of penetration is also a duty which cannot be disregarded.

"There is no international situation, no relaxation, no historical pretext which can justify an indulgence, a conciliatory attitude toward Marxism and communism. There is an infinite number of activities which communism could extract from its inexhaustible tactical fantasies to influence the emotion of fear and draw favorable attitudes which give rise to doubt, confuse clear thinking, extinguish the instinctive resistance of every free man, every believer, every Catholic experience before the Marxist and communist ideologies. The activities in this direction are numerous. Some of them, disguised by color and human and Christian ideals, seem to ascertain their aim. Others now on the way tend to strengthen the suggestive and sentimental hypocrisies of communism and Marxism which are both (human?) and civil.

"Today in the same way as yesterday, without distinction of geographical coordination or ethnic characteristics, Marxist communism is the antithesis of Christianity, the negation of freedom, truth, justice, and peace. To the east as well as to the west the Marxist and

communist concept is and remains materialistic and atheistic. In these two geographical extremes the practice of communism is and will always be oppression of freedom and persecution of every authentic religious faith, and in particular the Church. Again to the east as well as to the west the doctrine of struggle and of revolution is and will always be the unrelenting message of penetration and conquest and there can only be differences in the evaluation of methods and time. The accommodating attitude, dictating and almost imposed by the same thoughts of reality and continual evolution, does not signify changes of doctrine or practice but a tactical and didactic adherence to the different circumstances.

"The judgment and attitude of free men, Catholics especially, with regard to Marxism and communism cannot and must not be changed. Intransigence is the only weapon against the Marxism communist ideology and the intransigence must be equivalent to the equivocal and subtle tactics of penetration. The sphere of natural law, the encyclical *Pacem in Terris* points out, offers Catholics a vast field of meetings and understandings with human beings who are not endowed with faith. In such relations let our sons be careful to be ever coherent with themselves so that they will never face any compromise on religion and morals."

25X1C10b (Vatican Radio, 1 August 1963)

1963-08-01