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[REDACTED] **GUIDE to COMMUNIST DISSENSIONS**



**Commentary**

#57

23 June-6 July 1965

Principal Developments:

1. Polemical warfare in the ICM suddenly marks time, as the major parties try to adjust to the new situation created by the overthrow of Algerian strong man Ben Bella on the eve of the Second Afro-Asian Conference, which had loomed so important in the policies of them all. The eventual decision by the preparatory committee to postpone the Conference to 5 November, in the face of an intense Chinese campaign to push it through on its original schedule, is seen by practically all non-Communist observers as a blow to Chinese policy and prestige and to Chou En-lai personally -- though the Chinese make a great show of being first to recognize the new Algerian regime and emphasize the decision not to move the Conference from Algiers as a victory! Public reaction from the Soviet side is slow in coming and reserved: some Soviet-aligned parties are so critical -- especially the French -- as to draw hostile reaction from the new regime. (Clandestine reporting indicates that at least one Soviet-leaning party tried vainly to get guidance on the Algerian developments from the CPSU.)

2. After Castro publicly denounces the Ben Bella overthrow as a betrayal of the Algerian "socialist revolution," the new regime closes the Algerian office of Castro's Prensa Latina for "subversion." And from another corner, the Yugoslavs bitterly denounce Castro's erstwhile right-hand man, Che Guevara (missing from public view since late March), for the Chinese-type line of an interview he gave to the Egyptian monthly At-Taliya.

3. Further deterioration of Sino-Soviet state relations seems to be indicated by a Peking announcement that the 47 Chinese scientists at the Dubna Joint Institute for Nuclear Research near Moscow have returned home. The Chinese had contributed 20% of the cost of building the Institute in 1956 and have consistently maintained a larger group of scientists there than any country other than the USSR.

4. The warm Soviet welcome to Tito continued throughout his extensive two-week visit. In their joint communique, they characterize themselves as "two socialist countries" with "identity and closeness of views" on the main international problems: the watery section on problems of the ICM is limited largely to a mutual pledge to try to strengthen the movement.

5. The Rumanians march further along the road to independence by publishing a new draft constitution which strikes out all reference to the USSR, by announcing competition for a new national anthem (the old contains a phrase about Soviet liberators), and by censoring out a Soviet-written, Soviet-line article on the 20th anniversary of the liberation of East Europe from the May issue of Problems of Peace and Socialism (World Marxist Review), as they resume publication of a Rumanian edition which had lapsed since last summer.

Significance:

The unexpected overthrow of Ben Bella and the intense political struggle over postponing the 2nd Afro-Asian Conference have clearly shaken the ICM, the "anti-imperialist camp," and the Afro-Asian world. The present lull in polemics indicates how severely both Peking and Moscow have been rocked. The major parties are now engaged in a feverish effort to sift the wreckage, construct a valid picture of the new situation, and adjust policies and plans accordingly.

Although the course which the new Algerian regime will follow -- or even its survival prospects -- cannot be confidently forecast, its pronouncements, particularly on independence and true non-alignment, and its rough treatment of Castro and the French CP for their criticism seem to indicate that Algeria will renounce the role it had increasingly played under BB as a sort of advance base in Africa for the Communist "anti-imperialists" of both camps.

A further crumbling of the old monolith is seen in the new Rumanian independence measures, the Guevara-Yugoslav feud and the Chinese withdrawal from Dubna.

As we go to press, an announcement is expected from the International Preparatory Committee, now meeting in Helsinki, to the effect that the Ninth World Youth Festival which had been scheduled for 28 July in Algiers has been cancelled -- or at least postponed for an uncertain future. (Even before the Algiers coup, it had been rumored that this would be the last of these gargantuan, extremely costly spectacles because of increasing obstacles to Soviet manipulation and exploitation, due to the breakdown of discipline in the Soviet camp and opposition from the Chinese camp within the ICM as well as anti-Communist elements in the world youth movement.)

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923.

WILL THERE BE A NEW BERLIN CRISIS?



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SITUATION: (For an outline of recent incidents in the Berlin area, see unclassified attachment.)

Recent months, and especially the month of June, witnessed a number of incidents in the Berlin area, giving rise to fears that a new Berlin crisis may develop. Aside from the events described in attachment, other considerations helped to focus attention on Berlin. The twelfth anniversary of the 17 June 1953 East German revolt was observed in West Germany and West Berlin with public speeches and bonfires. The West German Bundestag debated (but did not pass) a constitutional amendment permitting a series of laws to go into effect in case of a national emergency, including bans on strikes, controls on publications, and civil defense and protective measures; the East German official paper Neues Deutschland compared this proposal with Hitler's Ermächtigungsgesetz (Enabling Act) of March 1933, and used such headlines as "Emergency Laws Increase Danger of War" and "Bundestag Discusses War Laws." (Actually the laws would only go into effect after a special vote in a possible war-time emergency, and are not -- as Hitler's law was -- for immediate use. Also, stricter controls are even now in effect in East Germany.) West German elections are due on 19 September, and Chancellor Ludwig Erhard and others apparently believe that the leading government party, the Christian Democratic Union, lost votes in the 1961 election because Chancellor Adenauer did not react more strongly to the erection of the Berlin Wall on 13 August of that year. On 23 June 1965, an official West German spokesman denounced the East German actions as a "danger to peace," and on 24 June Erhard made a display of activity, conferring with the heads of other parties and with representatives of France, Britain and the United States.\*

Even while provoking alarm, the East German authorities in Berlin-Pankow tried to make such alarm appear a fabrication of the Bonn government. On 25 June the East German news agency ADN ridiculed the "West German war scare," and East German officials have coolly lied, denying (26 June) that helicopter overflights over West Berlin proper had taken place, or (27 June) that government-to-government negotiation had been an issue in the rail tariff negotiations. (FYI only, a classified report states that a Soviet diplomat from the Embassy in East Berlin also told a French diplomat that "nobody" intended to modify the situation, and that rumors of a crisis were baseless. End FYI.)

Certainly a real crisis had not arisen as of the end of June. The Soviets have begun repairs on the building of the U.S. Military Liaison

\*These unflattering references are not intended for use, esp. to the bloc.

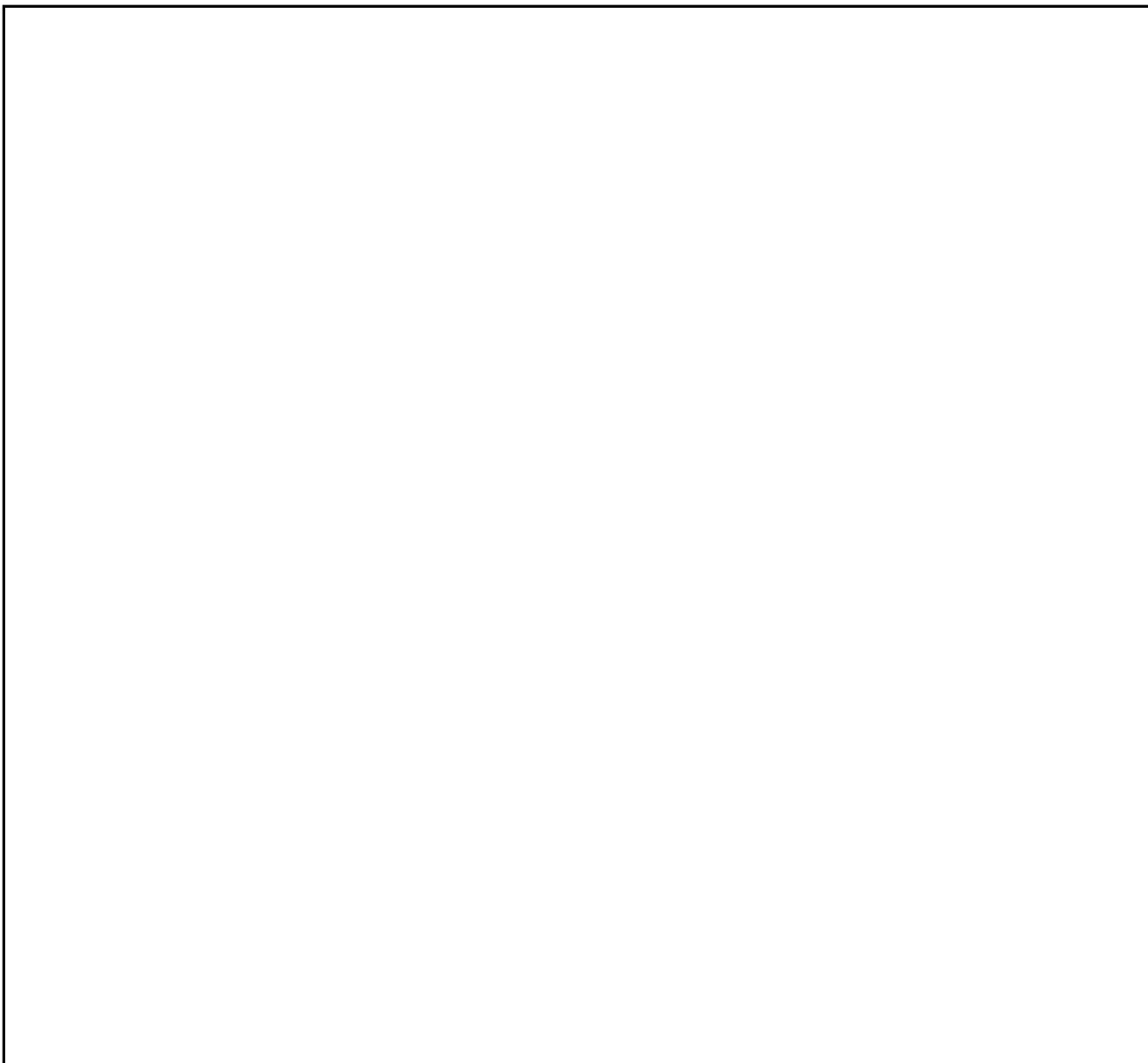
Mission (USMLM) in Potsdam, East Germany (the counterpart of the Soviet Military Mission located in West Germany), some visitors arrested at Easter have been released, rail and barge service has not been interrupted, and East German helicopter flights did stop, at least temporarily, after the 21st of June. West Berlin's exposed position lends itself to Soviet exploitation at any time, and other conditions are now favorable for Communist action. East Germany has recently improved its status with the Arab states due to their annoyance over Bonn's relations with Israel (though there has so far been no formal diplomatic recognition or exchange of ambassadors between Pankow and these countries), Tito recently swallowed past resentments and visited East Germany, West German politicians are preoccupied with elections, and De Gaulle's activities, including attempts at rapprochement with Moscow, are weakening Western unity. The Soviets may wish to remind the US that they can raise difficulties in Germany, even if they can do little in -- or about -- Vietnam. It is up to Moscow to decide whether the situation is to become more critical.

The East German leaders are always ready to press for improved international standing and are probably encouraged by the Arab attitude and Tito's visit. (Also, FYI only, East Germany extended over \$200 million in aid to five key developing countries in the fifteen months ending March 1965, almost four times the total of East German aid to less developed countries over the previous nine years. \$100 million of this went to the UAR, \$42 million apiece to Ceylon and Indonesia, \$14 million to Yemen, and \$7 million to Tanzania. End FYI.) But while Pankow may sometimes take small initiatives without encouragement from Moscow, the East German leaders undertake no significant provocation to which the Soviets -- with 20 divisions in East Germany -- have not precisely agreed. First Secretary Walter Ulbricht is apparently happy with the new Brezhnev-Kosygin leadership, which has given no cause (as Khrushchev sometimes did) for supposing that it might deal with Bonn over Ulbricht's head. Regardless of the desires of the German people, East and West, the Soviet and East German leaders want a permanent division between East and West Germany, permanent, at least, so long as Germany cannot be reunited on Communist terms. Political recognition of East Germany promotes this division and strengthens the position of Soviet puppets like Ulbricht and Winzer.

Observers have sometimes speculated that the Communists follow a deliberate policy of alternate hardness and friendliness to confuse and disorient the democracies. This may be doubted as far as it concerns over-all East-West relations, since there are too many factors which Moscow cannot control, especially now with the rise of Chinese Communist hostility and the decline in Bloc solidarity. Many tension-provoking periodical switches are only to be understood in the context of the zig-zagging general Communist party line, and are not "planned." But Communists do deliberately use ambiguous or alternating hard and soft tactics in appropriate limited situations, in order to bait the democracies and split Free World alliances. These tactics appear in such contexts as the United Nations and disarmament, and current maneuvering in Berlin is

a good example. The East Germans make moves which appear innocuous to the uninformed, or for which various pretexts are offered (e.g., military maneuvers, West German "revanchist" speeches and demonstrations). If the West Germans or the Western allies, esp. the U.S. don't react, this omission encourages additional probes. If they do react, the original move is presented as unimportant or even denied altogether, and an attempt is made to make the western reaction seem alarmist or aggressive. Later, if a more serious situation arises, the advocates of Western firmness may be regarded as alarmists in the West itself, and their advice may be disregarded. Whether or not a real crisis develops, it is desirable that East German and Soviet provocation be recognized for what it is.

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924.

APPEASEMENT IN VIETNAM?  
THE CERTAIN ROAD TO ESCALATION

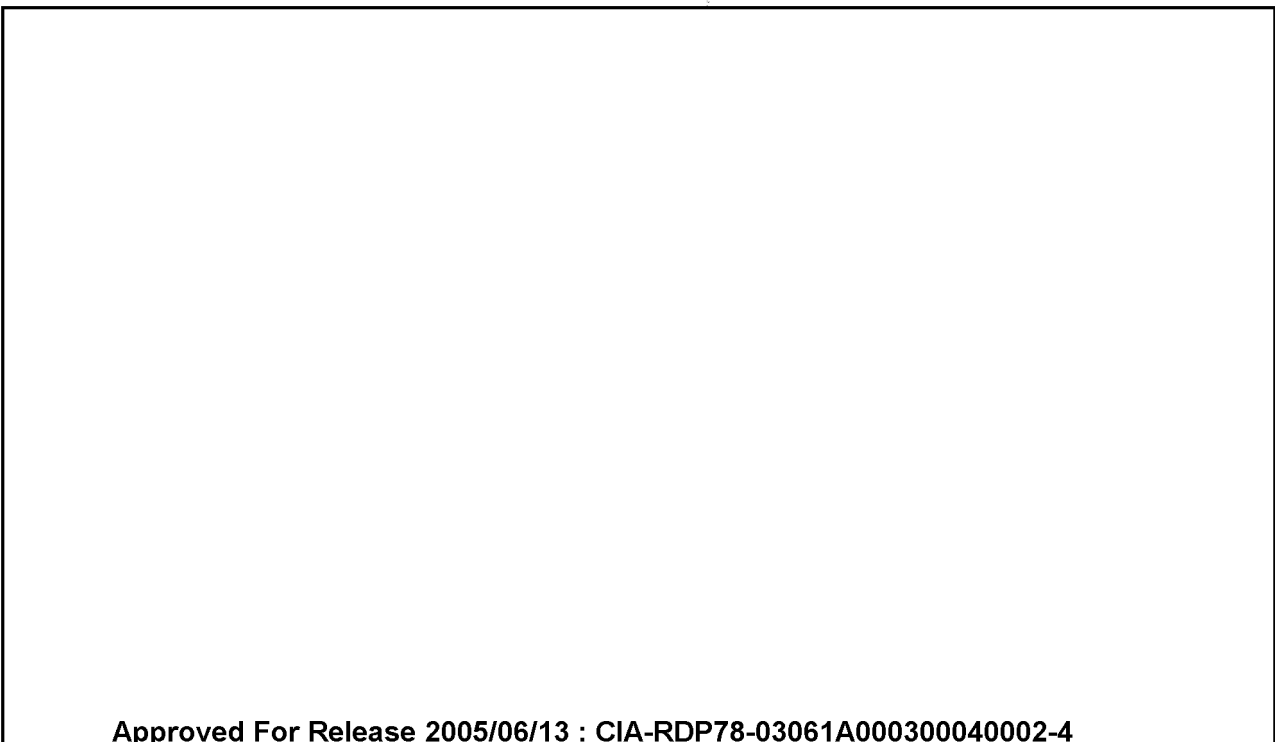
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SITUATION: There are quite a few groups and individuals in far-flung parts of the free world, some of them influential, who advocate policies that are dangerously similar to those of people who felt in 1938 that Hitler could be appeased; they believed, or hoped, that by meeting his demands he would be convinced that it was in his interest to accept the friendship of the democracies. The term appeasement has been so sufficiently disgraced that even those who would in fact "appease" the Communists in the Far East would vehemently deny that this is their policy. In spite of the contempt that the term implies, the conceptions of appeasement still imperil U.S. interests and those of the entire Free World: Those who advocate any version of appeasement in Southeast Asia, particularly Vietnam, designed to show the Chinese Communists that non-Communists bear them no ill-will represent a clear and present threat to the firmness and resolution that are vital to the position of the Free World in that area. (See unclassified attachment for details on attempts to appease Hitler and for relevant background on more recent events in the Far East.)

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925.

KOREA-JAPAN: RELATIONS NORMALIZED

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\* \* \* \* \*

SITUATION: On June 22, 1965, the Governments of Japan and the Republic of Korea (ROK) signed a treaty and twenty related documents in Tokyo to restore (after a lapse of 55 years) full diplomatic relations between the two countries and to settle outstanding issues. The parliaments of both countries have yet to ratify the agreements -- Korea probably in July and the Japanese Diet probably in late August or early September.

This action, especially important for the political and economic well-being of both countries in the face of the growing threat from Communist China, brings to a climax fourteen years of intermittent, difficult and conflict-ridden negotiations. All Korean governments have faced organized resistance against establishing normal relations with Japan (who annexed all of Korea in 1910 and ruled the peninsula as a colony until it was liberated at the close of World War II). Similarly, Japanese Governments have struggled against internal pressures over submitting to sometimes irrational Korean claims and demands, one of which required an apology for past transgressions.

Negotiations had dragged along during the regime of President Syngman Rhee, but have been seriously pressed by President Chung Hee Park since his inauguration for a four year term on October 15, 1963. The conclusive steps leading to the Treaty and its expected ratification (which may coincide in Korea with the twelfth anniversary of the Korean Armistice, 27 July 1953) were the

Basic Relations Treaty, initialed on the last of three days of discussions with Japan's Foreign Minister Etsusaburo Shiina in Seoul on February 20, 1965;

Claims and Economic Cooperation, Fisheries, and the Status of Korean Residents in Japan (agreements outlining the last major issues between the countries), initialed after 10-days of discussion in Tokyo on April 3, 1965 by Korea's Foreign Minister Tong Won Lee and Japan's Foreign Minister Shiina.

Every official meeting and discussion, each proposal for a solution to one of the many problems at issue, has met with demonstrations and

sometimes violence on the part of the organized Opposition in Korea and the communist-led students and trade unionists in Japan. In Korea, 200 Opposition political leaders (superficially merged in the new Minjung (Popular) party in June) and organized students from the University lead the resistance. The Opposition's Struggle Committee Against Humiliating Agreements with Japan said, when the Treaty was being signed, that it was scheduling "forceful action" to make known its disapproval of the accords normalizing relations with Japan. It has used the latent and open hostility against Japan to focus all of the public's frustrations over internal economic and political problems against the Government. While it is believed that the National Assembly will ratify the Treaty and Agreements, all of the Government's resources will have to be used to educate the population and its political leaders to the fact that these are reasonable, and sometimes generous accords which are favorable to Korea and in the best interests of the country. Japan has agreed to help South Korea with reparations and loans of \$800 million; fishing grounds, for countries with an overriding need for this natural resource and industry, have been reasonably demarcated for use between the two. Koreans who lived in Japan prior to World War II may claim permanent residence rights and equal status with Japanese in important respects. Japan may now open a diplomatic mission in Seoul; Korea established a mission in Tokyo shortly after the end of World War II.

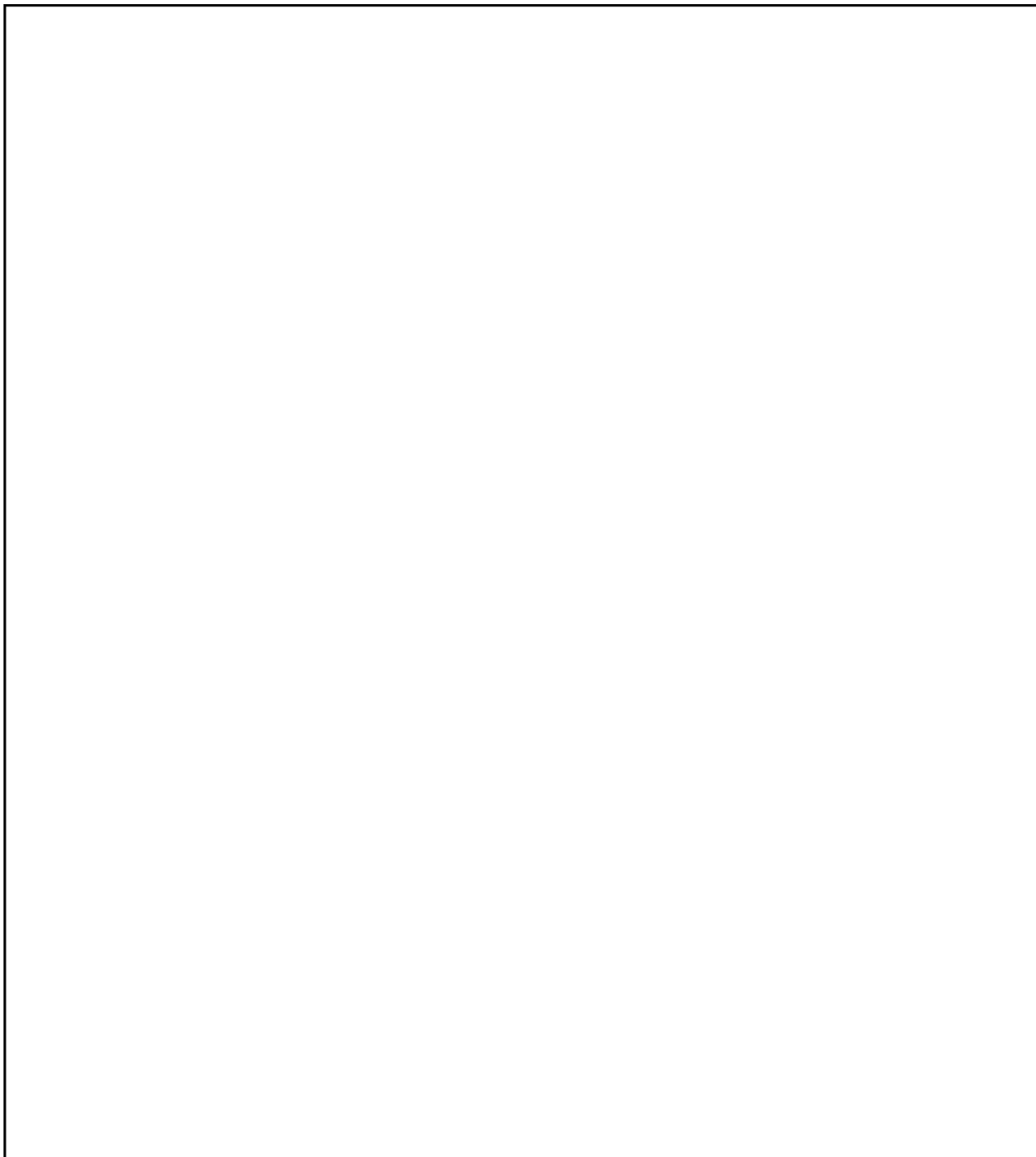
While communist-led opposition causes his Government difficulty, the almost two to one majority held by Premier Eisaku Sato's Liberal-Democratic Party was not changed significantly in the July elections (his Party lost 5 seats in the upper house elections). Successive governments in Tokyo have shown restraint and understanding in dealing with Seoul to help overcome past antipathies and to remove a major source of Far Eastern tension. But Communist agitation in Japan is effective on one subject in particular: they call attention to ROK troops supporting South Vietnam and claim that Japan will be drawn into this war as a result of the Treaty. Less important for Government stability, the Communists take umbrage at the clause in which Japan recognizes the ROK as the "only legal government" in Korea.

Communist capitals in Pyongyang, Peking and Hanoi have established clear lines of attack aimed at reviving old fears of Japan throughout south-east Asia: their principal theme hammers on the return of Japanese militarism and the renewal of Japan's dreams of the Greater Eastern Coprosperity Sphere (absent from Peking propaganda since 1959 until last November when it reappeared in People's Daily and was echoed in the DPRK press). On the legal side, the three capitals (often echoed by the USSR) call the treaty null and void, and recall a 1962 Pyongyang foreign ministry statement that any unilateral treaty on diplomatic or consular relations, reparations, fishing boundaries, status of Koreans in Japan, would be illegal; "such questions," it said, "should be solved after Korea is unified."

Additional fears in Korea stemming from the Treaty are that Japan will again extend its influence throughout Korean society, and that the U.S. will withdraw its extensive support [besides the sizeable amounts of

money poured in for direct economic development, the U.S. 8th Army of some 50,000 men provides substantial purchasing power in addition to supplying the bulk of the U.N. Command patrolling the 151-mile demarcation line in Korea, alongside of the ROK's own 600,000 man army].

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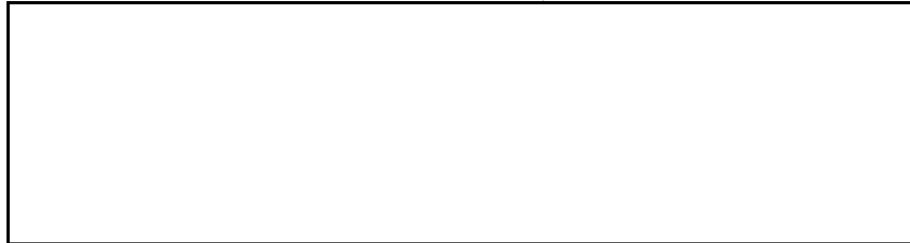
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THE POPULATION EXPLOSION

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SITUATION: It took all of human history until 1840 for the world population to reach one billion. During the intervening century-and-a-quarter until the present, it increased by another two billion. And now, according to the best of recent statistics, a fourth billion will be added in just the next 13 or 14 years. The "population explosion" has thus become, in the opinion of many, the central problem of our time, overshadowing other problems and demanding massive action toward an early solution.

Nature has programmed all of its creatures to produce a wasteful surplus of progeny so that a sufficient number might survive and perpetuate the species. In the case of man, this surplus population has been removed by war, famine, disease, and other hazards of the violent world in which he has usually lived. Toward the end of the 18th century, the industrial revolution began to bring increased productivity to the land and a greater measure of general prosperity. Fewer people died of starvation or neglect, and the population of the more advanced countries began to rise sharply. In 1798, Thomas Malthus advanced the theory that population increases faster than the food supply and that, unless births are controlled, war and famine will step in and limit the increase.

Malthus was right in principle but somewhat wrong in his timing. It was the advent of modern medicine that has created a truly alarming imbalance between births and deaths. Although the birth rate has remained about the same, the death rate has dropped sharply, so that a higher percentage of people survive to live a normal span. According to the latest (1963) United Nations Demographic Yearbook, the population of the world, now something over 3 billion, is increasing at a rate of approximately 2% per annum. At this rate, it will double by the end of the century. In just 35 years, there will be over 6 billion people in the world!

But the rate varies from region to region, and only the more advanced and enlightened countries are experiencing what might be considered a manageable increase. The rest -- those in which a large proportion of the population are on the borderline between a substandard living and sheer starvation -- are accounting for most of the increase. The following table will show the unhappy contrast between a selected group of prosperous countries that are experiencing a small increase and a group in the underdeveloped world where the population will inevitably outrun the food supply, if the present rate continues.

Annual Rate of Population Increase  
for Selected Countries

| Country       | Percent<br>Increase | Country     | Percent<br>Increase |
|---------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|
| Australia     | 2.1                 | Costa Rica  | 4.14                |
| United States | 1.6                 | El Salvador | 3.8                 |
| Japan         | 0.9                 | Nicaragua   | 3.5                 |
| Switzerland   | 0.9                 | Brazil      | 3.4                 |
| Austria       | 0.6                 | Mexico      | 3.1                 |
| Sweden        | 0.47                | Egypt       | 2.6                 |
| Belgium       | 0.44                | India       | 2.3                 |

What will some key countries look like by 1980? That date is chosen arbitrarily for selected projections because it is unlikely that much can be done to control natality in the next fifteen years. Actually the birth rate is increasing in some countries, and even the rate of increase in the world as a whole has been rising. That is, not only is the population increasing, but it is increasing at a faster rate each year.

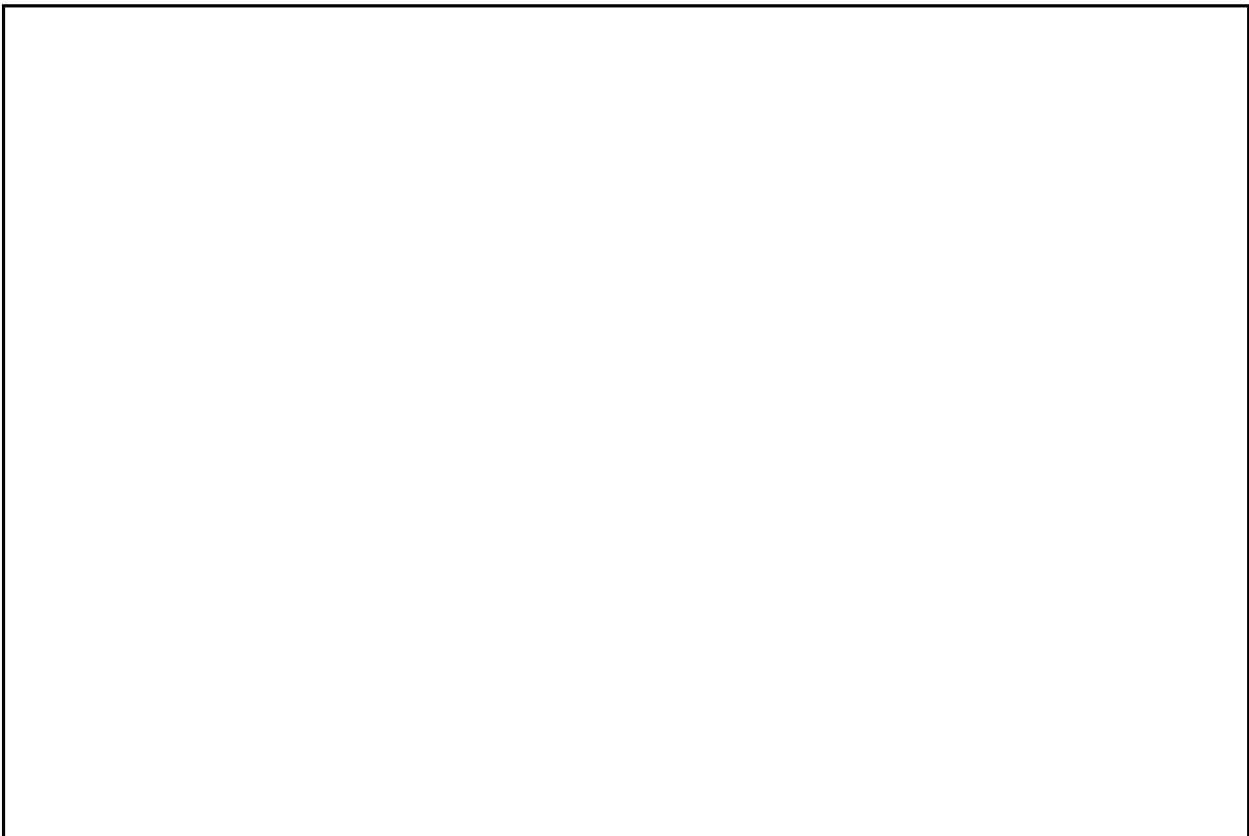
| Estimated<br>Population | 1965        | 1980         |
|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| Brazil                  | 80 million  | 140 million  |
| Mexico                  | 40 "        | 71 "         |
| United States           | 195 "       | 252 "        |
| Communist China         | 749 "       | 1 billion!   |
| But: Belgium            | 9.3 million | 10.1 million |
| United Kingdom          | 54 "        | 60 "         |
| West Germany            | 56 "        | 64 "         |

The FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN) reported that for the fifth consecutive year the rate of growth in agricultural production was less than the rate of growth of the world's population. The implications of this are ominous: already two thirds of the world are food-deficit areas. Even if we could arrest the trend, so that the production of food could keep pace with the production of people, most areas would still be badly off. To reverse the trend -- to start raising the living standards substantially -- seems hopeless when all factors are considered without unjustified optimism. Indeed, it is quite possible that even substantial progress toward birth control could be nullified by improved medical care, particularly in very backward and primitive areas. Thus a decrease in births could easily be offset by an increase in survival. All responsible opinion thus converges on the urgent need to act without delay. According to an article in U.S. News and World Report, forwarded as attachment, the world has a choice: "limit population or face famine."



Encouraging developments have recently come to mitigate the foregoing somber statistics and projections. For the first time in American history a President has taken cognizance of efforts to deal with the population explosion. In his State of the Union Message, President Johnson said on 5 January 1965: "I will seek new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion in world population and the growing scarcity in world resources." Following this pronouncement, the U.S. Agency for International Development, on 4 March 1965, sent an airgram to all missions stating that AID was prepared to entertain requests, approved by foreign governments, for technical assistance in family planning. Equally encouraging is the fact that the Ecumenical Council is concerned, and a number of important prelates have voiced their concern, over the population problem and the attitude of the Catholic Church toward birth control. Richard Cardinal Cushing voiced hope that the fourth session of Second Vatican Council, which opens 14 September, will settle the problem: "My sympathy and love goes out to those people who are having problems with large families, and who are worried sick about the Church's teaching. I'm hoping and praying that all these problems will be settled by the commission's report." Lee Joseph Cardinal Suenens, Primate of Belgium stated last October that the Church's outlook has been too one-sided with too much emphasis on the command "to increase and multiply." Maximus Saigh, the Patriarch of Antioch, called for "new thinking on certain official positions," adding that ... "the future of the Church's mission in the world is at stake."

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927.

SOVIET SCIENTISTS CELEBRATE MENDEL'S ANNIVERSARY

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SITUATION: (For a fuller account of Lysenkoism and its recent downfall, see unclassified attachment.)

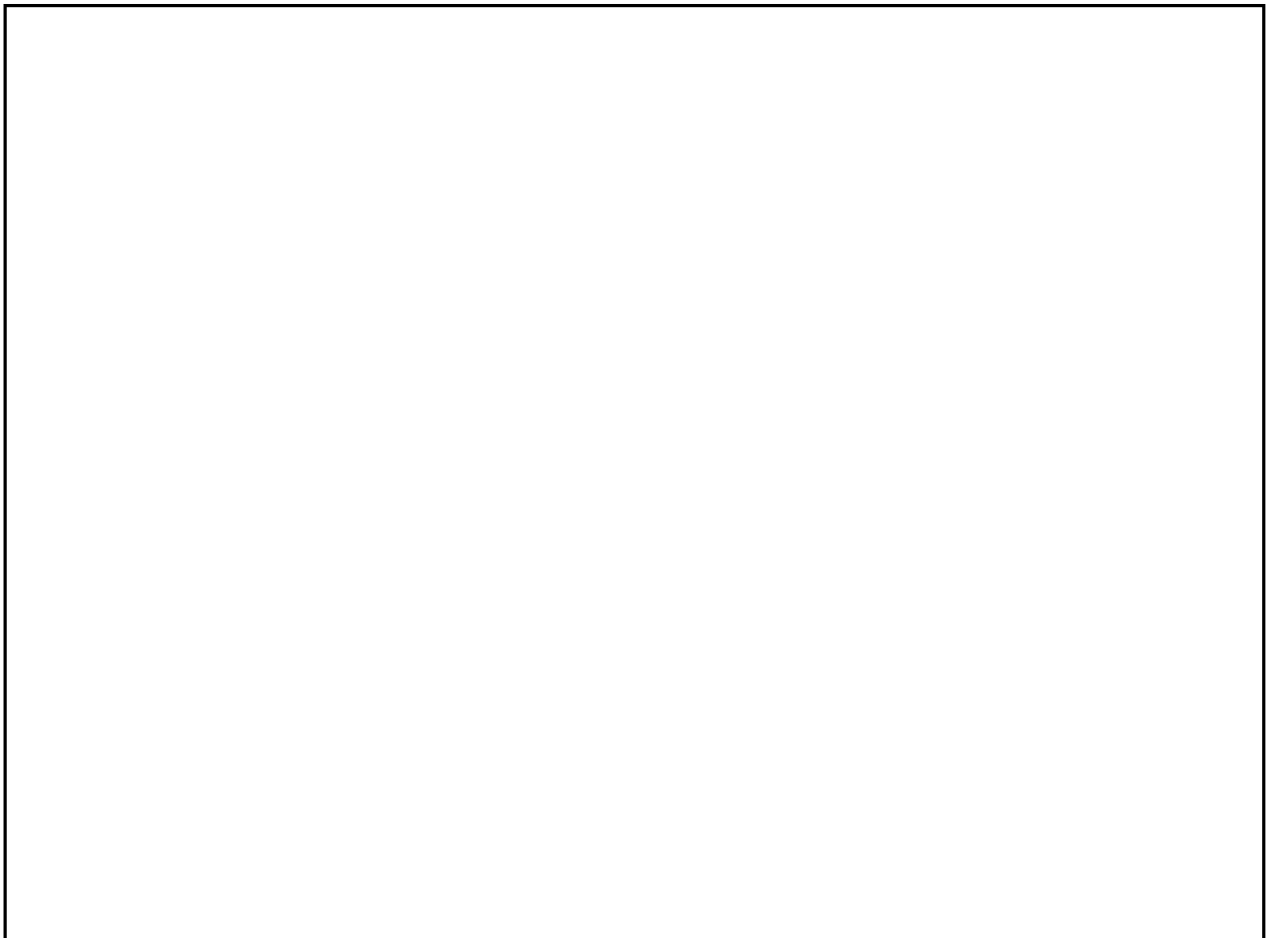
Although occasionally challenged after the death of Stalin, the teachings of Trofim Lysenko -- often called "Michurinist biology" -- dominated Soviet biology until the fall of Khrushchev. Lysenko's doctrines owed their status, not to scientific validity (which they lacked), but to the fact that they seemed more in harmony with Marxism-Leninism than the genetics of Gregor Mendel and his Western successors. Lysenko himself was also a skillful politician who knew how to flatter personalities like Stalin and Khrushchev, and how to make his own opponents appear to be opposed to the Soviet regime. When honest scientists had doubts about Stalin's plans to transform nature or Khrushchev's program to develop the semi-arid Virgin Lands, Lysenko was ready to furnish the desired intellectual justification. Lysenko, however, made many academic enemies on both scientific and personal grounds, and was bound to share some of the onus for the failures of Soviet agriculture after 1958. It now appears that the influence of the Lysenkoists was only sustained in recent years by Khrushchev's personal support, for their position collapsed with Khrushchev's fall from power.

Vladimir Dudintsev, the novelist, published an article on 23 October 1964, describing the way the official (Lysenkoist) scientific establishment in biology was inhibiting research, and many other attacks followed, including some that debunked Lysenko's claims that he had produced practical results. Lysenko himself was in any case in semi-retirement, but his leading lieutenant, Mikhail Olshansky, lost his post as head of the All-Union Lenin Agricultural Academy on 10 February 1965. At the March plenum of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev pronounced Lysenko's work a failure. The problem remains, however, of rooting out Lysenkoist doctrine in Soviet schools and institutes, and breaking old habits of thought. Perhaps partly to give Soviet biology a shock treatment, leading Soviet biologists recently held a meeting in Moscow, commemorating the centennial of Mendel's work on plant hybrids. Also, Pravda printed a commemorative article (with picture), hailing Mendel's work and saying:

"After the October plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in 1964, every opportunity was created for the extensive and comprehensive development of biology, and for the emergence of our scientists into the front rank of this important science."

Only a year ago, it would have been unthinkable that Gregor Mendel should be honored in a Moscow ceremony. Even now, old Soviet habits and fears persist. Bykhovskiy's article describes Mendel as a Czech, or "an outstanding son of the Czechoslovak people," and makes no mention of Mendel's clerical position; even the picture of him is somewhat fuzzed, obscuring his clerical collar. In contrast, the Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya -- in this respect correctly -- describes him as "of German-Slavic ancestry" (1938 ed.) or as Austrian (1954 ed.), and clearly identifies him as a monk. (Mendel was born Johann Mendel in Austrian Silesia, studied in Vienna, and taught at Brunn (now Brno, CSR). It would be more correct to describe him as an Austrian than as a Czech ....) Even today, then, Soviet biologists do not openly speak of Mendel's origins. They are right, on the other hand, in noting that Soviet biology has to make up for lost time. Official rehabilitation is only the beginning, since a whole generation of students has been taught Lysenkoist doctrines and kept in ignorance of Mendelian genetics. Old textbooks must be discarded, and teachers must be re-educated. Moreover, the idea that science is a matter of political-ideological doctrine dies hard. Some of the attacks on Lysenkoists, while understandable, are unpleasantly reminiscent of past attacks on deviationists of various kinds; to some Soviet citizens, raised in the dogmatic tradition, anti-Lysenkoism is simply the new dogma. The practice of open scientific discussion and debate, without descent into personalities, will take time to master.

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Fact Sheet

19 July 1965

The Ugly Russian

by

Victor Lasky

Trident Press

630 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10020

\$4.95 313 pages 1965

This book documents many failures in Communist Bloc (particularly Soviet) technical assistance projects throughout the world and reports cases of racial bias on the part of Soviet technicians and diplomats abroad. The unhappiness, largely caused by racial discrimination, of students from Africa and Asia in Soviet and other Communist Bloc universities and technical schools, also receives extensive treatment.

Much of the material in Lasky's book has appeared previously, notably in Dan Kurzman's, "Subversion of the Innocents" (Random House: New York 1963. 570 pages. \$6.95), but Lasky has contributed much from his own travels and his conversations with both leaders and ordinary citizens in several of the world's principal non-aligned countries. A few of the cases reported by Mr. Lasky follow.

In 1964 Indians made a determined attempt to break down the color barrier at the Calcutta Swimming Club, where membership was restricted to Europeans. In marked contrast to the Americans, whose ambassador forbade members of his staff to join the club, and requested those who were already members to resign (because of the exclusion of Indians from membership), the Soviets did nothing to discourage their diplomats from remaining members, and the Indian left wing noted with disappointment that a number of Soviets continued to use the club's pool regularly.

Attractive Svetlana Ushakova was sent to Guinea with a group of Soviet teachers to help the Guinean Ministry of Education train local teachers. Soon accepted by the Guineans, she was invited to some of their parties. This angered her Soviet superiors who called her in and ordered her not to have any social contacts with the Guineans. She ignored this warning, and continued to include Guineans in her social activities. This flagrant disregard for authority enraged her superiors, who determined to send her home. The Soviets found that Svetlana refused to go, but they twice sent her to the airport under escort to force her to board a plane for home. Each time, however, the Guinean police had been alerted, and they refused to allow Svetlana to board the plane. The Soviets did not give up easily. On their third attempt, they drugged the unfortunate girl, bandaged her head, and carried her to the aircraft on a stretcher. But again the Guinean authorities intervened, and freed her. After considering her case, the Guinean Government granted her political asylum, and hired her to continue her teaching.

(Cont.)

The Soviets try to discourage their citizens from marrying foreigners. Nevertheless, they have not absolutely forbidden this, and during the past ten years there have been numerous cases of intermarriage between Soviets and foreigners who were students or trainees in the USSR. Lasky learned that quite a number of Indians, in particular, had married Soviet girls while studying or training in the Soviet Union, but that it was next to impossible for the wives to obtain Soviet permission to accompany their husbands to India when their training ended. This cruel practice has caused so much discontent on the part of the husbands that within the past two or three years the Soviets have relented slightly, and allowed a token number of Soviet wives to rejoin their husbands.

The Soviets have failed miserably in some of their projects in Guinea, the small West African country which broke with France in 1958 rather than join the French African Community as other former French African territories did upon gaining independence. Sekou Toure, the Marxist President of Guinea, invited the Soviets and other Communist countries to help his country. Guinea soon had second thoughts about the "aid" it received from the Communists. One noteworthy example of Soviet bungling was exposed when two huge pieces of machinery turned out to be snow plows and had to be left for many months in the port area of Conakry. Nearby were nearly 100 Soviet tractors which the Guineans also found unsuitable for the tropical climate. Then there was Hungary which furnished Conakry with 103 city buses in 1962; poor quality, unsuitability and lack of spare parts reduced them within two years to a point where only a handful were still operable. Soviet prestige in Guinea received a damaging blow with the discovery that Soviet technicians, supposedly teaching the Guineans more efficient methods of mining diamonds (a principal Guinean export under the French), were also helping themselves to some of the diamonds and smuggling them out of the country. Guinea arrested and expelled eighteen of the Soviet technicians.

When the Guinean security forces (trained themselves by the Communist countries) found documents proving Soviet involvement in attempts to overthrow the government, Sekou Toure decided to call a halt. He declared the Soviet Ambassador, Danil S. Solod, persona non grata, and immediately arrested many local Communists implicated in the plot. Since then (1961), Guinea has been more interested in genuine neutrality between the Communist Bloc and the West, and has encouraged Western capital to invest in the country, which it has done.

Soviet operations in other parts of Africa, notably the Congo (Leopoldville), have been anything but successful. The Soviets first supported Patrice Lumumba, and later Antoine Gizenga, both of whom proved erratic and totally unreliable. The Soviets tried first to foment a rebellion in the Congo in 1960, shortly after Belgium granted independence. However, there was more anti-Communist feeling among the Congolese than the Soviets had counted on: the rebellion was put down and Lumumba was

deposed, arrested and later killed. Despite proof positive of Soviet involvement in the 1960 attempts to overthrow the Congolese Government, the USSR was allowed to re-open its embassy in December, 1961. The Soviets rapidly increased the size of their staff until it numbered about 100, and housed it in a ten-story apartment building. But Congolese police were alert this time. Counselor Boris Voronin and Press Attache Yuri Myakotnykh, both known to be members of Soviet security services, were kept under surveillance. In November, 1963 they were caught with documents which proved that the Soviets were plotting with left-wing exiles to overthrow the legitimate government of the Congo. The entire staff of the Soviet Embassy was declared persona non grata and forced to leave the country.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT  
14 June 1965

# WORLD CHOICE: LIMIT POPULATION OR FACE FAMINE

## What Latest Study Shows

Death by starvation is the prospect facing millions of people in Asia, Africa and parts of Latin America. By 1980, those areas will have 1 billion more mouths to feed. Yet, food production in many countries already falls behind needs.

This warning is being sounded for the world's underdeveloped nations—

Either find ways to limit population growth and add to food output or face large-scale famine.

These other alarms are added:

- One billion more people in underdeveloped, food-short countries will have to be fed by 1980.

- Even America, with its vast capacity for food output, cannot fill that need while meeting demands of its own expanding population and those of its paying food customers.

- Threat of famine on a broad scale in Asia, Africa and parts of Latin America is becoming an immediate—not just a remote—prospect.

**A losing race.** As population explodes in nations that already teem with people, many of those nations even now are skirting the borderline of famine.

Yet, in most of those countries, actual production of food is showing a tendency to decline, not to rise.

In Asia, food available for each person has fallen by 4 per cent since 1961. In Latin America, the dropoff since 1958 has been even greater—6 per cent. In Africa, up to now, food output has kept pace with the increase in population, but a downward shift in this trend is indicated.

This is a disturbing reversal of conditions. While food production in these areas dropped sharply during World War II, the decline was temporary and, with peace, output returned to prewar levels. Around 1960, however, a leveling off occurred and since then the situation has been getting more serious year by year.

The seriousness of the food crisis is dramatically brought out in a special report on world food problems just prepared by the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

**In famine belt, unless—.** In the years just ahead, this Agriculture Department report says, areas of the globe where two thirds of the world's people live will be in the famine belt unless dramatic changes occur.

A plan to spend 4 billion dollars a year on food from the U. S. to eliminate hunger in countries outside Communist China has been suggested.

But Lester R. Brown, staff economist of the Department

of Agriculture and author of the new study on the world food outlook, says:

"Food shipments from developed countries can help, but they cannot account for more than a very small fraction of the projected increases in food needs over the next several years."

So, either population growth must be limited or food output increased greatly in the underdeveloped nations.

The problem is: Today, in many densely populated areas of Asia and Latin America, almost all available land already is being used for food production. At the same time, efforts so far to lower birth rates through family planning and other programs have met with negligible success.

**Alternative—bigger yields.** One other suggested solution for the impending crisis is to grow more food on the same acreage now under cultivation.

In the U. S., startling advances in farm technology have resulted in great increases in food production even though the amount of land under cultivation has been reduced by federal crop controls. Farmers sometimes are paid not to produce foodstuffs.

But raising yields per acre is not so easy elsewhere in the world. Only a handful of countries—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and a few West European countries—have had yield increases anything like those in the U. S.

Over the last 25 years, the U. S. and Canada had a 109 per cent rise in farm yields. For all underdeveloped countries combined, the increase for the same period was only 8 per cent. When you look closely at the underdeveloped countries, you find these handicaps to sustained rises in farm output:

- Widespread illiteracy hampers the introduction of new ideas and techniques to farmers.

- Low per capita income prevents the farmers from buying the machinery, fertilizers, pesticides and other products

they need. No country with a per capita income of less than \$200 a year has been able to raise yields appreciably.

- Incentives are lacking. If farm income goes to wealthy landlords, as in some Latin-American countries, or to the government, as in Communist lands, farm output is poor.

- Farmers do not get cash prices for their produce suf-



CPYRGHT

ficient to buy the yield-increasing machinery and chemicals they need. Often, they raise just what they can eat.

• Needed farm services, such as research, credit and transportation, usually are lacking.

**Story of India.** Consider the case of India, where many kinds of grain are raised—rice, corn, wheat, barley and millet. India has 350 million acres under cultivation—about the same as in the United States. But it has 60 million farmers, compared with fewer than 4 million in the U. S.

Nearly three fourths of the Indian people are illiterate, and the rate is even higher among the farm population. The people speak hundreds of different languages and dialects. The job of teaching modern agricultural methods to farmers under these conditions is formidable, if not impossible.

Per capita income in India is \$60 a year. Farmers are hard pressed to buy seed, a primitive plow and an animal to pull it. Few have ever used fertilizers or other agricultural chemicals vital to increased farm output.

Rainfall is a problem. Most rains in India fall during the period from June to September; there is almost no rain for five to seven months of the year.

As a result of all these problems, grain yields are low, averaging less than one fourth of those in the U. S. and Japan. During a period of nearly 60 years, yield per acre in India rose by only 3 per cent.

India is trying to bring more land under cultivation, and hopes to add 6 million acres in the next 15 years—an increase of about 0.2 per cent a year. But, with its population growing by over 2 per cent a year—10 times as fast—the situation is explosive.

Food riots raged in the streets of New Delhi, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in recent months. Behind the protests were these developments: While food production remains constant, per capita income has been slowly rising. The result has been higher food prices and shorter rations for lower-income Indians.

Another problem is distribution. Last month, 27 ships containing grain were lined up outside Bombay harbor awaiting unloading. Meanwhile, many people were going hungry.

**Many in same plight.** India's troubles are not unique.

Rather, the Department of Agriculture study shows, they "are in many ways similar to those of China, Pakistan and Indonesia. Together, these four countries contain 1.4 billion people, nearly half of the world total."

Egypt depends on imports of wheat for about half of its supply. Nearly all of this grain has come through the U. S. foreign-aid program. Now, with U. S.-Egyptian relations deteriorating, this source may be cut off. If it does, the outlook for Egypt's soaring population could be widespread hunger.

Communist China's per capita food resources have been falling since 1958. It has been buying 5 to 6 million tons of wheat a year in world markets. Nearly 40 per cent of its foreign-exchange earnings go for food and fertilizer. And still its population is climbing toward the billion mark.

**What lies ahead.** Looking toward the future, the underdeveloped countries—India, Communist China, Iraq, Pakistan, Indonesia, Egypt, Brazil and others—can expect yearly increases in farm yields of less than 1 per cent. These countries now hold 2.2 billion of the world's 3.1 billion people.

To make matters worse, these same countries expect the biggest population booms in future years. Underdeveloped nations will add more than 1 billion people between 1960 and 1980. All other countries are expected to add 216 million people in that period. See chart on this page.

In some underdeveloped countries, such as Mexico, Brazil, Iraq, the Philippines and Guatemala, population growth is exceeding 3 per cent a year. In these nations, as in India, Communist China and Indonesia, time is running out.

An "immediate and dramatic" effort to raise farm yields is needed, the Department of Agriculture study concludes. The danger of a world food crisis lies close at hand, not in the distant future.

It is between now and 1980, when the fastest population growth in history is anticipated, that the threat of famine—in villages and cities throughout large areas of the world—will be greatest.

Even massive help from the U. S. and other developed nations may be too little, and too late.

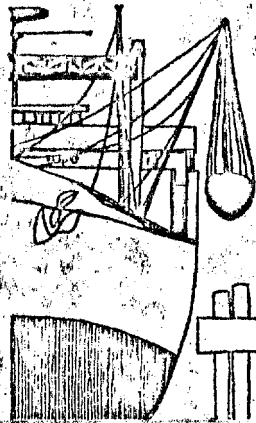
The signs of trouble to come are everywhere apparent in the food-short countries. What has finally come to be recognized as the world's gravest problem appears to be approaching the explosion point.

# QUESTION: CAN POOR NATIONS KEEP FEEDING THEIR PEOPLE?

Underdeveloped nations of Asia, Africa and South America—

IN THE LATE 1930s  
EXPORTED

10 MIL. TONS  
OF GRAIN ANNUALLY



IN THE EARLY 1940s

IMPORTED

4 MIL. TONS  
OF GRAIN ANNUALLY

IN THE LATE 1950s

IMPORTED

13 MIL. TONS  
OF GRAIN ANNUALLY

IN 1964,  
BY LATEST ESTIMATE,

IMPORTED

25 MIL. TONS

OF GRAIN

Source: U. S. Dept. of Agriculture

U. S. News & World Report, Inc.

NY TIMES  
22 June 1965

## U.S. Offering Birth Control Help To the Underdeveloped Nations

By JOHN FINNEY

WASHINGTON, June 21 — Cautiously and as unobtrusively as possible, the Administration is going ahead in helping underdeveloped nations curb their growing populations.

Formal and informal requests for American assistance in developing and implementing birth control programs have been received from India, Pakistan and Turkey. The expectation is that the requests will be approved in the next few months by the Agency for International Development.

Approval of the requests will mark another significant step in the Government's evolving policy toward a more positive position on population control.

This policy will come under what is expected to be sympathetic Congressional examination tomorrow when a Senate Government Operations subcommittee opens hearings on Government population control programs.

The hearings will mark the first time that a legislative committee has dared to look publicly into the politically sensitive question of the Government's role in birth control.

The subcommittee is headed by Senator Ernest Gruening, Democrat of Alaska, an outspoken advocate of population control ever since his graduation from Harvard Medical School in 1912. To provide a springboard for public hearings on the issue, he has introduced legislation proposing that an assistant secretary for population be established in the State Department and in the Health, Education and Welfare Department.

### Changing Policy

Until recently it has been the policy of the Agency for International Development to refer all foreign requests for information and assistance in birth control to private agencies. The most the agency was willing to do was provide funds for demographic studies of population growth and sociological studies of attitudes about family planning.

This policy began to come under critical review within the agency about a year ago, as it

was realized that in most of the underdeveloped countries economic development could not hope to keep pace with population growth brought about by high birth rates and declining death rates.

Within an agency that was already unpopular on Capitol Hill, however, there was a reluctance to add to its difficulties by embarking upon a program of birth-control assistance to foreign countries.

The door to a more active program was opened in January when President Johnson declared in his State of the Union Message that "I will seek new ways to use our knowledge to

help deal with the explosion of the world population and the growing scarcity of world resources."

In an "aerogramme" on March 4 to all its missions, the Agency for International Development laid down a policy with the following provisions:

¶ It was prepared to entertain requests, approved by foreign governments, for technical assistance in family planning. Where appropriate, the requests will continue to be referred to private agencies.

¶ Whatever family planning program is proposed should provide freedom of choice to the individual on what type of birth control, if any, is to be used.

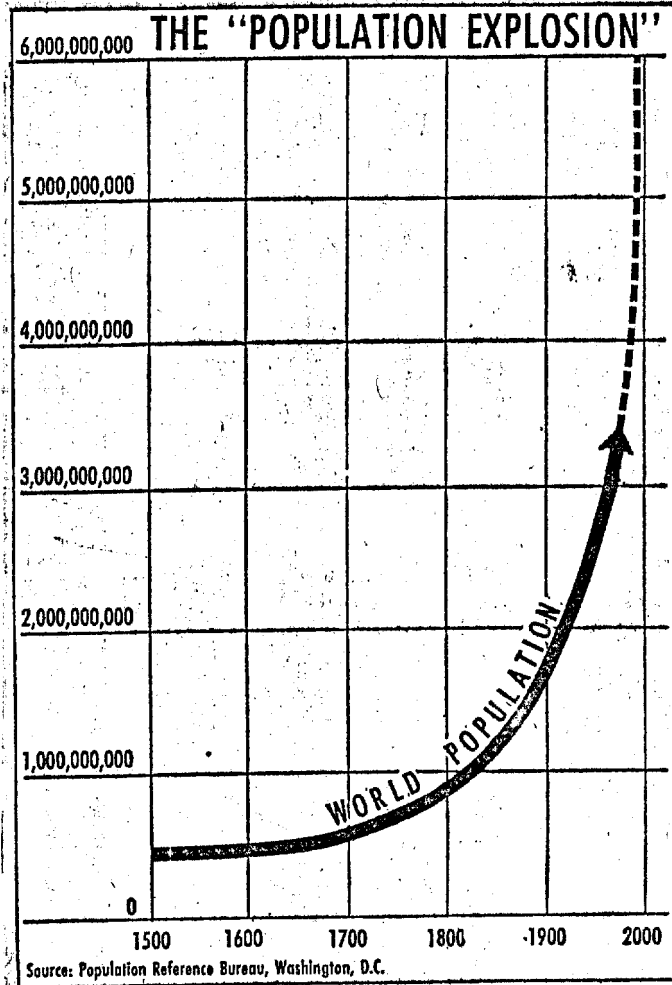
¶ The agency was not prepared to entertain requests for contraceptive devices of the equipment to manufacture them. But their cost was viewed as too small to present a stumbling block to an effective program.

¶ The agency was, however, prepared to provide other assistance, such as administrators, doctors and nurses to help establish a program; "commodity aid," such as vehicles and education equipment, and training opportunities in this country. It also was prepared to make available local "counterpart" funds held by the United States to help finance family planning programs.

### Turkey Seeks Vehicles

It was under this policy that requests were received recently from Turkey, Pakistan and India.

Turkey which only recently



The Washington Post

repealed a ban on contraceptives, is asking for several hundred jeeps to carry family planning groups into rural areas.

India has asked for technical and financial assistance, but its not clear yet specifically what it needs.

Pakistan which has a better defined program, has requested administrative assistance as well as counterpart funds to help pay doctors and midwives.

There is a possibility that a request for aid will be received soon from Honduras.

One of the potential problems in implementing the new policy, the agency has discovered, is a

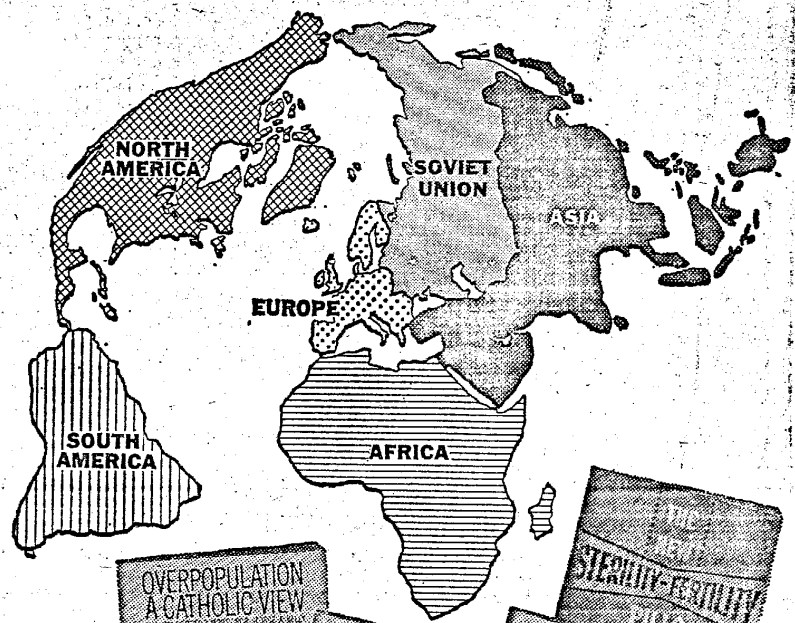
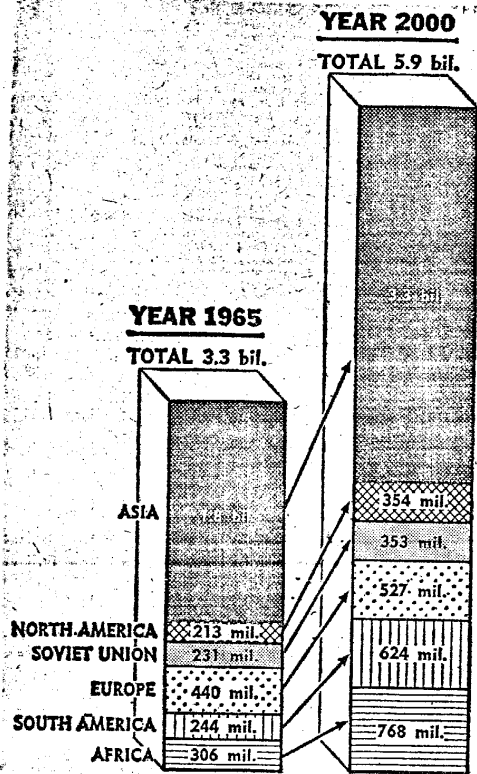
shortage, even in this country, of medical personnel and technicians trained in carrying out birth-control programs.

As a result the agency has given contracts to the University of California, Notre Dame, Johns Hopkins University and the University of North Carolina to develop training programs in population control for foreign and American students. Training will be made available to foreign students starting this fall.

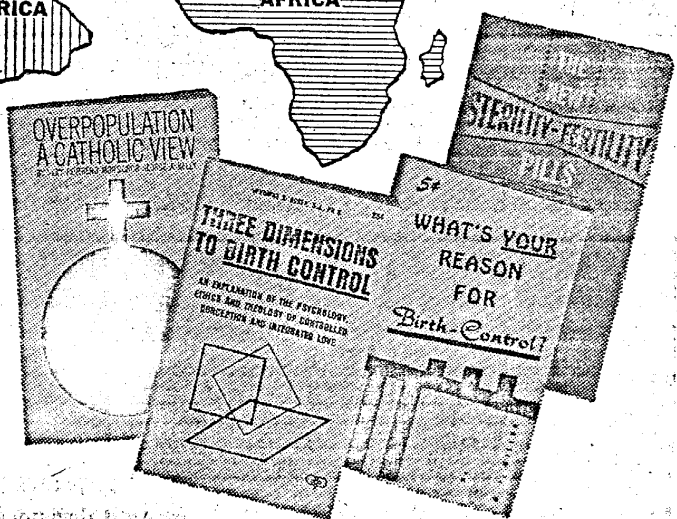
In the coming fiscal year, which begins July 1, the agency expects to spend more than \$3 million in carrying out the new policy.

NY TIMES  
4 April 1965

### RISING POPULATION - AND BIRTH CONTROL ISSUE



Pope Paul VI has urged a special church commission to recommend soon a Roman Catholic policy on birth control. In a recent speech to the committee the Pope alluded to the population explosion, which is expected to almost double the world's population by the year 2000 (above). The commission has been secretly reviewing the church's traditional ban (discussed in publications such as those shown at right) on any chemical or mechanical means of birth control.



Fact Sheet

July 1965

Recent Events in Berlin

After a period of relative quiet, the second quarter of 1965 was marked by a series of incidents in the Berlin area. The most striking of these were the East German helicopter flights over West Berlin borders and sometimes over West Berlin itself, which began on March 23 and became much more frequent after the first week in June, culminating in the flight of an armed East German army helicopter over American barracks on June 18. (21 flights occurred up to 21 June.) According to post-war inter-allied agreements, all air activity within 20 miles of the center of Berlin should have clearance from the four-power Berlin Air Safety Center. But on June 17, a spokesman of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) -- as East Germany calls itself -- claimed the right to overfly all of Berlin because it is "within GDR territory." This claim was moderated three days later to a statement in effect extending only to East Berlin and East Germany. Flights ceased for a time after June 21. But on June 30, the East German press announced that a "demonstration" of helicopter "life-saving activity" would be given in the center of East Berlin on July 3 and 4. More important than the legal question, the helicopter flights represent a sort of "war of nerves" against the public of West Berlin. Mayor Willy Brandt expressed the feeling of many West Berliners on July 1 when he expressed the hope that any future East German helicopter flights over West Berlin would be forced down by the Western allies.

Other Developments:

April 5-9: The Berlin-Helmstedt autobahn was closed on the official pretext that maneuvers were being conducted in the area. (Actually the closure was intended as a threat in connection with the meeting of the West German Bundestag in West Berlin; the Bundestag had last met in Berlin in 1958.) US military convoys were permitted to pass after some delays.

May 30: The Berlin wall was opened to West Berliners for the fourth in a series of holiday periods since the fall of 1964 (in this case for the German Pentecost holiday), but the East German press alleged that the pass agreements had been abused by West German intelligence services and others, and indicated that this might be the last visiting period. (Some West German visitors were arrested during this and the previous, Easter, visiting periods.)

June 2: East German rioters attacked the headquarters of the United States Military Liaison Mission (USMLM) in Potsdam for an hour, protesting US involvement in Vietnam. Three floors of the building were ransacked, windows were broken, and paint was spattered; two US flags were desecrated and vehicles were turned over.

June 2: With West Germany refusing to substitute government-to-government negotiations for the long-standing agreements of the occupying powers, the GDR declared that existing permits for inter-zonal water traffic would be invalid as of July 1. A decree of June 25 stated that barge owners would need an East German permit, and that crews would need personal travel permits.

June 15: An outboard motorboat, occupied by West Berliner Hermann Doebler and his fiancée, strayed toward the East Berlin bank of a canal. Immediately after firing three warning shots, and while Doebler was turning his boat, East German border guards fired 30 more rounds, killing Doebler and seriously wounding his companion.

June 16: The GDR put aside a recently worked-out agreement on rail tariffs, and when the Bonn government refused to replace this with a new GDR government-to-government draft, announced that they will apply their own freight rates to inter-zonal traffic. (Note: These measures do not apply to Allied military traffic. The rail tariff arrangements should not be confused with rail traffic arrangements, which were worked out in September 1964 and approved by the Western Allies on 28 May 1965.)

June 20: The official East German newspaper, Neues Deutschland, compared the current situation with that in the summer of 1961 when "August 13" (i.e., the erection of the Berlin Wall) "put an end" to West German plans for a "revanchist war."

June 21: The East Germans refused to deal with the West Berlin representative in negotiations over further holiday passes, stating that he must have "better credentials" -- i.e., his signature on passes must be noted formally as representing the West Berlin Senate, which would confirm the East German thesis that there are three "Germanies," West Germany, East Germany, and West Berlin.

June 24: Travellers reported seeing Soviet and GDR troops along the Helmstedt-Berlin autobahn and the Hamburg-Berlin highway, which would be a reminder of Communist ability to close these arteries.

June 24: Otto Winzer, known as a ruthless Stalinist, replaced the ailing Lothar Bolz as GDR Foreign Minister.

June 25: Winzer stated in a speech at a Central Committee plenum that the Berlin Air Safety Center "has no power of decision over East Germany or its capital Berlin." Another speech by Transport Minister Erwin Kramer indicated that East Germany will continue to press for formal government-to-government talks on transport questions. First Secretary Walter Ulbricht called for the bridling of "the Bonn revanchists," direct talks between East and West Germany, and the conclusion of a peace treaty for all Germany.

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Fact Sheet

July 1965

Appeasement -- The Road to War

In March 1935 Hitler repudiated the Versailles Treaty restrictions on German armaments and one year later flouted the democracies by marching German troops into the Rhineland provinces, again in specific contravention of the Versailles Treaty. These moves met with no opposition on the part of either France or Great Britain, and it is the consensus among students of the period that in either case, Hitler could have been stopped without causing a war. When German troops were marched into the Rhineland, they had been given orders to withdraw if they encountered opposition. The democracies could not understand or believe the nature of Hitler's ambitions and could therefore not find the strength to unite behind a policy of resisting Hitler's threats and demands. By the time Hitler made his next aggressive move -- the marching of troops into Austria on 12 March 1938 -- he was no longer bluffing and his troops were not given orders to withdraw in the face of resistance.

As always happens with unresisted aggression, arrogance increases with each new success. Hitler's next step was to press the Czechoslovak government on the German population in the Czech Sudetanland. His demands became increasingly unreasonable in spite of the fact that he knew that both Great Britain and France were committed by treaty to the defense of Czechoslovakia and that only in dishonor could they break those treaties. Yet Chamberlain and Daladier, the British and French leaders, were convinced that they could appease Hitler and cause him to modify or even relinquish his territorial ambitions. They acquiesced in the mutilation of Czechoslovakia by letting it be known that they would not support Czechoslovakia if Czech resistance led to war. A series of crises ensued that culminated in the Munich Conference of 30 September 1938 -- attended by Chamberlain, Daladier, Hitler and Mussolini -- at which the fate of Czechoslovakia was decided. Chamberlain was firmly convinced that he had succeeded in averting war and returned to London to emerge from his aircraft waving "the bit of paper" which, he proclaimed, meant "peace in our time." He was believed by many people who, in the face of repeated evidence that Hitler's word was worth nothing, seemed unable to comprehend that by giving Hitler one country they only expedited the day he would ask for another one, and that this process would continue until he finally demanded their own country.

Within six months Hitler had marched his troops into Prague without firing a shot and he had already made it known that Poland was to be his next victim. The weakness and vacillation of the democracies led to the signing of the infamous Nazi-Soviet Pact wherein Hitler and Stalin, inter alia, agreed to divide Poland between them. Hitler's subsequent attack on Poland made it impossible to believe any longer that "appeasement" could succeed and Great Britain and France honored their commitment to defend Poland. The decision to stop Hitler was so late in coming because

the insidiousness of wishful thinking had created such a pervasive mood of craven fear, despair and defeatism that otherwise intelligent people were able to convince themselves that an arrogant, militaristic dictator could be dissuaded from tomorrow's aggression by giving in to him today.

After World War II, the Communists took up where Hitler left off and they too immediately found allies -- some witting, some unwitting -- who came to their assistance with demands that the Free World accede to Stalin's demands to show him that he was wrong about capitalism, that he had nothing to fear from his neighbors. And so, without much protest, he was allowed to communize the semi-circle of East European states on his western borders, in a cordon sanitaire.

The example of the Greek "civil war" is instructive. Many people in the Free World insisted that the U.S. should get out of Greece, abandon the government it was committed in honor to defend, and "let the Greeks settle their internal (!) problems among themselves." The U.S., however, stood firm and when the combination of that firmness, coupled with internal problems in the Communist bloc, made the price of taking over Greece too high, international Communist support of the Greek rebels ended and the "rebellion" soon collapsed.

Then the Communists turned their attention to the Far East. In June 1950 they launched their aggression against South Korea. Again they met firmness and resolution from the Free World and when they became convinced that they were not to be allowed to take over South Korea, they called off their aggression and returned to the status quo.

Again in the autumn of 1958 the Chinese Communists decided to test the mettle of the non-Communist world. They began artillery bombardment of the Quemoy Islands off the southeast coast of China, threatened invasion and declared their intent to "liberate" Taiwan. Predictably the voices of appeasement began to cry that these "minor islands" should be evacuated and abandoned to the Red Chinese. But the U.S. stood firm and the firmness was clearly understood by the Chinese Communists. They abandoned their aggressive project.

The Chinese Communists chose India for their next testing ground and attacked the very neighbor who had been their most ardent advocate and supporter in all the controversial questions concerning Communist China. Had they not sat side by side at Bandung in 1955 and both declared their respect for the sovereignty of others and pledged non-aggression? India turned to the non-Communist world for help and was immediately assured that such help would be made available in whatever quantity required to repel the invasion. The Chinese again saw and understood that the Free World was united in determination to defend itself and another Chicom aggression project was terminated.

And now in Vietnam, the Free World is facing its most serious test since Hitler, abetted by both Stalin and Western appeasers plunged the world into war in 1939. As the seriousness of the challenge mounts, so does the hysteria of the voices of appeasement who say that Vietnam is not important to the interests of the Free World, that the Vietnamese should be allowed to settle their own "internal" problems, that it is hopeless to try to prevent Chinese domination of Southeast Asia, and that the Free World has chosen the wrong time and the wrong place to draw the line against Communist aggression. These are the same arguments that appeasers have always used; only the names and dates have been changed.

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Fact Sheet

19 July 1965

Soviets Discard Lysenko, Hail Mendel

From the 1930's until the fall of 1964, there was a rigid party line in Soviet biology. The CPSU endorsed the doctrine of I. V. Michurin (1855-1935) and Trofim Lysenko (b. 1898) that acquired characteristics can be inherited, and rejected the genetic discoveries of the Austrian Augustinian monk, Gregor Mendel (1822-1884), according to which heredity is transmitted by discrete living particles (or genes), and cannot be affected by any adaptation of a living organism to its external environment. Although Mendel's findings had been accepted by virtually all non-Communist biologists, Soviet ideologists regarded these findings as reactionary, "idealist," and contrary to Marx and Darwin. Since Mendelian genetics suggest that man cannot be transformed overnight, the ideologists argued that Mendel had provided a rationalization for the status quo; the fact that Mendel belonged to a religious order seemed to lend color to this supposition.

Lysenko, who was politically astute and unscrupulous, succeeded under Stalin in getting the authority of the CPSU for his views (unofficially in the 1930's, officially in 1948), and his opponents were dismissed from their posts, in some cases dying in the slave labor camps. There was some decline in Lysenko's status in the early post-Stalin period, but Lysenko soon gained Khrushchev's support—probably because he came out strongly in support of Khrushchev's efforts to turn the semi-arid Virgin Lands into a new source of wheat. While more reputable biologists sometimes were able quietly to do sound scientific work, the Lysenkoists, anxious to preserve their privileged position, tried to suppress all public criticism, and maintained that they alone were ideologically right and their critics ideologically wrong. Lysenkoist hacks received comfortable appointments, while non-Lysenkoists had to be content with poorer positions, or even to carry on their work at home. Lysenko himself became less active with advancing age, but his chief disciple and successor as President of the powerful All-Union Lenin Agricultural Academy, Mikhail Olshansky, defended the faith. Olshansky forced an editorial retraction and shake-up after a literary journal (Neva) published an exposition of modern genetics in 1963, and in August 1964 he printed an article in Selskaya Zhizn (Rural Life) in which he tried to pin the label of "dogmatist" on the critics of Lysenko, and suggested that they be tried for libel and slander. On 2 October 1964, in the same periodical, P. Shelest expressed horror that school botany programs had been criticized for devoting too much space to Michurin and Lysenko, and argued that the anti-Lysenkoists at a Leningrad institute contributed nothing to the national economy, implying that they should be dismissed.

With the fall of Khrushchev, things changed almost within a few days. Vladimir Dmitriyevich Dudintsev, the author of Not by Bread Alone, led the attack of the liberals with an article (Komsomolskaya Pravda, 23 October 1964) entitled "No, The Truth is Inviolable," describing the work of Nina Alexandrovna Lebedeva in the genetics of potatoes, which she had carried

on despite her inability to obtain an official position. All the leading Soviet periodicals now began publishing exposures of Lysenkoism and some writers went on to call for free scientific inquiry and debate, implying that this had been endorsed by the CPSU plenum which overthrew Khrushchev.

On 2 December, Komsomolskaya Pravda revealed to Soviet readers that during the Stalin era, Lysenko's leading opponent, N.I. Vavilov, was arrested and died "in exile" (i.e., in the camps); G.D. Karpechenko, G.A. Levitsky, K.A. Flyaksberg and L.I. Govorov suffered similar fates. Now the shoe was on the other foot, and on 27 January 1965 Lysenko lost his position as Director of the Institute of Genetics of the Academy of Sciences. The President of the Academy of Sciences, M.V. Keldysh, spoke authoritatively on 1 February 1965, indicating that the Lysenko cult was a spent force and noting the damage which had done to Soviet biology by Lysenko's influence. Olshansky was replaced early in February, and at the March plenum of the CPSU, L.I. Brezhnev declared that Lysenko's scientific and organizational work had been a failure, because of

"fallacious theories and dogmas that came into being without sufficient scientific support and that were encouraged by administrative means" (Izvestia, 27 March 1965).

In retrospect, it appears that Lysenko's doctrinal approach had long been unpopular in scientific-intellectual circles, and had only been sustained in recent years by Khrushchev's support, voiced in public as recently as December 1963.

The revolution in Soviet biology was symbolized on 25 June 1965 by a meeting in Moscow, commemorating the centennial of Mendel's first public report of his research on plant hybrids (1865). Boris L. Astaurov, a biologist, declared,

"We are not only marking today the memory of an outstanding scientist, but we are rehabilitating an entire science that he founded."

and another speaker stated that Soviet biologists would have to redouble their efforts to catch up with world research. Pravda published on 24 June an article by Academician Boris Bykhovskiy, honoring Mendel and noting that "defective theories and dogmas in biology" had delayed the progress of Soviet genetics. Soviet announcements of forthcoming publications indicate that Mendel's own writings and Soviet comment on them will shortly appear in the USSR. Other hitherto-unavailable volumes are also scheduled, including the complete works of Albert Einstein (in four volumes) and a book of writings by N. Ya. Marr, whose theories on Marxism and linguistics were rejected by Stalin in 1950 as "anti-Marxist and unscientific."

Background Materials:

Conway Zirkle, Evolution, Marxian Biology and the Social Scene (Philadelphia, 1959).

D. Joravsky, "Lysenko Affair," Scientific American 207:41-9 (November, 1962).

D.S. Greenberg, "Lysenko: Soviet Science Writes Finis to Geneticist's Domination of Nation's Biological Research," Science 147:716-17 (12 February 1965).

"Final Defeat for Comrade Lysenko," Time 85:51 (12 February 1965).