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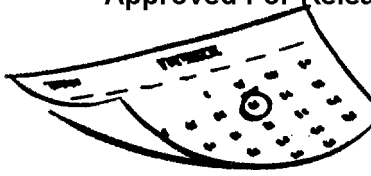
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Media Lines

SOVIETS EXPAND NEWS SERVICES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. TASS News Agency for the first time has recently stationed a correspondent in the new state of Singapore. There are unconfirmed reports that NCNA (New China News Agency) plans to do the same. NOVOSTI (APN), the other Soviet news agency, which also functions as a feature service, began offering services in Hong Kong about three months ago. NOVOSTI distributes in Hong Kong through ASAFLA News Agency (presumably for Asia-Africa-Latin America), the director of which is a Chinese of Indonesian nationality named S.K. Ong (aka Wang Hsi-chun [telecodes 3769, 6932, 6874]; aka Wong Sik-kuan, aka Ong Siek-khan), DOB circa 1913.

NEW EDITION OF THE "LARGE SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA." The new chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Publishing announced in December that a new edition of the Large Soviet Encyclopedia will be published, possibly during 1966, and that it would be shorter than previous editions. Speculation is rife that the editors have been advised to abridge coverage of the Soviet era -- both historical and biographical -- in order to avoid future embarrassments if the "official line" changes on a person (e.g., Beria, Stalin, Khrushchev) or event (e.g., Battle of Stalingrad).

SOVIET PUBLISHERS COMPLAIN OF CENSORSHIP AND OTHER DIFFICULTIES. Literary Gazette, leading Soviet intellectual review, in its issue of last November 13 carried an article, which included a strong complaint about delays caused by "checking or consultative organs" (i.e., censorship authorities), saying that these bodies were often able to delay publication of important works almost indefinitely, and recommending that Soviet laws be passed defining precisely the maximum periods during which manuscripts and books can be held by the authorities. The same review a week later also complained of the faults in the system of allocating paper for books, saying that some important works had been delayed because of paper shortages caused by printing innumerable brochures of various types which were of no great importance.



Significant Dates ▶

APR.

- 10 Easter Marches, Western Europe, circa 10 April, peace organizations traditionally demonstrate [May be focused this year on Vietnam].
- 15 African Freedom Day.
- 16 Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) established to administer 17-nation European Recovery Plan [Marshall Plan]. 1948.
- 17 Nikita Khrushchev born. 1894.
- 17 Dissolution of Communist Information Bureau [Cominform], last formal international political link of Communist Parties, announced 1956. Tenth anniversary.
- 18 Bandung Conference. 29 A-A countries call for self-determination and UN membership for all peoples. 18-27 Ap 1955.
- 22 Lenin born. 1870. (Dies 21 Jan 1924).
- 22 Chinese "Long Live Leninism" statements indict Soviet theory, challenge Khrushchev's leadership. 1960.
- 24 World Youth Day Against Colonialism and For Peaceful Coexistence. Celebrated by Communist fronts, WFDY and IUS.
- 26 Geneva Conference: agrees to armistice and partition of Vietnam; recognizes neutrality of Laos and Cambodia. Conference ends 21 July. 1954.
- 29 India and Chinese People's Republic conclude 8-year pact for "peaceful coexistence." 1954.
- 30 9th Inter-American Conference, Bogota, adopts resolution "Preservation and Defense of Democracy in America," condemning International Communism and all totalitarian forms as incompatible with American principles. Name changed to Organization of American States (OAS). 1948.

MAY

- 1 May Day -- International Workers' Day, designated by Second International (Socialist) Congress 1889.
- 1 Castro proclaims Cuba socialist nation, states no more elections will be held. 1961. Fifth anniversary.
- 2 Eighth Congress, International Federation of Journalists, Berlin, 2-7 May.
- 5 Karl Marx born. (Dies 14 March 1883.) 1818.
- 5 Commander Alan B. Shepard, Jr. USN, becomes first US sub-orbital space traveler. 1961. Fifth anniversary.
- 12 Soviet forces lift land blockade of Berlin. 1949.
- 15 Third International (Comintern) dissolved. 1943.
- 16 Treaty of Aigan, first of "Unequal Treaties" signed by China-USSR. 1858.
- 22 Charter of the Organization of Africa Unity signed at 22-25 meeting in Addis Ababa. 1963.

Briefly Noted ✓

14 March 1966

*Power
vs the
People* Castro Ignores British
Guianan Rice Offer.

In a series of exchanges since January Premier Fidel Castro has publicly charged the People's Republic of China with renegeing on a trade agreement and thereby forcing him to cut the Cuban people's rice ration in half. [See BPG #986.] While it appeared likely that the mutual public re- criminations would cause diplo- matic relations to be broken, Cuba's Ambassador has returned to Peking.

Castro also denounced certain countries in the free world for boycotting trade with Cuba while continuing to trade with the CPR -- because it was a more important customer.

But Georgetown's Sunday Chronicle (27 February) reported that the British Guiana government (no friend of communist Cuba), was concerned with the plight of the Cuban people and had offered to sell rice to Castro. However, Castro had not told the Cuban peo- ple of this offer, nor had he re- sponded with a purchase offer. The same report points out that when defeated Marxist and former prime minister Cheddi Jagan visited Cuba, he supported Castro's call for armed struggles in Latin Amer- ica and made no attempt to inform the people that British Guiana would sell them rice.

The article asks: "What kind of politics is Communism when it

will stand by and see the people go hungry and ignore the benefits for all in buying our rice?"

[See Briefly Noted below on Castro's latest official statement to the UN on his right to export revolution to Latin America.]

* * *

*Defies
Latin
America* Castro Letter to U Thant

As a result of the state- ments made at the Tri- Continent Conference in Havana, January 1966, and the estab- lishment at that Conference of a Committee to Aid the National Lib- eration Movements, 18 member nations of the Organization of American States (excepting only Mexico) addressed a letter (10 Feb 66) to the Security Council of the United Nations pro- testing against this blatant inter- ference in their internal affairs.

This provoked an almost incredi- ble letter from Fidel Castro to U Thant, Secretary General of the UN, in which he denounced all the signers of the OAS protest as "miserable lackeys" of Yankee imperialism. He averred that "the peoples of the Latin Ameri- can countries that those governments claim to represent are mercilessly plundered by U.S. monopolies. The peo- ples under those governments have a right - which they will exercise sooner or later - to sweep out those govern- ments, which are traitors, and serve foreign interests in their own coun- tries, and they will sweep them out with the most violent revolutionary action, because imperialist exploitation

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and oppression is exercised increasingly by means of force, violence and arms, and no other possible choice is left. To proclaim the right of those peoples ... is not an act of intervention, but rather the struggle against intervention. It is not just to confuse the spirit of independence with interventionism."

Not surprisingly, the letter provoked a storm of protest throughout Latin America, since it served to confirm the apprehensions which the Havana Conference had already aroused. The text of Castro's letter is attached for further documentation of the actual intentions of Communism for Latin America and of "National Liberation" movements generally.

* * *

Soviets
Can't Caricaturist Censored
Stand for Cartoon
Criticism

Helsingin Sanomat, the largest and most respected of Finland's newspapers, carried a cartoon by the very talented and very irreverent caricaturist "Kari" in its edition of 26 January 1966. The cartoon poked fun at the 10th anniversary celebration of the return of the Porkkala area to Finnish possession (it had been leased to the Soviets for 50 years at the end of World War II at their demand), questioning whether there was any real reason to celebrate the Soviet gesture.

Obviously spurred by a complaint from the Soviet Embassy in Helsinki, the Finnish Foreign Minister, Dr. Ahti Karjalainen, wrote a strong letter to the executive editor of the newspaper in which he stated, "As foreign minister, I regard it as my duty sharply

to condemn the manner in which the Helsingin Sanomat has behaved in this matter." He asserted that the cartoon conflicted with the best interests of the nation, and accused its author of willfully harming Finland's friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

As may be seen by the copy of the cartoon which is included as an attachment, it was quite innocuous by free world standards. That the Soviets should complain about it is a measure not only of their obsessive desire to stifle criticism of any sort, but also of their plain boorishness ... points which might well be made by replay of the cartoon and its brief history. [We do not cast aspersions on the Finnish government].

* * *

Soviet
Diplo- Support of Liberation
matic Struggle
Dilemma

Soviet association with the aggressive calls for revolution in Latin America, Africa and Asia issued in January at the Havana Tri-continent Conference have brought widespread reaction in Latin America. On the heels of the 2 February OAS resolution condemning "the open participation ... of official or officially-sponsored delegations of member states of the UN [in violation of the principles of the UN Charter and UN Resolution 2131 (XX), 21 December 1965]...", Uruguay was reported to be considering a break with Moscow. Uruguay queried the Soviets through diplomatic channels whether Soviet chief delegate Rashidov's interventionist statements at Havana were made in the name of the Soviet government. The Soviet reply to the Uruguayan

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note, and elsewhere in Latin America where officially confronted, evidences cautious attempts to dissociate the Soviet government from the militant resolutions and speeches of the Conference, particularly from Rashidov's statement. The Soviet reply pointed out that the delegation to Havana represented "Soviet social organizations" rather than the Soviet government; and reportedly also that Soviet officials explained that Rashidov "merely stated a personal political position." In effect, while told that delegates represented Soviet "social organizations," their positions correspond with Soviet policy, which "officially" respects sovereignty of all nations; however, if peoples are "oppressed" by colonialism, neocolonialism or imperialism -- terms that offer great latitude for interpretation --, the Soviet Union, as spearhead of world revolution, does intervene. In other words, there is no disparity between Rashidov's statements in Havana and Soviet foreign policy as outlined in the recent past by government officials, a fact that Soviet diplomatic and public disclaimers have attempted to circumvent with clever phraseology and ploys, always mindful of not alienating Afro-Asians and Latin Americans or exposing themselves to harsh comment from Peking.

Some of the Soviet delegates to the Tri-continent Conference do belong to Soviet social, cultural or international front organizations, entities which are said to reflect the views of the Soviet people. Other Soviets present in Havana have in the past engaged in high level official and non-official activities which are so complementary and coincident in time that

it is difficult to imagine that they do not at least overlap. Sharif Rashidov's career is most illustrative of this point. (See unclassified attachments.) Our emphasis remains on demonstrating Soviet complicity in promoting subversion and their attempts to pacify and mislead friendly governments which are Soviet targets of subversion.

* * *

Double Standards in Soviet Media

The 23rd CPSU Congress

The 23rd CPSU Congress is still scheduled to convene 29 March, shortly after this Guidance will be received, and there is little evidence of what to expect beyond that discussed in our two preliminary BPG items on the subject, Nos. 976 and 985. A brief plenum session on 19 Feb "approved" the draft 5-year plan for presentation to the Congress. As anticipated, it is scaled down considerably from the grandiose 20-year project included in the 3rd Party Program by the 22nd Congress.

Washington Post staff writer Rosenfeld on February 26th drew attention to a "stunning discrepancy" between the TASS International Service English-language summary of the draft plan and the Russian text broadcast by Radio Moscow domestic service: the summary included -- and the Russian text omitted -- a pledge "to introduce everywhere (by 1970) a monthly guaranteed remuneration for work of collective farmers, corresponding to the level of wages for state-farm workers." R. points out that this is not only a radical economic proposal but also a political hot potato and speculates that the last-minute switch indicates

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(Briefly Noted Cont.)

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conflict in the Kremlin. (See R. article in Press Comment, 1 March 1966.)

The Russian text also omits the summary's statement that the 1970 target for average non-farm wages is 114 rubles/month (compared with 95 in 1965 and 90 in 1964).

Propagandists can play up Rosenfeld's suggestion of conflict in the Kremlin -- or they might play these cases as samples of double standards in Soviet media: i.e., these attractive features are advertised to the outside world for maximum international propaganda advantage, but the Soviet leadership is so doubtful whether they can be realized that it does not disclose such promises to the Soviet people who might be more likely to remember and count on them.

PROPAGANDIST'S GUIDE to COMMUNIST DISSENSIONS



Commentary

#73

16 Feb-1 Mar 1966

Principal Developments:

1. The Ambassadors of several non-Communist countries in Peking are reporting to their governments around 1 March that the Chinese have notified the Soviet and East European Communist governments that no further overflights of supplies to Hanoi will be permitted, that war material can be shipped by rail through China to Vietnam, but all other supplies will have to be sent by sea. The Moscow correspondent of Belgrade Borba reports Soviet opinion that Peking wants to avoid a political settlement in Vietnam "at any price," to prolong the warfare and spread it to "the other countries of Indochina and make it the cause of a worldwide conflict."
2. The Poles expel the Albanian Ambassador on charges of distributing anti-state propaganda in Poland ("not for the first time") and enabling a (pro-Chinese dissident) Polish citizen to escape by providing him with an Albanian diplomatic passport. The Albanians totally deny the charges, call the Polish action a retaliation for Albanian refusal to attend the Gomulka-proposed Communist meeting in Warsaw "under pressure of the Soviet revisionist government" (see #72), and expel the Polish Ambassador (who had just been appointed on 28 January, in an apparent move to normalize relations after Poland had been represented in Tirana by only a Charge d'Affaires since Soviet-Albanian break in 1961).
3. Peking's major polemic of the period is a bitterly defensive People's Daily rebuttal to Castro's 6 February charges of Chinese pressure and subversion tactics against Cuba. NCNA precedes the PD rebuttal by publicizing a sharp attack on the Castro speech ("which must have warmed the hearts of Kосygin and Johnson -- present-day patrons of Castro!") by pro-Chinese dissident Ceylonese Communist Sanmugathan. NCNA also publicizes polemics from the pro-Chinese dissident Australian Communist organ Vanguard, including the charge that the Soviet leaders are joining with the U.S. imperialists in attacks on China "to prepare for war against China."
4. As the USSR and Mongolia ratify the new treaty of alliance negotiated during the January Brezhnev visit (#70), the Western press tells of reports reaching Moscow of the dispatch of 2 or 3 Soviet Army divisions into Mongolia because of Chinese troop concentration across the border, (Feb 25). Another Western correspondent, citing reports from Bucharest, tells of Chinese refusal to extradite defectors from the USSR -- Bessarabians deported to Soviet Central Asia when the USSR annexed their homeland from Rumania in 1945 -- on the ground that Russia had failed to extradite Chinese refugees to Soviet territory as required by the agreement they signed in 1951. The Chinese reportedly permitted the Bessarabians to contact the Rumanian Embassy in Peking for assistance.

5. The organs of 12 CPs in Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere condemn or deplore the harsh Soviet sentence on writers Sinyavsky and Daniel. (See BPG Item #996)
6. The North Vietnamese circumspectly avoid any mention of Sino-Soviet dissensions during a visit of the Miyamoto-led delegation of the Chinese-aligned Japanese CP.
7. A Reuters report (Chrono, Feb. 21) that Chou En-lai will visit Rumania in March is given some off-the-record confirmation by several East European diplomats, who add that the visit will also include Albania.
8. The 10th anniversary of the 20th CPSU Congress is largely ignored by Soviet media and most ruling parties. Pravda acknowledges it only "in passing" in a Feb. 26 editorial pegged to the 23rd Congress: in addition to the Polish and Yugoslav tributes described in #72, we have seen only a less enthusiastic endorsement in the provincial Czechoslovak Communist organ Bratislava Pravda.

Significance:

The extent of the transformation of international Communism's internecine warfare from ideological argumentation to national power conflicts is dramatically demonstrated by the line-up of principal developments described above. The only event of truly great ideological significance -- the 10th anniversary of the 20th CPSU Congress, which (in addition to the more spectacular launching of de-Stalinization) drastically revised the official Soviet interpretation of the Marxist-Leninist scriptures and set in motion the trends and chain reactions which have led to today's disarray in the ICM -- is almost ignored by most of the Communist parties and states, -- which seem to be largely preoccupied with the evidence that the Soviet and Chinese protagonists are moving inexorably toward an open break.

Further divergent reports on Soviet plans for trying to convene an international Communist meeting in connection with the 23rd CPSU Congress leave the prospects still completely obscure, -- with evidence that most Communists are almost as much in the dark as the non-Communist world.

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CHRONOLOGY

#73

16 February-1 March 1966

February 14 (delayed): NCNA Peking describes an article in "the latest issue" of "the Argentine journal No Transar, organ of the Communist vanguard group of Argentina," on the theme that "the Soviet revisionists have betrayed the national liberation movement of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples in order to materialize their criminal designs of cooperation with the U.S."

February 16-23: The organs of 12 CPs in Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere condemn or deplore the harsh Soviet sentence on writers Sinyavsky and Daniel.

February 17: Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat official spokesman Blagojevic condemns the "harsh, unfounded, and unprovoked attack on Yugoslavia and its foreign policy" by Cuban Party organ Granma (see #72, Feb. 13), asking: "Who and what is this intended to serve?"

February 17 and continuing: The top-level Japanese CP delegation which has been visiting ComChina (see #72, Feb. 10 & continuing) flies from Canton to Hanoi on the 17th "for a friendship visit to the DRV." Vietnamese editorials and statements and the joint communique avoid mention of the dissensions in the ICM, but delegation head, SecyGen Miyamoto, at a "grand meeting" on the 19th, pledges to "fight against the main danger, modern revisionism, to be vigilant against dogmatism, sectarianism, and, at the same time, to work for the real unity of the ICM."

The delegation leaves Hanoi on the 27th and arrives Peking on 28th: at a banquet that evening Miyamoto exults that "the militant friendship between the JCP and the CCP had withstood all tests in the struggle against imperialism, reactionaries of all countries, and modern revisionism." (See also Feb. 24 for Sankei report.)

February 19: A brief plenum of the CPSU/CC approves the draft directives for the 23rd CPSU Congress on the 1966-70 5-year plan. Observers point out that, although the plan seems to indicate a modest improvement in living standards, it falls far short of the grandiose forecasts of the 3rd Party Program approved by the 22nd Congress. Nothing is released about any discussion of problems in the ICM.

A commentary in Belgrade Borba by its Moscow correspondent says:

"It is considered in Moscow that China neither wants nor is able to extend efficient assistance to the DRV to enable its protection from U.S. bombers. However, Peking is keenly interested in a long-lasting war in Vietnam and in avoiding a political solution at any price.... Peking is likewise interested in spreading the Vietnam war to other countries of Indochina and making it the cause of a worldwide conflict."

February 21: TASS announces that:

"Discussions of the draft directives of the 23rd CPSU Congress on the 5-year plan... have started in party organizations, at meetings of working people and in the press. Beginning today a special section is being introduced in Pravda in which articles, letters, notes, and other material containing proposals and comments for the draft directives will be published...."

NCNA reports from Colombo on a 10 February press release by "N. Sanmugathasan, member of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Ceylon CP/CC," which was published in Kamkaruwa on 18 Feb. under the title: "Castro Joins Anti-Chinese Chorus." S. is quoted as saying:

"Cuba has for some time been drifting rapidly down the path of revisionism -- propelled down this path by Soviet aid amounting to 1 million rubles per day.... Castro, of course, had to pay the price for this peaceful coexistence. He had to attack the common enemy of both U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism...."

Now Castro has resorted to vituperatives -- without any facts. How this speech must have warmed the hearts of Kosygin and Johnson -- present-day patrons of Castro! ...

The extent of degree to which Cuba has departed from the revolutionary path can be gauged not only from the exit from the Cuban political scene of one of its foremost leaders, E. Che Guevara, but also of other foreign political refugees who had found asylum in Cuba and who now find political climate the inconvenient...."

Reuters reports from Vienna: "Well-informed Hungarian sources said in Budapest today that Premier Chou En-lai of Communist China would visit Rumania early in March.... The sources attached little special significance to the visit, suggesting that it was merely a 'demonstration of Rumania's independence from the Soviet Union.'"

February 21-22: NCNA on the 21st claims that "the study of Mao Tse-tung's writings in China today is taking on an unprecedented mass character and developing in depth." On the 22nd it reveals that "a lively exchange of experience on the study of Mao Tse-tung's writings took place at a 9-day conference attended by 1,500 people that ended here last weekend.... (It) is one of many now being convened in the urban and rural areas of the country as the study of Mao Tse-tung's writings develops in depth." Non-Communist observers see the Chinese leadership seriously concerned about the danger of revisionism developing within China.

February 22: Peking People's Daily publishes the full text of "Cuban Premier Fidel Castro's 6 Feb. anti-Chinese statement," together with an editor's note which includes passages such as the following:

"In the midst of the concerted attacks on China by the imperialists headed by the U.S., the reactionaries of all countries, and the Khrushchev revisionists, the Cuban Premier, Fidel Castro, has added his voice to the anti-China chorus....

Premier Castro lets loose a torrent of vicious abuse against the CPR.... He accuses China of 'dishonesty,' 'cynicism,' 'bad faith,' 'perfidy,' (etc.).... A big country should not bully a small one, or vice versa; both should abide by principle and reason. Premier Castro is utterly unreasonable when he incites anti-Chinese feelings on the pretext of China's rice exports to Cuba and its distribution of printed matter in Cuba.... Premier Castro has arbitrarily laid at China's door the blame for the 'grave difficulties' Cuba had encountered in the economic field. This way of shifting the blame onto others is far from clever.... ...Premier Castro has gone very far down the road of opposition to China. People will wait and see how much further he is prepared to go....

We have not so far given a systematic reply to Premier Castro's anti-Chinese statements. We reserve our right to do so.

Premier Castro's statement of 6 February is useful material. We are publishing it here in full and are broadcasting it to the world in various languages. We hope that the Chinese people and the people of Latin America and other parts of the world will read it, ponder over the problems it raises, and draw their own conclusions."

Simultaneously with the release of the above by NCNA on the 21st, Izvestiya stresses Soviet complete unity and friendship with Cuba, emphasizing its agreement to boost its trade with Cuba by 20%.

February 22 and 24: NCNA Peking publicizes an article entitled "Anti-China Campaign in Full Swing" from a February issue of Vanguard, organ of the pro-Chinese dissident CP of Australia (M-L). It includes the charge that "the Soviet revisionists are just as violent as the U.S. imperialists in their anti-China campaign. They conduct their anti-China campaign dressed up in Communist language. It is a dirtier campaign for that, but it is the same campaign." Another NCNA Peking release on the 24th describes an article from the "February Vol 3 No. 4 issue" of Vanguard (not clear whether this is the same as above) which includes the assertion:

"Why, too, do the Soviet leaders join with the U.S. imperialists in attacks upon China? Whatever the motive (and we say it is the same), it has the same result -- to prepare for war against China."

February 23: Ulan Bator MONTSAME announces the publication Mongolia of an illustrated book, Friendship Solid As Steel, on the Brezhnev-led Soviet

party-government delegation visit to Mongolia.

February 23 and 25: Warsaw news agency PAP releases the following communique:

"Slanderous and anti-state publications and materials have been circulated throughout Poland in recent weeks. It has been established that these materials, which have not appeared for the first time, were printed in Albania this time, too.

It has been established in the last few days that the Albanian Embassy went so far as to provide Kazimierz Mijal, a Polish citizen, with an Albanian diplomatic passport, issued in the name of an Albanian citizen who had stayed in Poland from 8 to 15 February this year. Using this passport, Kazimierz Mijal left Poland illegally.

As this activity of the Albanian Embassy constitutes a violation of the principles of international law and good practice, as well as a violation of the law and order in force in the Polish People's Republic, the Polish Govt has recognized the further stay in Poland of the Ambassador of the Albanian People's Republic, Koco Prifiti, as undesirable."

On the 25th, Tirana releases the text of an Albanian Foreign Ministry note to the Polish Government which rejects the Polish charges as "groundless and purposely created by the Polish Govt"; ties them to the 11 February Albanian open letter to the Polish Party rejecting its initiative toward calling a meeting of Warsaw Pact and Asian socialist countries (#72) "under pressure of the Soviet revisionist government"; and demands that the Polish Ambassador to Albania, Stanislaw Rogulski, be removed as persona non grata.

February 24: Tokyo newspaper Sankei reports "information confirmed by public security officials" to the effect that the Miyamoto-led JCP delegation touring China and Vietnam is scheduled to visit the USSR to attend the 23rd CPSU Congress. It interprets the JCP decision as meaning that "the JCP has reached an important turning point in deciding that the party should adopt its own "independent" policy -- independent of either the USSR or China.

February 25: Albanian Zeri I Popullit attacks Soviet UN Delegate Fedorenko's letter to U Thant proposing an April session of the UN Committee on the Definition of Aggression as deceitful, another link in "the long chain of demagogical and perfidious acts by the revisionist Soviet leaders."

A London Observer article by Lajos Lederer, citing news from Bucharest, describes Chinese refusal to extradite a number of defectors from the Soviet Union on the ground that Russia failed to extradite Chinese defectors who fled to Soviet Siberia and Kazakhstan. The escapees

from the Soviet Union are reportedly Bessarabians who were exiled there when the USSR annexed that territory from Rumania in 1945, and the Chinese allowed them to contact the Rumanian Embassy in Peking to ask for help to return to Rumania. The USSR and China signed an extradition agreement in 1951.

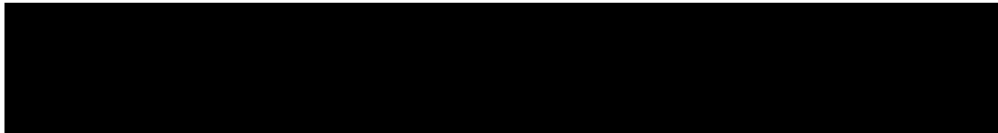
Reporting on the ratification of the new Soviet-Mongolian treaty of alliance, AP Moscow says that unconfirmed reports have reached Moscow that two or three Soviet Army divisions have entered Mongolia because of Chinese military concentrations across the border.

February 26: The only Soviet acknowledgement of the 10th anniversary of the 20th CPSU Congress, as far as we are aware, comes in an "in passing" endorsement in the text of a Pravda editorial pegged to the 23rd CPSU Congress. (Zagreb Vjesnik's Moscow correspondent Bilic on the 28th pointedly comments that the anniversary would have been ignored in the USSR but for this Pravda reference.) Yugoslav and Polish tributes on the anniversary were described in #72 (Feb 9, 15): we have seen only one more acknowledgement -- a signed article by Ondrej Klokoc in the organ of the Slovakian branch of the Czechoslovak Party, Bratislava Pravda, on Feb. 11. He generally endorses it, but regrets that measures against the "cult of J.V. Stalin's personality" concentrated attention on itself and "made many people in our country understand the 20th Congress more or less one-sidedly." Warning of pressure developed by imperialist propaganda for speedier de-Stalinization in the socialist countries, he writes: "In our country ... the enemy plays this tune with special emphasis, since he knows of our weakness -- our trend to 'humanize' M-L... and to revive 'our traditional Czechoslovak democratism' of the Masaryk-Benes brand...."

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ENCOURAGING EVIDENCE OF BRAZILIAN RECOVERY

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SITUATION: The second anniversary of the Brazilian Revolution (to be celebrated on 31 March) will soon be at hand and this provides a convenient peg for stimulating propoganda favorable to the achievements of the government of President Humberto Castello Branco. Such propoganda is particularly necessary since the government itself is seemingly disinterested in obtaining a "good press" and apparently satisfied to let accomplishments speak for themselves. A further argument for stimulating favorable treatment is that press coverage tends to focus on sensational developments in Brazil, particularly any indications that the revolution is going astray; this tends to eclipse less remarkable, though fundamentally more important information such as the improvement in the foreign trade balance. Finally, current Brazilian developments require, above all, historical perspective. It is essential to recall the legacy of the Kubitschek, Quadros, and especially the Goulart regimes and the chaotic economic, political and social conditions which sparked the Revolution, in order to comprehend the motives and actions of the present government.

The most notable positive achievements of the Castello Branco government lie in the field of economic stabilization. On the domestic front, inflation has been cut from a projected annual rate of over 140% in early 1964 to 45% in 1965, with hopes of a further reduction in 1966. The austerity program has resulted in a substantial reduction of the budget deficit once financed by large inflationary new currency issuances. Major administrative reforms are being undertaken, including in the autonomous government agencies such as the Federal railroads, merchant marine, etc., subsidies to which formerly absorbed more than one-half of the budget deficit. Efforts are successfully being made to hold down large wage and price increases, improve tax collections and limit credit.

The stabilization program has been accompanied by an extensive economic reform and development plan, including reforms of the tax, capital market, and banking systems. Agrarian reform is intended to increase agricultural output and assist in the redistribution of land not in productive use. Improvements in education, health, housing and working conditions are also programmed. Major emphasis is being placed on more rapid economic growth and after two years of stagnation, the rate of growth in 1965 reached 5%.

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The government has taken various positive steps to encourage a resumption of private foreign investment which virtually halted under Goulart. Recent announcements by Ford, Volkswagen, Union Carbide, Hanna Mining, Gulf Oil, Phillips, and other major foreign companies indicate that international confidence in Brazil's ability to put its economic affairs in order under sound management is increasing.

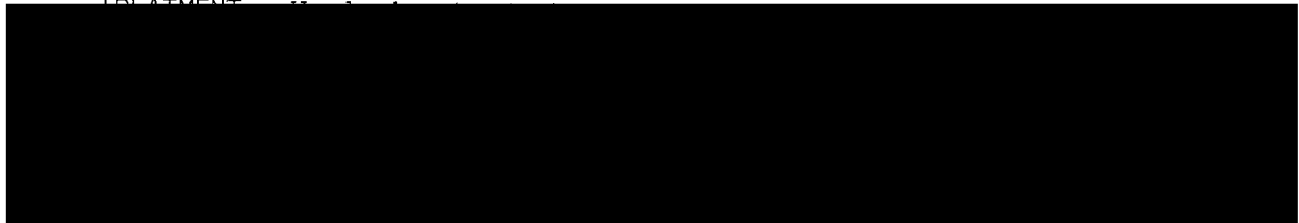
The revolutionary government has instituted a series of political reforms which seem to have received less criticism on the home front than abroad. The old political party system of 13 or more groupings has been abolished and an effort is being made to concentrate their adherents into two or three major parties which would be more broadly based and less representative of narrow factional interests. Elections of the President and of state governors in 1966 will now be indirect, that is by the national and state legislatures rather than direct, as in the past. Direct elections for the Federal Congress and the State legislatures are scheduled for November 15. The government has acquired the power to recess the Congress for periods up to six months in the event of serious internal strife (this is a temporary measure which expires at the termination of the present government). In the first months of the revolution 300 persons were deprived of their political rights for a period of 10 years; these were persons accused of corruption, Communism, or supporting the anti-democratic initiatives of the Goulart regime.

Elections are scheduled for the Fall of this year and President Castello Branco will step down in March 1967. During the remaining year of his regime many other problems remain to be solved; these include implementation of the agrarian reform bill, building and staffing an extensive school system, raising the literacy level, extending the road system into the hinterlands, raising the level of real wages, and countering a resurgent nationalism. As may be seen, these problems essentially revolve around the establishment of economic stability and then renewed economic growth; without them there can be no political solution.

A further point of concern is the nature of the government which will be elected next Fall and installed the following March. The degree to which this new government continues the general policies of the present regime, and the degree to which it eschews military dictatorship, are questions of considerable concern. The current front-running candidate is War Minister Artur de Costa e Silva, a professional soldier, whose principal present base of power is the military. Informed observers are not entirely sanguine that he would readily adapt himself to the role of civilian leader of a civilian government.

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TREATMENT



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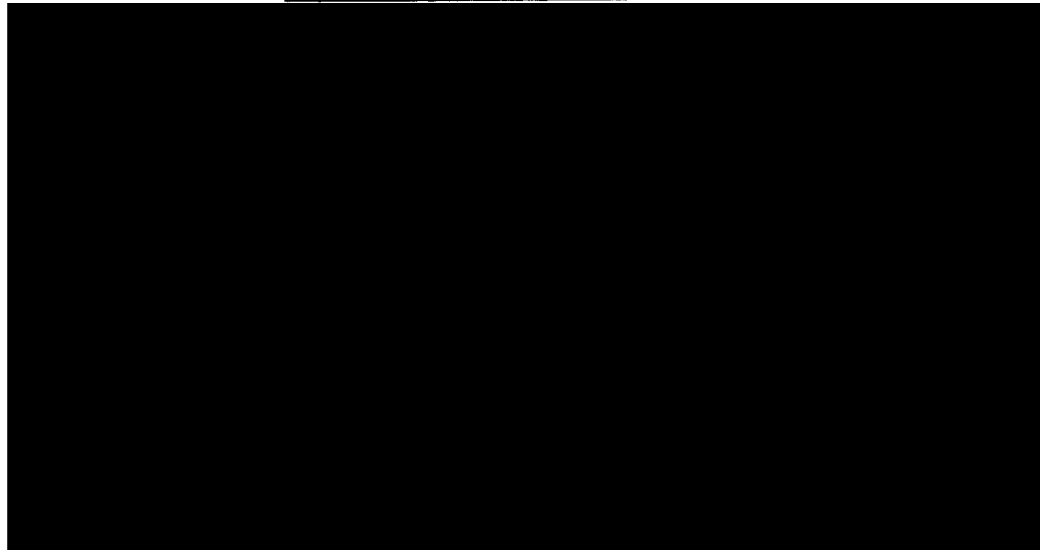
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996.

SINYAVSKY-DANIEL CASE

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SITUATION: Voluminous reporting of the Sinyavsky-Daniel (S-D) case* recorded first the reaction of non-bloc intellectuals, then a broad spectrum of world opinion, and finally the leaders or media of at least 12 non-bloc CP's. Non-bloc concern focused on the issue of freedom and justice; prominent intellectuals tried to get Soviet leaders to release S and D who, since mid-September 1965, had been held incommunicado, probably without counsel, and with no charges preferred against them. Most of the CP's spoke out after the trial: their main concern was that the S-D case would affect adversely their own positions. The attachment and referenced articles in Press Comment 1 Mar 66 provide abundant details on the case: we will deal here largely with facts and speculation about aspects of the case which are given little coverage elsewhere, viz., internal Soviet politics, problems with youth, legal aspects, and coincidental developments in other bloc countries.

The Soviet leaders were clearly aware of the crescendo of foreign concern over the S-D case; yet they permitted a patently rigged trial, resulting in near-maximum sentences on 14 Feb. Domestic considerations, therefore, appear to have been paramount. Inasmuch as earlier intensifications of the struggle between the intellectuals and the regime usually coincided with increasing difficulties for the regime, it is assumed that the S-D case is a current symptom of such difficulties.

*S and D were charged with producing anti-Soviet propaganda. Their works were published in the West under the respective noms-de-plume of Tertz and Arzhak.

In the realm of politics, severe struggles are suggested by a survey of intellectual questions in the Soviet press between March and September 1965. Most revealing was the sharp exchange in August and September between: a) Komsomol chief Sergey Pavlov [a Shelepin protégé who was linked to the S-D case by a prominent Soviet author (LOU)] and b) former chief Pravda editor Aleksey Rumyantsev, over the issue of permissible approaches to sociological and ideological problems. Pavlov won, and continued to propound the hard line on culture and a tolerant attitude towards Stalin. Rumyantsev, who had vigorously defended the liberal authors, was removed from his post some time between 9 and 21 September. (The generally accepted date of the arrest of S and D is 13 September.) It is suggested, on this basis, that if any top Soviet leader was the victor in the S-D case, it was Shelepin.

A subsequent political victory for Shelepin is suggested by the sentences. Just before the trial P.N. Demichev, a candidate for the presidium with responsibility for ideological questions, assured Westerners in Moscow that the sentences of S and D would be light. (Tarsis stated in London that, according to Moscow rumor of early February, S would get 3 years and D would get 2 years). The harshness of the actual sentences (7 and 5 years) indicates that an earlier decision has been reversed. A harsh sentence would be in keeping with the castigation of authors by Pavlov.

In cultural matters, the enduring problems of the ideologically "correct" up-bringing of youth appear to have become increasingly significant in recent years. This is evidenced by the deep involvement in the S-D case of Pavlov, whose Komsomol embraces the 14- to 26-year age group. Pavlov's chief complaint about the influence of the undesired kind of literature is that it estranges youth from a communist world outlook and from a clear, precise idea of communist ideology, and that it interferes with the ability of Soviet youth to objectively analyze real life and hold correct ideological positions. But Pavlov makes only feeble efforts to find a way to realize his ideological aims. (See attached translation of article, which details other regime problems with youth.) Furthermore, the outcome of the S-D case is hardly conducive to the production of the "right" kind of literature for Soviet youth. Nor can the recently published praise of the terror-tainted Zhdanov (see attachment) be expected to inspire Soviet authors to fulfill Pavlov's prescription. The Soviets may succeed in restricting unbridled creative writing. But they have given no evidence that they are preparing an effective program of ideological guidance for youth.

The persistence of other vexing problems -- economic, foreign affairs -- has probably tried the patience of the Soviet leaders. They may well have been tempted to take a Stalinist short-cut in dealing with S and D. Whatever their motivation, the leaders appeared to pay no heed to the substantial post-Stalin efforts of Soviet jurists who had attempted to reform the seriously deficient Soviet legal system.

The legal aspects of the S-D case have drawn sharp criticism throughout the world. These aspects include: the long pre-trial incarceration incommunicado; the prejudicial attacks on S and D in the Government press before the trial; the limited access to the trial (no foreigners; 70 invited spectators, some of whom laughed heartily at the defendants' responses); the vagueness of the charges; the reported surprise call on S to submit his plea a day or 2 before scheduled; the failure of the Soviet court to furnish proof of guilt to the public; the harshness of the sentences, from which no appeal is permitted.

For a comparison of reports of the trial with the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, the article by Harvard's Professor Berman is by far the most useful and thorough. (see Press Comment 1 March 66) Berman stresses the Code's critical requirement that there be "convincing proof of a direct intent -- a special purpose -- knowingly to defame the Soviet system and to weaken Soviet authority." The British CP chief, John Gollan, criticizing the trial, concluded: "Justice should not only be done but should be seen to be done. Unfortunately, this cannot be said in the case of this trial." (see Press Comment 1 March 66)

General foreign reaction has been more voluminous and harsher than expected. The vast majority of leftist intellectuals have protested individually or collectively: in some countries, the communists were virtually the only ones not participating in the protest.

The pressures of anti-Soviet feeling generated by the S-D case were evidently more than the CP's of many countries could stand. Therefore a totally unexpected round of protests was issued by the leaders or appeared in the CP media of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, UK, France, Italy, Austria, Uruguay, US, Iceland, Chile. A theme running through most of the CP protests was that the Soviets' actions were indirectly injurious to the CP in the non-communist country. Little sympathy was spent, however, on the plight of the 2 defendants.

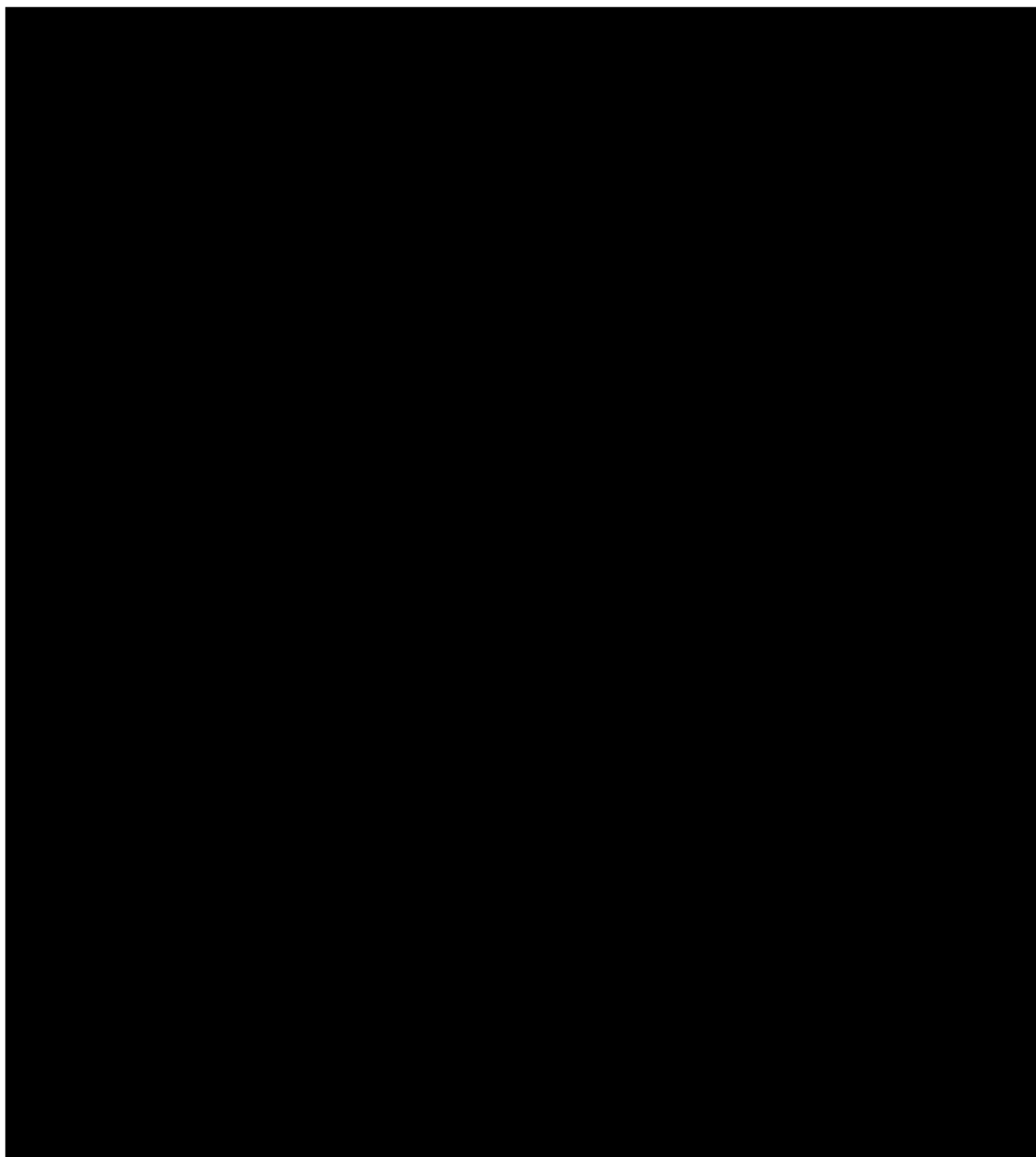
During the time that the S-D case was developing, signs of cultural suppression appeared in 5 other bloc countries, too: Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Rumania. A relationship between these events can only be speculated on. Some of the highlights of the events in the bloc were:

- a suppression of journals formerly used by young, creative writers in Czechoslovakia;
- the arrest of a poet and attacks on creative artists in East Germany;
- attacks on abstract art by the party in Rumania;
- questioning of the relationship of Marxism and the individual (within Polish party circles) and a legal case involving the smuggling of manuscripts out of Poland;

-- a clear warning to Hungarian writers to stay within the prescribed bounds.

In more than one of the countries, there was clear-cut evidence of a reversal of policy, of a step backwards to more restrictions on the expressions of creative intellectuals. Further details are given in the attachments.

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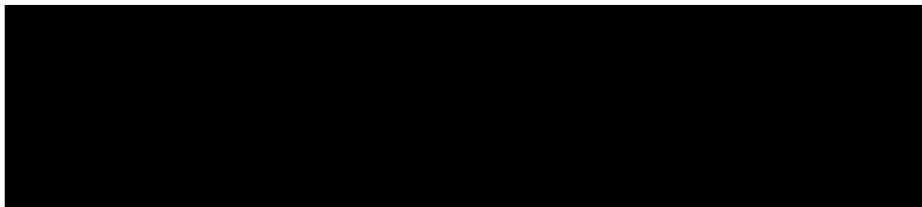
14 March 1966

997.

THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS:

Stockholm, 5-8 May 1966

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SITUATION: The Socialist International (S.I.), headquartered in London, will hold its bi-annual Congress in Stockholm, Sweden, from 5 to 8 May, 1966. The Congress is the highest forum of the International, in which -- as of 1959, the latest available world-wide statistics -- 39 socialist parties are either members or observers. (The now near-inactive Asian Socialist Conference, headquartered in Rangoon, Burma, has in the past cooperated closely with the S.I. and the Latin American Bureau of the S.I., headquartered in Uruguay is an affiliated organization.) As of 1959, these parties represented a total electorate of 66 million voters, owned 175 daily newspapers in 12 languages and published 154 periodicals.

The S.I. represents the forces of organized Democratic Socialism throughout the world. The Socialist Parties are non-Communist and indeed have reason, based on their history, to oppose and fear Communist interference and infiltration. They represent a substantial segment of labor and leftist thought outside the Communist world. Their influence in most countries in Europe, the Near East, and in some non-Communist Asian and Latin American countries is considerable. Their achievements are particularly notable in Western Europe, while in Japan, Burma, India and Ceylon they have also carried marked weight. The S.I., and the parties of which it is composed, reflect the genuine meaning of Socialism: the gradual socialization of the principal means of production, by consent and compensation (rather than by compulsion) and by constitutional (parliamentary) action through constructive evolutionary processes (rather than by violent revolution and confiscation); this as opposed to the Soviet and Peking misconstruction of the term which identifies Socialism as the dictatorship of the proletariat through revolution against and destruction of the existing social, political and economic order to be replaced by Communist leadership. For detailed background on the S.I., see unclassified attachment.

As reported in the Socialist International Information (S.I.I.) of 18 Dec. 1965, the 9 December Bureau meeting of the S.I. in Vienna made final arrangements for the Congress and for the preceding special conference. S.I.I. reported that "the theme of the special conference will be 'Democratic Socialist thought and action in the new countries.' This special conference will be of private character, but the same theme will

be discussed at the Congress, which will also discuss the international situation, the integration of Europe, and disarmament. Provisions will also be made for the discussion of the problem of future liaison in the Asia-Oceania area, to respond to the desire of the parties in the area and aiming at a final discussion of the problem at a meeting point in Asia at the end of 1966."

The S.I.I. also reported that the Disarmament Commission of the S.I. Will prepare a draft of resolutions for consideration by the various parties as a policy document at the Stockholm Congress. -- No additional information on the agenda of the Congress is available at this writing.

While information on the Congress agenda is sparse, there is reason to assume that the Stockholm Congress may become marked by attacks on U.S. foreign policy -- despite the fact that the majority of the parties affiliated with the S.I. have always been staunchly anti-Communist and generally friendly, or at least objective, toward the U.S. These are likely to include first and foremost, U.S. policy on Vietnam, but presumably also U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic, U.S. opposition to the admission of Communist China to the U.N., the civil rights issue in the U.S., the alleged "persecution" of the anti-Vietnam "movement" in the U.S., the maintenance of military bases abroad (in Japan in particular), and others. Concern over escalation of the war in Vietnam could produce a critical attitude by the current Congress toward U.S. policy with left-wing parties, such as the Japanese SP, being among the leaders condemning U.S. policy. Even moderate European Social Democratic parties, like the Scandinavian, motivated partly by fear of escalation of the Vietnamese conflict into a general war, and feeling pacifist and Communist pressures at home could become increasingly critical. Cooperation of the French SP with the Communists against DeGaulle in the recent Presidential election, and similar "pro-Popular Front" trends elsewhere, may further dilute the traditional anti-Communist position of the S.I.

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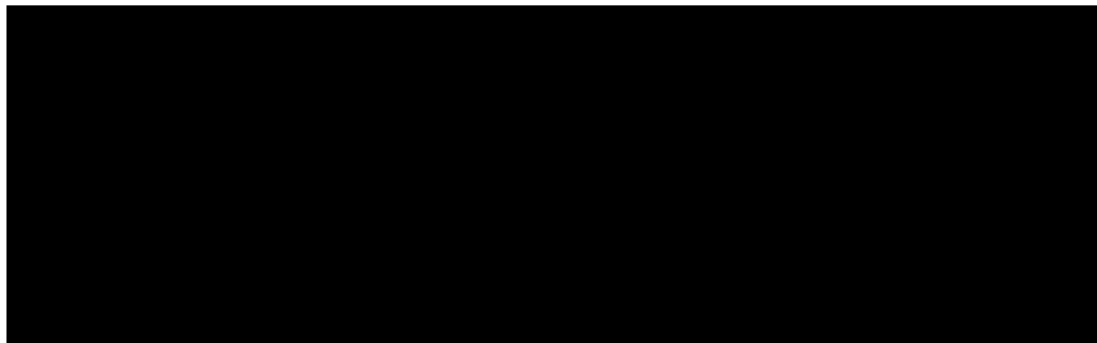
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14 March 1966

998.

SCIENCE AND SCIENTISTS IN COMMUNIST CHINA

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SITUATION: Communist China exploded an atomic device in October 1964 (and another in May 1965), shocking much of the world. Reactions ranged from coldly scientific commentary on the primitive nature of the device to laymen's private and editorial expressions of apprehension, strong concern and even fear. Scientific advances had been going forward behind China's walls for a number of years, but much of the world was unaware of how far science in China had progressed until the drama of the bomb. [The emotional reaction to the explosion in technically advanced countries was not unlike the reaction in the United States to the Soviet Union's first orbiting of an earth satellite, Sputnik I, in October 1957.] On the basis of available evidence Western experts have concluded that most of Communist China's scientific and technical resources are presently allocated to the further development of more advanced and conventional weapons programs -- as distinct from pure research and from industrial and other peaceful uses.

Communist China has traveled a rocky road trying to reach scientific independence. The main burden of her scientific development effort has been borne by older scientists and engineers trained in America and Europe prior to 1949, and possibly by those trained in the Soviet Union largely before 1960. China's first steps in mid-20th century science were taken with the assistance of the Soviet Union. In the decade between 1950 and 1960 over 7,000 Chinese took their scientific undergraduate and graduate work in the USSR, and over half of that number completed their academic training there. Those scientists could be playing a major role in China's scientific program -- unless they are hampered by regime suspicions that they might be pro-Soviet, or by bureaucratic controls over the science program.

In-country training since the communist takeover has been of low caliber. The dominance of the Communist Party in China's scientific life has been a major factor in slowing down her scientific developments, and in alienating the older foreign-trained Chinese scientists as well as the Chinese-trained younger scientists. For example, the Party's Great Leap Forward (1958-1960) set science back drastically by spawning radical training schemes and introducing the study-work program which stressed labor more than education. 1961 saw education reasserting itself by increasing study and laboratory time and decreasing time spent by students in jobs and at political meetings.

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However, in late 1964 the "social rectification" program once more took precedence and students and graduates in all fields were sent to the countryside to perform manual labor (as were high party officials). The increasing stress on this program has been matched by increasing resistance by many young Chinese, particularly those in scientific fields, who resent the enforced periods away from their chosen work and their exile from urban areas which supply the textbooks, classes, laboratories and the inspiration of a scientific-academic environment. The young resent the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) restrictions on higher scientific education and its imposition of party-chosen priority tasks on them. This has created a vicious circle which inhibits the rapid growth of scientific research and development and creates a resentful, educated elite who may not always continue to be sufficiently placated by the prerogatives science and higher scientific education are awarded in China.

The rift in Sino-Soviet relations in 1960 was a far more serious matter for China than for her Soviet mentors. Unaided, China did not possess the technical capability to develop weapons for modern warfare. With the withdrawal of the Soviet Union, China has been forced to concentrate on the technically-developed non-communist world. She has been hampered on two counts -- her own technical inadequacies (so that she has little or nothing to offer another nation in scientific exchanges), and her chronic suspicion of things foreign -- which has blocked the establishment of the relatively open relations which have characterized scientific exchanges in the free world. China's effort to establish an international scientific organization independent of the Soviet's World Federation of Scientific Workers has apparently not been very productive.

However, necessity has pushed China toward the non-communist, technically advanced world and she has begun to acquire scientific materials and apparatus from outside the Bloc, to send science students to European countries for advanced study, to adapt Western scientific methods, to attend scientific conferences and even to invite Western scientists to China for consultation and lecture tours. China has also used scientific and technological help as an instrument of foreign policy to gain access and influence in the less developed countries. The extent of the help extended by China in these "scientific exchanges" -- especially compared to that available from advanced free world countries -- is minimal.

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C.S. MONITOR
8 Feb. 1966

Finnish Foreign Minister blasts cartoon gibe at Soviets

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

CPYRGHT

Stockholm

Finnish Foreign Minister Ahti Karjalainen has accused his nation's largest and most respected newspaper of willfully harming Finland's friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

A few days ago a cartoon in Helsingin Sanomat poked fun at the 10th anniversary observance of the return of the Porkkala area to Finnish possession.

"Kari," whose political cartoons frequently express what newspapers do not wish to write, questioned whether there was any real reason to celebrate the Soviet gesture.

The anniversary was marked by an official reception given by Finland's President, Urho Kekkonen, and attended by M. R. Kusmin, Soviet Assistant Secretary of Commerce, A. E. Kovalev, Soviet Ambassador in Finland, and members of the diplomatic corps.

"As foreign minister I regard it as my duty to sharply condemn the manner in which Helsingin Sanomat has behaved in this matter," Dr. Karjalainen said in a letter to Teo Mertanen, executive editor of the newspaper.

Mr. Karjalainen asserted that it con-

dicted with the best interests of the nation. Helsingin Sanomat printed his letter.

After Finland's defeat in the Second Russo-Finnish War, the Soviet Union demanded a 50-year lease on the Porkkala area, 12 miles west of Helsinki. The Soviets transformed it into a naval base. In 1955, the Soviets decided to return Porkkala to Finland.

Although Porkkala was supposedly returned as a sign of friendly relations between the Russia and Finland, many Finns say the main reason was that the Soviets no longer had any use for it.

However, the existence of a Soviet military base in Finland—in the heart of the most populated areas, for that matter—spread ill-will against what many called an "occupation."

Although there is no official censorship in Finland, editors are very aware of the limitations on what should be expressed in print.

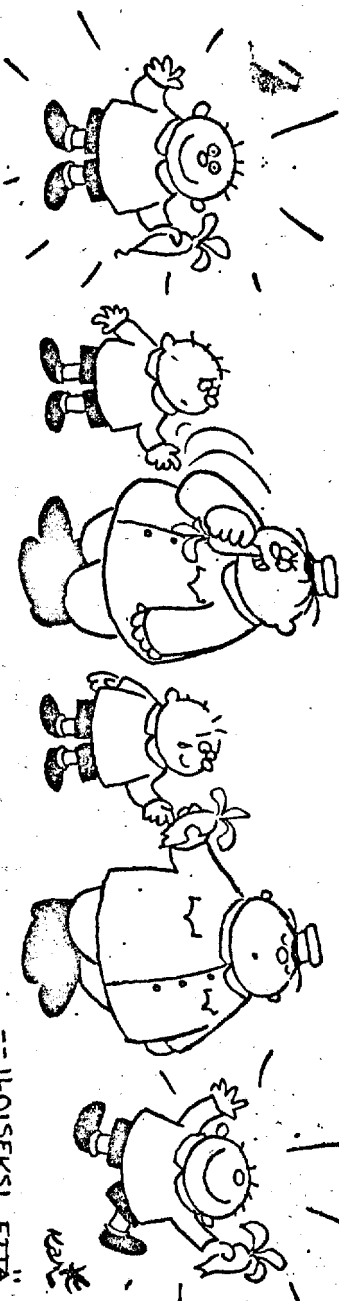
The non-Communist press knows that it must refrain from outright criticisms of the Soviet Union. Such views must be carefully disguised or voiced through a scapegoat. Cartoons have been used as a means of expressing them.

Unlike its major competitors, Helsingin Sanomat lacks an affiliation with a political party. Its views are moderately conservative.

It is more outspokenly and consistently pro-American and suspicious of Soviet "friendship" maneuvers than other major Finnish newspapers.

Helsingin Sanomat, Helsinki, 26 Jan 66, p 6

SATU PORKKANASTA



OULI PA KERRAN PIENI
POIKA, JOLLA OLI
PORKKANÄÄ. SILLOIN
TULI ERÄS ISO POIKA--
--JA SIEPPASI SEN, MUTTA
PURAISTUAAN PORKKANÄÄ
PIIRAKKAA, NIINPÄ HÄN
ISO POIKA HUOMASI, ETTEI
OIKEASTAAN VÄLITTÄNYT
SIITÄ, KUN OLI JO SYÖNYT--
--NIN PALJON KARELJAN-
JUHLI TAPAUSTA VIELÄ
10 VUODEN KULUTTUA
JA MUISTELI ISOA POI-
KAA SUURELLA KII-
TOLISUUDELLA. SEN
PITUINEN SE.

"Tale of the Carrot"

Karl, copyright by arrangement with Helsingin Sanomat

Once upon a time,
there was a little
boy who had a carrot.
Along came a certain
big boy

...and snatched the
carrot away. But
when he tasted the
carrot, he discover-
ed that he really
did not care for it
since he already had
eaten.....

...so much Karelian
pie. So he gave the
carrot back saying,
"You keep your carrot!"
And the little boy be-
came so...

...happy that he
celebrated the
event every 10
years afterwards
and remembered the
big boy with great
gratitude. That's
the end of the story.

NOTE: The play on words porkkana (carrot) and Porkkala
The implications: Little boy (Finland)
big boy (USSR)

Karelian pie (Finnish Karelia taken by USSR)

Prensa Latina radio
Havana
10 February 1966

Castro Letter to U.N. Blasts
Latin American Charges

[The Cuban revolutionary government sent a letter to UN Secretary General U Thant answering the document containing the charges sent to the Security Council by representatives of Latin American governments -- excluding Mexico. The text of Prime Minister Fidel Castro follows.]

"Your excellency, Mr. U Thant, secretary general of the United Nations: I am addressing you in order to give a proper answer to the letter sent to the Security Council chairman by representatives of Latin American governments, with the exception of Mexico, which, following the orientations of the U.S. interventionist and imperialist government, 'denounced' before that organization the resolutions of the first conference of solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, which took place in Havana from 3 to 12 January 1966. I also request that this answer be circulated among all the members of that organization.

"It is incredible that these governments are so cynical as to accuse Cuba and the conference of solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America of intervention, because the governments on behalf of which the letter is signed are precisely the most servile instruments of Yankee imperialism in Latin America, the majority of which unhesitatingly supported the criminal intervention of the Yankee troops in Santo Domingo, and only a few of which lodged a weak and hypocritical protest.

"With the cowardly and shameless complicity of these same governments, the Yankee military occupation and oppression of that country and that brother Latin American people are maintained, a country in which almost daily the invading troops fire on the people and murder defenseless men and women. Some of these governments, such as Brazil, Honduras, and Costa Rica are participating directly in that military occupation. The limit of cynicism is reached when Mr. Garcia-Godoy, a puppet without dignity or patriotism, signs that declaration in the name of a country which is occupied and oppressed by Yankee troops and other foreign mercenary soldiers.

"In fact, all these governments are instruments of the interference, domination, and exploitation of their own countries by U.S. imperialism, which directs their armed forces, banking institutions and trade, in a word, the economy of each of them. It sets their foreign policy and shamelessly reserves for itself the right to occupy them militarily, as was done in Santo Domingo, when it deems it necessary to its exploiting interests.

"In collusion with governments that represent those same interests, the United States has conducted its openly interventionist policy in this hemisphere.

"Thus, in 1954, using mercenary forces coming from bases established in neighboring countries, it overthrew the legitimate constitutional government of Guatemala, to plunge that country back into the depths of exploitation. In 1961 it organized, financed, and directed---with the participation of the governments of Guatemala and Nicaragua---the mercenary invasion at Giron Beach. In 1964 it perpetrated the massacre of the Panamanian people because they were vindicating their sovereignty over the Canal territory. And in 1965, defying the protest and indignation of the world, it invaded and occupied Dominican territory.

"The Latin American peoples' feeling of militant solidarity has grown, developed, and become more deeply entrenched in struggles against Yankee imperialist intervention, against Yankee occupation and colonization of Puerto Rico, against Yankee seizure of a portion of Panamanian territory in 1903; against the second Yankee intervention in Cuba in 1906 against Yankee intervention in Mexico in 1914 and 1917, against Yankee intervention in Haiti in 1915, against Yankee intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1916, against Yankee intervention in Nicaragua in 1910, 1912, and 1926; and against the aforementioned Yankee aggression in Guatemala and Cuba.

"And today, that feeling of solidarity acquired extraordinary force and vigor because of the military occupation of Santo Domingo and the threat of intervention in any Latin American nation. That threat was expressed concretely in the recent resolution in the U.S. House of Representatives, which said brazenly that the U.S. Government should intervene, when it deems it advisable, in any territory of this continent.

"The Yankee imperialists have pursued their interventionist policy in Africa, Asia, and the rest of the world, in addition to Latin America. Yankee intervention in the Congo under the U.N. banner is an example. Currently, Yankee intervention against the people of South Vietnam and the air raids on the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam furnish an example of how the circles of the Pentagon and the North American monopolies carry on their interventionist policy beyond the seas and endanger world peace.

"The so-called governments of Latin American countries which, alleging a danger to peace from the resolutions adopted at the solidarity conference of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, have signed that letter addressed to the president of the U.N. Security Council and have turned a deaf ear and a blind eye to the monstrous reality imposed by imperialism in the world of today.

"The peoples of the Latin American countries that those governments claim to represent are mercilessly plundered by U.S. monopolies. The peoples under those governments have a right--which they will exercise sooner or later--to sweep out those governments, which are traitors, and serve foreign interests in their own countries, and they will sweep them out with the most violent revolutionary action, because imperialist exploitation and oppression is exercised increasingly by means of force, violence, and arms, and no other possible choice is left.

"To proclaim the right of those peoples which are oppressed and exploited by imperialism, with the complicity of the feudal oligarchies and the most reactionary classes of each of those countries--the privileged and absolutely minority interests which represent such governments--is not an act of intervention, but rather the struggle against intervention.

"It is not just to confuse the spirit of independence with interventionism.

"The revolutionary representatives of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, who met in Havana, certainly agreed to redouble the struggle against intervention and to help people who are fighting for their liberation and independence. And not only that, they also stressed that it is the duty of progressive states and governments to support peoples who are fighting against interventionist and aggressive imperialism.

"The aid extended to peoples who are fighting for independence has well known historic and political precedents.

"No one would think of saying that the French revolutionaries, who in the 18th Century helped the North American people gain their independence from British colonial domination, could be accused of being interventionists. The peoples of France, the United States, and the entire world recognized the true virtue of the valiant men who fought in America to win the independence of the 13 colonies.

"The militant and revolutionary solidarity of the Latin American people was manifested very actively in the liberating epic of Bolivar, San Martin, and Sucre. Peoples of Latin America recall that solidarity with gratitude. No one would think of labeling the Latin American liberation movement during the last century as an act of intervention.

"In 1826, Simon Bolivar called the peoples of America to the Panama Congress to discuss the best means to complete the liberation of the continent from Spanish colonial domination.

"According to the opinion of Yankee imperialism and the miserable lackeys who signed the aforementioned letter, the Panama Congress could be considered an infringement of the sovereignty of nations, having an openly interventionist nature.

"Let imperialist aggression, oppression, and intervention cease; let the United States leave Dominican territory; let its troops withdraw from southeast Asia and Vietnam; let no more bombing strikes be carried out

against the DRV; let the territory which was usurped in the Canal Zone be returned to the Panamanian people. Stop exploiting the poor people of America and other parts of the world; let the United States give back the territory used for military bases on foreign soil, including the Guantanamo base; let it abandon its conspiracy in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In short, let the system of imperialist domination end. That is what is demanded by the peoples and the men who legitimately represent the interests of the peoples.

"The Revolutionary Government of Cuba fully supports the resolutions adopted by the first solidarity conference of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

"We are not unaware, Mr. Secretary General, that the cynical statements made by the men who claim to be representatives of 18 peoples of Latin America conceal the intention of justifying future intervention by U.S. troops in other Latin American nations, and particularly a means for attacking Cuba when the revolutionary tide swells on this oppressed, exploited continent and the insignificant U.S. minority -- the monopolistic circles that govern the United States, who are responsible for the tension existing in the world and responsible for aggression and interference directed against the peoples -- see the empire of their interests crumble at their very feet.

"But Cuba, Mr. Secretary General, is not defended by an unarmed although heroic people, like the Dominican Republic. The day this imperialism and its accomplices dare show their claws in our country, then the time will really have come in the bosom of that U.N. organization to sigh for peace, because the resistance they will meet will be capable of shaking the world.

"With highest esteem, I remain attentively yours, Fidel Castro Ruz, prime minister of the revolutionary government."

Excerpts from the press
and radio of the USSR

USSR Positions on Militant "National Liberation"
with particular reference to the
Tricontinent Conference in Havana
January 1966

- A. Soviet foreign policy places militant alliance between the socialist countries and the international working class above the principle of national sovereignty: government officials label Tricontinent Conference an instrument for strengthening this relationship.

1. Excerpts from Pravda, August 8, 1965 editorial, "The Noble Aims of Soviet Foreign Policy":

"... [USSR foreign policy] is aimed...at support for the peoples struggling for liberation, at the all-around development of solidarity and cooperation with the...states of Asia, Africa and Latin America....

"The Soviet Union unfailingly proceeds from the premise that the right of each people to free and independent development is sacred, that the desire to put an end to the oppression of imperialism is profoundly natural and fully justified. To imperialist attempts to take away this sacred right..., the peoples answer with every means of struggle available to them, including wars of national liberation...

"...the Soviet Union has supported and will continue to support the national liberation struggle in all its forms, both peaceful and non-peaceful. The peoples fighting for their independence regard the Soviet Union with full justification as their reliable friend, ... since it gives them real help, not in words but in deeds....

"....The active assistance of the socialist countries to the peoples fighting for their emancipation...facilitates the conditions of their struggle.... At the same time, the national liberation struggle, ... contributes to the strengthening of all anti-imperialist forces and helps the peoples who are building socialism and communism...."

2. Excerpts from Moscow broadcasts to home audiences, January 2, 1966. Message to the Tricontinental Conference from CPSU Central Committee First Secretary Leonid Brezhnev and USSR Council of Ministers Chairman A. N. Kosygin.

"...The Soviet people greet your conference with a firm conviction that it will serve toward a still greater cohesion of the masses which oppose imperialism in the three continents and toward strengthening their militant friendship with the peoples of the socialist countries and with the international working class movement....

"...We are firmly convinced that the freedom-loving peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America together with the progressive forces of the entire world will firmly rebuff the aggressors, will defend freedom and security of the peoples, and will not allow neocolonialism to become established in the liberated countries. The Soviet people resolutely condemn arbitrariness and interference of the imperialists in the internal affairs of other countries and, remaining true to their international duty, are rendering and will continue to render all possible support to the peoples who are struggling for freedom and national independence."

3. Excerpts from Pravda, January 16, 1966, speech by CPSU First Secretary Brezhnev at the Soviet-Mongolian rally in Ulan Bator January 15, 1966.

"The aim of Soviet foreign policy and other socialist countries has been, is, and will continue to be concern for the strengthening of the world socialist system, support for the peoples in their struggle for freedom....

"...The communist party and the peoples of the Soviet Union see their international duty in supporting the liberation struggle of other peoples. This struggle presently assumes various forms, depending on specific conditions and tasks. Some people have to defend their freedom with weapons in hand, whereas it is important for other people today to struggle for economic independence and social progress.

"...More than once in the last decade peoples struggling for their freedom and independence have turned to Moscow, to the party of Lenin for help and support. ...We can say with a pure conscience: in no case did Moscow refuse such support.

"...The active assistance of the socialist countries to the peoples fighting for their emancipation...facilitates the conditions of their struggle....At the same time, the national liberation struggle of the peoples, as an integral part of the world revolutionary struggle,...contributes to the strengthening of all anti-imperialist forces and helps the peoples who are building socialism and communism.

"...The unity of the socialist countries with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is becoming stronger...This was...demonstrated by the Havana Tricontinental conference. Its decisions will undoubtedly facilitate new successes in the liberation struggle and in the cohesion of all anti-imperialist forces.

"...The Soviet state, since the time it was headed by Lenin, has consistently defended the principles of peaceful coexistence....Today, the struggle for the triumph of the principles of peaceful coexistence in our time means...struggling for the creation of conditions most favorable to the triumph of our great cause."

B. Tricontinent Conference objectives, as outlined by the Soviet Press, reinforce Soviet policy.

1. Excerpts from Pravda, November 14, 1965, Viktor Mayevsky, commentator.

"The conference in Havana has great tasks before it. ... many questions on the draft agenda...include the struggle for complete national liberation on three continents and against the imperialist policy of isolating the peoples; the strengthening of all forms of struggle, including the armed struggle of the peoples of the three continents against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism...; support for the just struggle of the Cuban people and the peoples of the other countries of Latin America;...and ways and means for assisting liberation movements..."

2. Excerpts from TASS, January 16, 1966, reporting from Havana on resolutions passed at the Tricontinent Conference.

a. On the General Declaration.

"...the conference 'calls for expressions of militant, active, dynamic solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, for intensifying the anti-imperialist nature of the national liberation movement...for rallying all progressive humanity behind this struggle.'"

b. On the Political Resolution.

"The resolution...[says] at present objective conditions for developing revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle for complete liberation exist on three continents. The conference... proclaimed that all progressive countries and all revolutionary movements will give substantial and unconditional assistance to

any people fighting for national liberation or suffering from imperialist aggression."

c. On the Resolution on Economic Problems.

"The resolution calls upon all the participants...to redouble their efforts in rendering economic, financial, and other assistance, including assistance with arms, to countries engaged in armed struggle for liberation."

d. On the Peaceful Coexistence Resolution.

"...a special resolution...notes that peaceful coexistence applies only to relations between states with different social and political systems. It cannot apply to relations between social classes, between the exploited and the exploiters within separate countries or between the oppressed peoples and their oppressors.

"The resolution stresses that peaceful coexistence implies strict observance of the principles of self-determination of the people, of the sovereignty of all states, big and small. Violations of the principles of peaceful coexistence gives progressive and democratic countries the right to beat back the aggression and to render all-round assistance to the victims of aggression."

C. Positions taken by the key Soviet delegates to the Tricontinent Conference are consistent with the official Soviet line.

1. Excerpts from Pravda, January 8, 1966, reporting on the address of the head of the Soviet delegation, Sharif Rashidov*, January 6, 1966.

"...He...declared ~~that~~ the Soviet people support popular wars and the armed struggle of oppressed peoples for freedom and independence...

"'Devotion to the ideals of freedom and independence and consistency in the struggle against any kind of oppression, enslavement and injustice lie at the basis of the Soviet people's world view and constitute the foundation of our state's policy,'...

"'Following Lenin's behests,...the Soviet Union consistently struggles for universal peace and the security of peoples. We

* See E below for biographic note.

maintain that relations between sovereign states with different social systems must be constructed on the basis of peaceful coexistence. At the same time, it is clear that there is not and cannot be any peaceful coexistence between oppressed peoples and their oppressors, the colonialists and imperialists, or between the imperialist aggressors and their victims."

2. Except from TASS January 12, 1966, interview with Sharif Rashidov, Havana, January 12, 1966.

"For us, the Soviet people,...common interests in the struggle against imperialism, against the forces of reaction and oppression, are above everything else. Loyal to the duty of proletarian internationalism, our people have helped and will go on helping the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to achieve national independence, to defend them from the encroachments of imperialists..."

3. Excerpts from Izvestia, January 19, 1966, "Militant Spirit of Havana": Havana correspondent V. SliantyeV's interview with F. Tabeyev, deputy head of the Soviet delegation.

"The Soviet delegation declared from the rostrum of the conference the full solidarity of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. with all fighters for freedom and independence. We gave the participants...firm and resolute assurance that the country of Lenin will fulfill unfailingly its internationalist duty of rendering all-round aid and support to the peoples in their just struggle against imperialism,

"The Havana conference was a major success for all revolutionary forces that are in deeds, not just in words, waging an intense and very difficult struggle...The spirit of militant revolutionary solidarity triumphed and gained strength in Havana...."

D. Soviet Union does not deny that the allegedly non-official Soviet delegates to the Tricontinent Conference acted in consonance with official policy.

1. Excerpts from Izvestia, January 28, 1966, reporting by L. Kamynin on the Organization of American States (OAS) meeting of January 24, 1966

"...The Havana conference was the chosen object of abuse and slander..."

"The crowning point of these infamous fabrications was the

accusation against the Soviet Union as having allegedly 'violated the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other states.' An attempt was made to use the speech of Sh. R. Rashidov, head of the Soviet delegation to the Havana conference, as a pretext for this absurd accusation. But after all, everything stated by the Soviet representative at the forum of the solidarity of the peoples of three continents was already well known. We are speaking of the Soviet Union's consistent support for the national-liberation struggle of oppressed peoples..."

2. Excerpts from La Manana, Montevideo, Uruguay, February 17, 1966. Text of Soviet note to the Uruguayan Foreign Ministry.

"...charges are being circulated that representatives of Soviet social organizations which took part in the work of the conference called for 'subversive activity, and intervention in the internal problems of Latin American countries,'

"...grossly falsifying the real facts, these circles are publicizing that representatives of the Soviet Government rather than representatives of Soviet social organizations took part in the 'Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Three Continents'.

"Since the Soviet Union consistently in international relations follows a peaceful policy aimed at strengthening the independence and sovereignty of all nations, without interfering in their internal affairs, the Soviet Union has extended and will extend necessary help to those peoples who are victims of imperialistic aggression. ...The Soviet Government gives full support to the peoples of colonial countries who are attempting to obtain national freedom and independence. The Soviet people have feelings of profound friendship and solidarity toward all peoples fighting for national freedom. It was in this sense, specifically that the delegation of Soviet social organizations spoke at the 'Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Three Continents'. At the same time the Soviet delegation declared itself in favor of nations with different social systems basing their relations on the principle of peaceful coexistence, one of the fundamental principles of Soviet foreign policy."

- E. Biographical note on Sharif Rashidov: long service as political, cultural and economic emissary of the Soviet Union to the developing world.

SHARIF RASHIDOV

Candidate member of the Presidium of the Central
Committee of the CPSU
First Secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party
Deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet

In his rise from the ranks of the Uzbek Party to the officialdom of Soviet politics, Rashidov has demonstrated both an aptitude for administration and pronounced talent as a writer and propagandist. These attributes combined with his credentials as a leader in a Soviet Asian republic have uniquely qualified him to serve as an instrument of Soviet, Afro-Asian policy. He is today one of the leading Soviet personalities in the field of Afro-Asian affairs.

He has been widely used to foster Soviet influence in the Afro-Asian world. His pursuit of this objective has required extensive travel to Communist and non-Communist countries and led him to take a leadership role in Afro-Asian organizations. The highlights of his activity, which follow, have occurred against a background of the larger developments in Soviet, Afro-Asian relations.

In 1955 he accompanied Bulganin and Khrushchev on their tour of India and Burma. In 1956 he went to Karachi for the proclamation of Pakistan as an Islamic Republic, and later was Mikoyan's traveling companion on visits to India, Burma, North Vietnam, China and Outer Mongolia. The following year he accompanied Voroshilov to Indonesia. In December, 1957, he was the chief Soviet delegate to the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference in Cairo, and has become a prominent member of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. In October, 1958, he was Chairman of the Soviet-sponsored Afro-Asian Writers' Conference in Tashkent, and in January, 1959, he was appointed Chairman of the committee set up by the Secretariat of the Board of the USSR Writers' Union for liaison with the Permanent Bureau of the Afro-Asian Writers. The following September he headed the CPSU delegation to the Fifth Party Congress in Guinea. In May, 1962, he led a delegation of Soviet specialists to Cuba to assist in irrigation and land drainage schemes and in June that year again visited Indonesia. He participated in a Soviet economic mission to Algeria in August, 1963. A Kenyan delegation met with him in Uzbek in April, 1964. The celebration of the Algerian revolution was the occasion for a return trip to that country in October and November of 1964. Most recently prior to the Havana Conference, he attended the 45th anniversary of the Communist Party of Indonesia in May, 1965.

Fact Sheets

March 1966

Encouraging Evidence of Brazilian Recovery

The forthcoming Second Anniversary of the revolution which resulted in the ouster of President João Goulart and the establishment of Humberto Castello Branco as President serves as a convenient point for stock-taking: for assessing the accomplishments of Castello Branco's government to date and for estimating the course it is likely to take until the end of its writ in March 1967.

In fact, the Revolution was hardly a revolution in the classic sense. There was no bloodshed, no rioting in the streets, no battle lines. In short, a few military leaders called upon Goulart to resign; they were joined by a substantial number of political leaders, including many state governors, and by a rapidly growing number of other top military leaders. Goulart fled from Rio to Brasilia, where he hoped to find political support; finding little, he promptly left for exile in Uruguay. The entire affair lasted but 55 hours. On the other hand, the Revolution was very real in the substantive sense. There is no doubt that Castello Branco and the government which he formed were determined to work very fundamental changes in the economic, political, and social structure of the nation. Indeed, they had little choice; the chaotic state of the country's economy and the growing social unrest demanded urgent and major reforms, and it was the purpose of the Revolution to institute them.

It is perhaps worth recalling some of the basic facts which were well-publicized at the time, but which tend to drop from memory over the years. The central and overwhelming fact was the disintegration of the Brazilian economy. In the late 1950's, when Brazil's huge coffee exports were bringing a good price of the world market, the government of former President Juscelino Kubitschek pushed an ambitious nation-wide program to develop Brazil, especially its vast and virtually untouched interior. During this time U.S. and other foreign investors poured capital into Brazil to create an avalanche of new industries. In this period of dizzy economic growth Brazil seemed firmly set for the long-awaited economic "take-off"; in one year the economy grew more than seven and one half percent. However the expansion was financed in good part by inflation and in the 1960's the results of overspending by the government, of deficits rolled up by state-owned enterprises, and of too much borrowing against the future, plus a fall in world coffee prices, began to turn Brazil's dream of quick development into a nightmare of inflation. This was compounded by a turn toward leftist nationalism after João Goulart assumed the Presidency in August 1961.

Goulart established a severe profit remittance law, a definitely hostile Brazilian officialdom harassed foreign, especially U.S., investors, Brazilian reforms which had been promised as conditions for further U.S.

Government loans simply were not effected, and government payrolls were even further padded by political appointees. The inevitable result was runaway inflation; it went up 50 percent in 1962, 84 percent in 1963, and during the first quarter of 1964, immediately preceding the Revolution, it reached a projected annual rate of about 144 percent. Foreign investment, which had averaged US\$85 million in the Kubitschek years from 1955 to 1960, fell to US\$4.5 million in 1963 and US\$3.6 million in 1964.

The economic unrest was accompanied by radical political moves by João Goulart which stirred the anxieties of major elements of Brazilian society. Goulart attempted to build a political following based on organized labor, the peasants, students and the enlisted men and non-commissioned officers of the military forces (the latter served equally to offset opposition to Goulart among the military leadership). Particularly in his dealings with organized labor, Goulart appeared to favor and assist the Communists. As a result of his activities there developed a widespread belief among Brazilians of diverse political persuasion that the Goulart government had clearly demonstrated its intent to alter radically the legal and power structure by means of agitation, strikes, military insubordination, and at least tactical collaboration with trained subversives of various Communist groups... all for the purpose of perpetuating himself in power.

The background to the Revolution, then, was an economy literally on the brink of bankruptcy, a government which many thought was deliberately perverting the democratic system which brought it to power, an impotent party system which had almost paralyzed the Congress' ability to protect the people's interests, corruption in government beyond bounds, and a growing social disorder threatening to lead to civil war, to the ultimate benefit only of the Communists.

The overthrow of Goulart was received with widespread popular support in the major cities, in contrast with the apathy, disorganization and indifference displayed by those groups which the Goulart regime considered its bulwarks: students, trade-union rank and file, enlisted men, peasants. This ready acceptance not only avoided violent strife; it permitted the Castello Branco government to concentrate on economic and social reforms without being obliged greatly to alter the norms of political democracy in Brazil. The field of activity which received most attention, and which has shown the most impressive results was the national economy. On the domestic front, inflation was held to 87% for 1964, and was cut to about 45% in 1965. At the end of 1965 it was running at a rate of about 2% per month, or 24% per annum, which gives high hopes that it may be further reduced to 20% during 1966. Cutting down inflation was absolutely essential, but it has worked considerable hardship on various sectors of the economy. The effort has meant holding down civil service and military wages, eliminating subsidies and raising public service rates, higher taxes, and strict controls on wages and prices, among other measures. Admittedly the change has been difficult, but the elimination of many of the distortions which had developed in the national economy -- for example one third of the government budget deficit used to

be due solely to subsidies to the antiquated railway system -- and this realignment and rationalization will be of immense benefit in the long run.

Other reforms in the domestic economic front include: a thoroughgoing reform of the personal income tax collection (which will hit, incidentally, the rich -- who have more successfully evaded taxes in the past -- much harder than the poor), complete with an extensive electronic computer system which will keep track of who pays what he should and who doesn't; a completely reorganized banking system with Brazil's first central bank; greatly increased development grants by the federal government to the regional and state authorities for spurring local economic development; and a reform of the stock market, converting it from a somnolent instrument of an economic oligarchy to an active, policed, and disciplined source of investment capital. The result in 1965 has been an estimated overall gain of 5% in the gross national product -- a respectable figure for any country and a really impressive one considering that it had been 1% in 1963, less than the population growth rate of 3%.

The recovery of Brazil's external economic position has been even more impressive, having been transformed in two years from a shambles to a broadly based and internationally credit-worthy structure. The Castello Branco regime inherited a treasury totally depleted of its foreign exchange reserves and gold stocks and, furthermore, in arrears on its payments on foreign debts. This situation has now been reversed to the point that Brazil can boast of a foreign exchange reserve of over US\$300 million -- due principally to a significant increase in exports and to substantial loans from the United States, the Inter-American Development Bank, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other agencies. It is worth noting that these same sources had previously been closed to Brazil because of its gross economic mismanagement. The government has changed the profit remittance law, greatly easing the situation for potential foreign investors, and it has negotiated an investment insurance agreement with the United States as further encouragement to the influx of foreign capital. However, these measures are just beginning to take effect, as evidenced by announcements by both Ford and Volkswagen of substantial expansions of their plants in Brazil, by a US\$96 million investment by Union Carbide and Phillips Petroleum in major plastic and fertilizer projects, and by a joint Brazil-U.S. iron ore venture involving the Hanna Mining Company of Cleveland, Ohio, which will include a \$150 million port designed to double Brazil's iron ore exports in five years. If these should be the forerunners of a return to former foreign investment rates, then Brazil may well finally "take off."

Further economic development, however, is intimately related to continued political stability. Immediately after the Revolution, the Castello Branco government purged the government and the Congress of some 300 persons accused of corruption, Communism, This housecleaning,

essential to the political renewal to which the Revolution was dedicated, was carried out under the provisions of an "Institutional Act," put into force immediately after the Revolution, which defined in broad terms the revolutionary aims of the government and gave it the necessary power to carry them out. That the housecleaning was not entirely impartial was undoubtedly inevitable. However it did manage to serve its basic purpose without being permitted to go to extremes. The government continued to work through the already elected Congress where, despite the purge, partisans of the old regime -- mainly members of the Partido Social Democratico (PSD) and the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro (PTB) -- formed the most substantial bloc.

A further reform was undertaken in the student field, which had been heavily infiltrated by Communists long before the revolution. Communists held control of most of the local, state, and national student organizations. The leaders of the Revolution determined to render student organizations as apolitical as possible in order to strengthen the university's role as a place of learning and to raise academic standards. To this end a new student organization was established to replace the National Student Union (UNE) which was strongly influenced by the Communists. Federal financial support was withdrawn from the UNE and given, instead, to the new student organization. This aroused criticism among the students, who apparently felt that a purge of the UNE directorate would have sufficed. A Communist-led effort to boycott elections of officers for the new, apolitical student organization in the Fall of 1965 failed, however, and it now has the support of the great majority of the students.

The political stability of the nation was seriously imperiled, however, by the election on 4 October 1965 of governors of eleven of the twenty two states. The overall election results were not unfavorable to the government. However, in the two most important states where elections were being held -- Minas Gerais and Guanabara (the former Federal district of Rio de Janeiro) -- candidates of opposition parties were elected. This provoked howls of protest from "hard line" elements of the army who perceived a real danger of the return to positions of influence of precisely those persons against whom the Revolution had been directed. The situation was greatly aggravated by the sudden return from exile of ex-President Kubitschek. For a few days wild rumors circulated of coups d'état led by the "hard line" military officers against the Castello Branco government, which staunchly declared that the duly elected officials would be permitted to take office. Under pressure from the "hard liners" the President demanded from the Congress broad new powers for federal intervention in the States to prevent or suppress serious internal disorder. Congress delayed action, however, and the government was obliged to promulgate a second "Institutional Act" which dissolved all political parties, gave the President power to declare a state of siege and to rule by decree for periods of up to six months, and which established the principle of indirect election of the President.

It was undoubtedly regrettable that recourse was had to extraordinary procedures rather than persuasion, and comment from abroad has been critical even from those with strong sympathies for the basic aims of the regime. It cannot be maintained, however, that Brazil has fully recovered, economically or politically; what is needed is a period of political peace in which to complete the still only half-achieved program of stabilization. Moreover, President Castello Branco is the antithesis of a personal dictator. He has been a moderating influence on his military colleagues and can be expected to use his new powers with restraint. In the second Institutional Act he expressly forbids succeeding himself as president. Personal freedom has not been adversely affected and freedom of the press remains intact, witness the vigorous criticisms of the government published every day. Interestingly, the second Institutional Act was publicly endorsed by a wide variety of Brazilian groups: the internal press, for the most part; commercial and industrial organizations; women's groups; and trade unions (including the nationwide Industrial Workers' Confederation). Conversely, most of the opposition was silent and the general public either mildly in favor or apathetic.

The abolition of the existing 13 or so political parties has been followed by the creation of two officially approved political groupings, one pro-government (the National Renovation Alliance - ARENA) and the other the opposition group (the Brazilian Democratic Movement - MDB).

On 5 February 1966 the Brazilian Government issued its "Third Institutional Act," establishing dates and circumstances of congressional, gubernatorial and presidential elections this year. On 3 September elections will be held for the governors of 11 of the 22 states, with the voting to be by the state legislatures rather than by popular vote. On 3 October the next President will be chosen by the present Congress; again this will be an indirect election. Finally, direct congressional elections are set for 15 November 1966. The opposition party has already strongly criticized the indirect election feature of the new Act, and this will undoubtedly be an issue in the forthcoming elections.

Despite its impressive advances in economic and political reform, there are still serious outstanding problems facing Brazil; one of the biggest is agrarian reform. Although the revolutionary government early issued a "Land Statute" outlining its intentions, little has been done since then except to begin a thorough study of the true nature and extent of the problem. The government has made clear it has no intention of expropriating private lands forming part of going agricultural concerns. However a central feature of the law would make available to landless farmers potentially tillable or otherwise useful land, government-owned or private, now lying idle. Other efforts are being directed to improving their use of the land and tools presently available to them. Perhaps the most important answer to the problem of land-hungry peasants is the building of highways and access roads into the enormous, isolated but potentially arable areas of the country.

New hope for agrarian reform was aroused by the recent appointment

of Ney Braga as Minister for Agriculture. A young leader of the former Christian Democratic party, and dynamic former governor of Parana state, Braga is well qualified to bring new life to the program.

Education remains perhaps the most fundamental problem for Brazil. With a literacy rate of only 55%, with tremendous shortages of schools and teachers, the nation's further development will hinge in large part on a greatly expanded educational effort.

The dampening of the inflationary spiral has resulted in a slight downturn in real wages. Hopefully this trend will be reversed as the economic upswing progresses; if not the Branco government will face mounting opposition from the workers.

A final problem to be mentioned is that of resurgent nationalism. The lowering of the barriers to foreign investment has already brought cries of protest from several quarters. The right wing of the military forces is a traditional source of nationalism in Brazil and this sentiment is coupled with criticism of the government's allegedly gentle treatment of corruption and with assertions that the government's disinflationary campaign is fostering unwarranted criticism of the military. Although these elements of the military do not represent a sizeable political force, their criticisms frequently supplement demagogic campaigns of other nationalist and opportunistic groups and constitute a source of constant harassment for the government.

As can be seen, all these problems revolve around the task of economic rehabilitation; without first stability and then renewed economic growth, there can be no political solution. If stability and then growth can be achieved there is little reason to fear for democracy, which has long been strongly rooted in Brazil. The patience and understanding which the people have shown have been remarkable. The undeniable successes thus far achieved can well be attributed as much to good following as to good leadership.

The democratic aspirations of President Castello Branco can best be understood from a statement he made to the Rio Conference of the Organization of American States in November 1965:

"Democracy should not be a mere show of appearances, in which liberty is confused with indiscipline, and social injustice is perpetuated, masked by the easy promises of demagogues. Democracy should consist of the democratization of opportunities for access to land, housing and education; the promotion of development through austerity, savings and continued effort, and vigilance against the enemies of the open society, who avail themselves of the franchise granted by democracy to destroy it.

"We in Brazil have been devoting ourselves to the task of the renovation of democracy, and the profound reform of

institutions. Less than two years ago we were aware of the spectre of the class struggle, the black shadow of anarchy, and the sounds of economic and social chaos.

"To a formal democracy, we shall join a democracy meant for the continued improvement of the people's welfare. It is with this objective in mind that we have undertaken a whole series of reforms covering political and social institutions, finances and economy.

"Therefore, we have no need for any lessons in democracy. We managed to save it from near destruction in the hands of the totalitarians, without anybody's help.... We are a country living in peace, which finds political solutions without the need of bloodshed and are capable of political, racial and religious tolerance and respect for the human being, seldom found in this troubled world."

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March 1966

Intellectuals and the Party in East European Communist Countries:

Czechoslovakia

Attacks against intellectuals across the board were made by the Czech CP in November and December 1965. In an address before the Union of Czechoslovak Stage and Film Artists, Politburo member Hendrych discussed the "rather serious ideological and artistic problems" concerning them. After praising the positive results of past work in helping to forge a socialist society, Hendrych discusses i. a. films and plays which "went beyond the borderline of criticism, from exaggeration to deformation, and from socialist positions to the other side."

In the sphere of literature, the revisionist monthly Tvar and the frequently critical monthly Knizni Kultura, have been discontinued. The failure of the regime to provide satisfactory reasons for ending the magazines' publication gives rise to the strong suspicion that it was a measure to limit the dissemination of the works of the young writers who are increasingly critical of the regime.

East Germany

Signs of a possible cultural détente between the two halves of Germany during most of 1965 changed into a ringing revival of the cold war climate in November-December. The suppression of the works of the young poet, Wolf Biermann, was one of the early manifestations of this re-emphasis of Stalinist ways. Attacks on Biermann and other writers and film-makers were used as a vehicle for lashing out against "ideological co-existence," skepticism (vs. wholehearted acceptance of the regime), and revisionist tendencies. In Neues Deutschland (ND), Politburo member Erich Honecker expressed particular sensitivity to the "enemy's" arguments which lead cultural workers to "uncertainty about the correctness of our socialist road." The dismissal on 12 January of Min. of Culture Bentzien was another indication of the Ulbricht regime's resumption of a hard line on cultural matters.

Some writers, notably Christa Wolf, spoke out at the party plenum in defense of the artists who had been attacked. Several writers defended themselves in ND. But the party's response to these defenses indicates that more pressures on writers and artists are to be expected.

The most comprehensive article on the East German situation (and indeed, the situation in any of the bloc countries) is in the Literary Supplement of the London Times of 13 January 1966. (See Press Comment 20 January 1966.)

Poland

A significant and stirring development has been the recent publication of Adam Schaff's book, "Marxism and the Human Individual." Schaff, the director of Warsaw's Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, examines inter alia the alientation of the individual in the socialist society. Thus, what the Soviet authors are accused of insinuating in their novels, Schaff virtually comes out flatly with in his sociological study. Schaff has been attacked for his views by high CP officials. How successful his defense will be is yet to be determined.

A companion development has been the arrest of 7 writers during 1965. They were tried and sentenced for slandering the Polish state in their manuscripts which were smuggled out of the country and published in Western Europe.

Rumania

"Retrospective" painting and plastic arts came under the fire of CP officials at the turn of the year. Exhibited works were criticized as being confused and artistically poor, adoptions of unassimilated alien influences, purposeless efforts, and immature. The significance of this development is that it reverses an atmosphere of relative tolerance in the cultural field which the party had promoted. It probably means that an effort will now be made to return to socialist realism in art. As in the USSR, however, there is some journalistic support for a continuance of the new, more liberal policies.

Hungary

The General Meeting of the Hungarian Writers' Association, which was held at the end of November 1965, was distinguished by its dullness, apparently reflecting careful planning. Socialist realism was alluded to, but apparently not used as a term in discussing the desired orientation of literature. Reference was made to despair and indifference as common reactions to present difficulties. And caution was raised against "... liberalism, an uncritical spirit, (and) blind acceptance" which is the apparent result of contacts with non-socialist countries. As a result, more care is apparently to be used in the selection of books from non-socialist countries for publication in Hungarian. Dobozy, the Secretary General of the Writers' Association, said significantly: "Our literature possesses a wide variety of ideological colors.... We draw the line only at political opposition or at writings which offend against accepted canons of taste."

* * * * *

A note of contrast should be added. The Yugoslav authorities faced a similar problem with the young author, M.Bulatovic, who was in Western Europe at the turn of the year. Bulatovic severely criticized the Yugoslav society both in interviews and in books to be published abroad. The Yugoslav response was to dismiss Bulatovic with a few words of condemnation and then add that there were many more problems of greater concern.

March 1966

Background of relations between the CPSU party and intellectuals in the Soviet Union.

The role of Andrey Zhdanov in Party-intellectual relationships was of great importance between 1946 and the death of Stalin. With some fluctuations in intensity, Zhdanov throttled free expression and attempted to harness writers to the service of the state. He assaulted "cosmopolitanism," an action equivalent to anti-Semitism. Although he died in 1948, his influence was such that the entire period from 1946 to 1953 was known as the "zhdanovshchina," a synonym for cultural terror. Thus, the mention in Izvestiya of 25 Feb 66 of Zhdanov on his 70th birthday as "a true son of the people" could well be interpreted as a threat by the regime to increase its restrictive measures unless the intellectuals get back into line.

Upon Stalin's death a short-lived surge in freer intellectual expression was observed. It was curtailed in mid-1953, resumed in 1954, accelerated in early 1956, halted in late 1956, reversed in mid-1957, expanded in 1959, halted in late 1962, cautiously resumed in mid-1963 after which it increased somewhat until October 1964 when Khrushchev was ousted.

During the first 4 months of the regime of Brezhnev and Kosygin the intellectuals substantially stepped up their outpouring of anti-Stalinist expression.

The first sign of a reaction against the intellectuals was detected in early March, 1965, in a published report of the RSFSR Writers' Congress. There, to gasps of dismay from the liberals, Soviet literature and films were criticized by the conservatives who quoted the Chinese Communists. From then on, an increasingly bitter exchange between the more liberal and the conservative organs was witnessed. It was capped and epitomized by two articles, one by Sergei Pavlov, the head of the Komsomol, and the other by the 60-year-old Aleksey Rumyantsev, the chief editor of Pravda. Pavlov, writing in Pravda of 29 Aug, lashed out at movies, literature, and the theater for the unhealthy criticism which was engendering "nihilism" in youth, and he pointed out the need for caution in dealing with the cult of the personality (i.e., attacks on Stalin). Rumyantsev in Pravda of 9 September, apparently in rebuttal to Pavlov and others, stated his belief that nihilism is engendered by hushing up and glossing over difficulties, not by the passionate effort to expose wrongs in order to set them right; to underscore the meaning of his words, he went down the list of the liberals under attack and defended them.

Within the next 10 to 12 days, Sinyavsky and Daniel were picked up by the KGB, and Rumyantsev was removed from his job. (Rumyantsev now has an insignificant job with the Academy of Sciences.) Pavlov, on the other hand, is still the chief of the Komsomol and he has spoken out further in the vein of the hard line. The hard line, especially in

Izvestiya, became dominant and more strident in Soviet media. In January in Pravda, for the first time in years, "cosmopolitanism" was referred to as something to be fought. And, seemingly to bring the circle to a close, the above-noted reference to Zhdanov was made in Izvestiya.

Some feeble opposition to the above-noted trend has been observed. Novyy Mir, the liberal writers' organ, has defied the implied ban on publication of unacceptable material. Individual writers, such as Paustovskiy, have protested against the Sinyavsky and Daniel case. And Pravda held back for some time before joining the ranks of the hard liners attacking the two. Pravda also commemorated the 20th Party Congress, implicitly supporting de-Stalinization; but it also praised Zhdanov.

Komsomol'skaya Pravda
Moscow, 29 December 1965

SPEECH BY S.P. PAVLOV TO THE
EIGHTH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE KOMSOMOL

-USSR-

[Following are excerpts from a translation of a speech by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol, Comrade S.P. Pavlov in the Russian-language newspaper Komsomol'skaya Pravda (Komsomol Pravda), Moscow, 29 December 1965, page 3.]

"Comrades! The education of the younger generation is now the center of attention of the Communist Party, the Leninist Komsomol and all ideological institutes in the country."

"Strictly speaking, education in the traditions is one of the means for solving the chief task: the education of man -- the fighter, citizen and patriot. It was specifically this guide that was used by the bureau of the Central Committee of the Komsomol in presenting the given question for discussion at the plenum. In addition other circumstances were taken into account that also confirmed the rightfulness and even the necessity of posing such a question today."

"It is typical that recently two tendencies of bourgeois propaganda have become absolutely clearly observable: the first is to set the Komsomol against the youth and the second is to set the party against the Komsomol and the younger generation against the older."

"At the same time our enemies strive to utilize the deficiencies in our educational work and to rely on the negative phenomena existing among our young people."

"What are the causes for similar phenomena? -- says the speaker -- apparently one of the causes is that at some stage we relaxed the educational work among the youth. Some of our Komsomol organizations in reality began to speak more of percentages and tone, of the head of cattle and of ferrous concrete and showed little concern for man and the sentiment that is typical of a given section of our youth and of relations between young people."

(Cont.)

"Comrades! Patriotism and humanitarian education of our young people are inseparable. It seems that the enthusiasm of a certain group of our young people for modern bourgeois art has its reasons. One of these reasons is the deficiency in propaganda of our age old culture, the culture of the peoples of the USSR, and national popular traditions in art, the knowledge of which instills a natural feeling of national pride and Soviet patriotism."

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"It would be a great error to believe that the fact in itself of living in the Soviet country under conditions of socialist reality presupposes the presence of a communist world outlook in a young person. There is no doubt that loyalty to the ideas of communism lives in the hearts of the overwhelming majority of young Soviet boys and girls. But far from all of them clearly and precisely understand what communist ideology is, what it means to be a conscientious and consistent communist and how to bring up in oneself the qualities of a fighter for our revolutionary ideals. It would also be erroneous to believe that the growth of political consciousness and ideological convictions in a young person is always directly proportional to the growth of his general educational and cultural level. Today our task is not simply to train a highly qualified and educated young worker, graingrower and specialist but, first of all, to instill in each of them the qualities of a communist-Leninist.

"The most important events in the political life of the country -- the 20th, 21st and 22nd party congresses and the decisions of the recent plenums of the CC CPSU, directed toward the reestablishment of the Leninist norms of party life, the expansion of socialist democracy and the surmounting of subjectivism in the approach to economic and political problems -- created favorable conditions for the comprehensive development and formulation of human personality.

"It is natural that these events promote the growth of the creative activities of the young peoples and arouse in them aspirations for independent thinking, the comparison and analysis of facts and the desire to perceive more profoundly the concept of what is taking place.

"Under these conditions the responsibility of all ideological institutes for the education of the younger generation is increasing as never before. This is why I would like to dwell in a somewhat more detailed manner on the role that belongs to literature and art that are, as a result of their emotional possibilities, the most effective means of influencing the minds and hearts of the young people.

"Today, at the plenum we cannot but express a number of fundamental remarks on certain tendencies, holding a position in our literature and art and preventing, from our point of view, Soviet youth from examining objectively the many features of our reality and from adopting correct ideological positions.

"With the blessings of the editors of Novyy Mir (New World) and from the pages of many journals a flood of so called "camp" literature has literally gushed forth. We cannot but be disturbed that the place of true heroes, people capable of active actions and struggles and feats is being occupied by politically amorphous personalities, locked in a shell of individual experiences and flaunting their public and civic passiveness.

"The journal Yunost' (Youth) particularly zealously produces such heroes, if one may call them that. It recently published a novel by Anatoliy Gladilin Istoriya odnoy kompanii (The Story of One Crowd).

"Vodka, money, 'chuvikhi,' second hands clothes -- this exhausts the spiritual interests of the heroes of the novel. Here, for instance, is a letter which is sent by one of Gladilin's heroes to his friend:

"'Old Shoe! I often see the Baron. He's got it made! The pay is good. Zvonok left the institute. Alla is buying up second hand clothes from the profiteers, etc.

"Here is another letter:

"'Kol'ka greetings!

"'We are already in Voronezh. We spent the night in the forest, talked about you, drank vodka and smoked 'Trezor.' At night there is such jazz -- if you could only hear it. We were in Penza, but there is nothing there, and the town is spiteful, but Tambov though we liked; in particular, we liked the Tambov girls; we probably will never again see such girls though it is true that if you look at it then it is no worse in Voronezh. Yes, in Tambov there is a lot of second hand clothes: ten kinds of stretch socks; there were T-shirts for sale; we found 'Elastik' stretch stockings for Lyubasha. (Yes, here they have such sweaters; today we saw one for 32 rubles in large knit with wild catonic coloring) (And what wines they have here!)

"'We have 25 rubles. We are looking for a way out of the situation. Well, so long. Write how you relaxed on Saturday. Pass on greetings to all.

"'We are now going to see her ... you know yourself who, and then will move on to the 'Rossiya' bar.

"As you can see it is difficult to establish the difference between these two letters. The difference is that the second letter was written not by the literary hero but by a real person, a constant subscriber to the journal Yunost'.

"This letter was forwarded to the Central Committee of the Komsomol by Boris Grigor'yevich Vodichkin from Kuybyshev. He has a seventeen year old son for whom he subscribes to the journal Yunost'. He recently by

chance stumbled on his son's correspondence with his friends. At first he could not understand the origin of this foppish attack. He began himself to read the journal regularly, after which he sent an indignant letter to the Central Committee of the Komsomol, erroneously assuming that Yunost is a Komsomol journal.

"Recently, the attacks against socialist realism and ambiguous expressions on truth in art and the fact that only an artist can evaluate a work of art, etc. have appeared more frequently. In general the 'ideas' are not new. What causes alarm is the fact that these 'ideas,' fixed up and touched up, are more and more actively forced, cultivated and justified by some people.

"Recently, the journal Yunost published a retort by the young satirist Rozovskiy, 'Whom Do You Initiate in Your Silly Endeavor?' that again categorically and loudly maintains that only talent can judge talent and that only an artist can evaluate works of art. This is an incorrect, harmful position foreign to us. In essence Rozovskiy places literature and the arts above the people and threatens principally important Leninist tenants on the national character of literature.

"Since when have the vulgarization of our reality, indiscriminate running down of the achievements of our system, sick skepticism and cheap grumbling as a result of present difficulties been considered as civic courage? If this is courage, then what is political immaturity? We did not set it as our task to make an exhaustive analysis of the situation in literature and art; we wanted to focus your attention on a number of tendencies that interfere with the cause of the communist education of the youths. Our position proceeds from the requirements of Lenin and our party toward socialist literature and art, and this position of ours also proceeds from long standing traditions of the work by the Komsomol with the creative youth of the country. This is the constant support of writers, composers, artists and workers in the film and theater, maintaining firm party positions and using in their work the method of socialist realism. If we take into consideration the fact that the Komsomol has at its disposal seventeen journals with a single edition of five million copies, 108 central and local newspapers published in 24 languages with a single edition of 10 million, television, radio and cinema and that the "Molodaya gvardiya" publishing house of the Central Committee of the Komsomol annually publishes 37 million books, then it becomes obvious what a powerful ideological weapon we have at our disposal.

"How we will use this weapon is another matter. We propagandize the talented and ideologically convinced poet inexcusably little and at the same time endlessly crowd around two or three names that have set our teeth on edge.

"Today we must present a serious rebuke to the Komsomol press and the young editors in radio and television for the unjustified timidity in evaluating individual works of literature and art and in the formulation around them of public opinion. Sometimes as a result of their

inexperience, a lack of esthetic taste and the inability to orient themselves correctly in the tremendous flood of literature the young people follow false fashions, forgetting the wise Russian saying that all that glitters is not gold.

"Guided by clear cut party attitudes in the area of literature and art, the Central Committee of the Komsomol together with the unions of composers, writers, cinematographers, artists and journalists conducted and continues to conduct certain work with the young creative intelligentsia.

"This includes regular seminars and meetings between the Komsomol aktive and young poets and artists, the organization of creative reports, business trips and art exhibits, and finally the establishment of the Leninist Komsomol Prize for the best work in literature and art for Soviet youth.

"All of this is undoubtedly good. However, the results of our efforts will be ten or a hundred times better if the Central Committees of the Komsomols in the union republics, kraykoms and obkoms will devote maximum attention to the creativity and the living conditions of young poets, prose writers, cinematographers, actors, etc.

"The recently held seminar of young writers in Chita showed that works about the Komsomol are completely absent in the works of the young writers. Of all of the works discussed not one was devoted to the given subject. Apparently this is not by chance. Komsomol obkoms and kraykoms often are completely ignorant of the young writers: how they live, what they are working on and what their creative plans are.

"We have begun to forget the good Komsomol traditions when the manuscripts of the young poets and writers were reviewed at open Komsomol meetings and when the young poets and writers read their works at the Komsomol obkom and kraykom offices in order to receive friendly comments and comradely advice. What is more, many Komsomol leaders are not even familiar with their native writers and their books, as the saying goes, 'They have not even sniffed these books.'

"Comrades! Never before has one generation reaped so many fruits of the lengthy revolutionary struggle as ours has. The most precious stock and 'dowry' of the Soviet youth is the economic might of our Homeland, the revolutionary experience of the previous generations and the life of the best representatives that have become the guiding star for millions of young boys and girls.

"We are proud of our genealogical and ideological proximity to those who laid the foundation of socialism and who in the hour of trial bore the unprecedented brunt of the military toil, suffered great sacrifices and shared the glory of Victory. Children being in the closest contact with their 'fathers' draw experience from them, gathered through decades, and arm themselves with their world outlook. The children worthily carry on the traditions of our fathers.

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DECLARATION ON COLONIALISM

Joint Statement adopted by the Fourth Congress of the Socialist International and the Asian Socialist Conference (London, 12-16 July, 1955)

"2. The right of peoples to self-determination, provided that it does not infringe the same right for other peoples, and that it does not prejudice their freedom or the peace of the world, is a basic principle of the democratic system of society. The Charter of the United Nations recognizes this right.

"3. Self-determination, hitherto regarded by imperialist nations as a privilege, must be exercised as a right by colonial and dependent peoples and satellite countries."

"5. The colonial rulers and imperialist Powers still cling to their 'sacred mission', whether in its old or new interpretations, only to justify their self-interest and for safe-guarding their domination as long as possible."

"7. The struggle against colonial rule is in essence the human protest against poverty, misery, degradation and indignity, which any form of imperialism necessarily entails for the peoples under it.

"8. But national freedom is only a means to human freedom. The struggle against colonialism should aim at the emancipation from any form of exploitation of man by man and at social and economic equality of the suffering masses and the establishment of a democratic Socialist society."

"10. All genuine democrats fully share with these fighters their passionate desire for human rights and freedom, and therefore associate themselves with the struggle against colonial and any other form of oppression and for a world order free from slavery, hunger, political terror and war."

SOCIALIST POLICY FOR THE
UNDERDEVELOPED TERRITORIES
A Declaration of Principles

Adopted by the Second Congress of the Socialist International (Milan, 17-21 October, 1951)

Preamble

"1. The Socialist International aims at the liberation of all men from economic, spiritual and political bondage and the creation of a world society based on the principles of

freedom and equality and of voluntary cooperation between free peoples.

"The Socialist International seeks the freedom of all nations. It rejects every form of racial discrimination and every system which divides the world into superior and inferior nations.

"2. To this end it seeks to establish in every country equal citizenship and democratic institutions through which to maintain and expand the political freedom and economic wellbeing of all the people.

"It seeks to create between countries relationships which express the fundamental unity of all mankind and which recognize the just aspirations of all people to a full and free life. It recognizes the value of different cultures and seeks to promote human dignity in all lands.

"3. The Socialist International therefore rejects without reservation any form of capitalist imperialism which binds peoples in the chains of political domination and economic exploitation and which thrives on the odious myth of racial superiority.

"It rejects, too, the tyranny which Communist imperialism seeks to impose upon the peoples of the world. The oppression and exploitation of any people, whatever ideological justification may be sought for it, is diametrically opposed to the principles of democratic Socialism.

"4. The Socialist International recognizes the upsurge of national consciousness as a stage in the emancipation of nations. Communist propaganda attempts to divide the world by exploiting nationalist fervor for its own ends. Socialists condemn chauvinistic nationalism because it denies international solidarity. They regard the development of democratic Socialism as essential to the satisfaction of genuine national aspirations within the framework of an international community."

"6. Socialists, in their struggle to achieve full self-government for the dependent territories, as well as the governments concerned, must give due consideration to the growing interrelations of the nations of the world, in order to reach peaceful cooperation between free peoples."

I.

The Task of Socialists in the Underdeveloped Territories

"2. For economic development to go forward people must not only desire progress; their social, economic, legal and political

institutions must be favorable to it. Fundamental changes will be necessary. Economic relationships which rob the individual of the fruits of his labor have to be broken. Bonds of caste have to be abolished. Legal and political systems which concentrate power in the hands of a small class, intent on maintaining its own wealth and privileges, have to be removed.

"Under reactionary, selfish or corrupt leaders, the masses remain apathetic and dispirited or their misery becomes fertile ground for any ideology which holds out to them promise, however false, of means towards a better life. Given vigorous and honest leadership, the masses can be inspired with an enthusiasm for human progress. Socialists in the underdeveloped territories aim at providing that creative leadership."

. . .
"4. Socialists in the underdeveloped territories strive to establish governments convinced of the need for agrarian reforms. Land redistribution is of vital importance in many countries where living standards and productive capacities are low and where a large section of the labor force is employed in agriculture. Thus Socialists expect the governments of the underdeveloped countries to introduce legislation to abolish agrarian feudalism -- to set up a system of owner-farmers wherever suitable and to assure to the tenant farmers security of tenure and a fair share of the increased yield of their labor. This would induce them to invest in new ventures, to adopt improved techniques, to put forth intensive efforts to increase production, and so to raise their standard of living. Finally, waste lands will have to be brought into cultivation.

"5. Socialists seek action which will provide the cultivators with facilities for borrowing the funds necessary to enable them to carry on operations with adequate equipment and without a heavy debt burden. They promote the introduction of the agricultural unit which will maximize output and the establishment of suitable co-operative organizations.

"6. Socialists work for development programs which will bring to domestic industry in peasant economies better appliances and improved techniques both of production and of organization, and which will build up, where appropriate, industries under planned direction. They support action which will assist the necessary flow of capital to their countries, provided there is full protection against imperialism in any form."

. . .

THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL
ON
THE UNITED NATIONS
Statement adopted by the Fourth Congress of the Socialist
International (London, 12-16 July, 1955)

"The Socialist International has consistently affirmed its support for the United Nations Charter and Organization. The United Nations Organization provides, in spite of shortcomings, an essential machinery for the furtherance of peace and international cooperation. One of its prime functions is to provide a meeting ground where opposing powers can come together to seek a peaceful solution of conflicts. For these purposes the United Nations must be of world-wide character and not an exclusive association of like-minded nations. The Socialist International accordingly urges the admission to the United Nations of all states which are willing to respect the United Nations Charter."

THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL
ON
THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION
Resolution adopted by the fourth Congress of the Socialist
International (London, 12-16 July, 1955)

Disarmament

"Rearmament is the result of suspicion and political tension. Consequently the efforts to ease tension must go hand in hand with the work of the disarmament commission.

"Socialists aim at a universal system of disarmament under effective international supervision and control not limited either to certain weapons or certain areas."

European Unity

"The Socialist movement aims to achieve international cooperation on the widest scale, from which no country should be excluded. Within this framework, it strives for the realization, as part of the community of free nations, of a strong Europe united in freedom, so that its peoples may enjoy greater security and well-being and the individual rights and liberties to which all men are entitled."

"The Socialist movement reaffirms its support for such developments which are designed to promote freedom, security, welfare and social justice for all the people of Europe -- and not only in the democratic countries, for Socialists cannot disregard the lot of democrats, many of them fellow Socialists, under Fascist and Communist regimes. The Socialist International declares its solidarity with its

comrades and will continue to strive to secure for the peoples of all countries the fundamental human rights to which they are entitled and their freedom and independence."

Asia and Africa

"Throughout Asia and Africa the status quo is being rejected. The young nations of these continents are seeking a new social system. Communism pays only lip-service to the freedom and independence of these peoples; accepting Communism means the surrender of their independence. Democratic Socialism is the only alternative which offers the solution of their urgent economic and social problems with freedom."

"The first priority is that the free countries should be able to maintain their independence and that those which are still dependent should achieve freedom under democratic self-government.

"National independence does not in itself solve the economic and social problems which burden these areas. A vigorous program for economic and social development is everywhere an urgent necessity. Socialists call for practical cooperation through the United Nations, its specialized agencies, and other means which are acceptable to the countries concerned, in order to bring as rapid a development as possible in technical knowledge and capital resources. The Socialist movement urges that this task should be given greater priority in all countries.

"In the Middle East the new State of Israel represents a new ferment and a progressive democratic approach to the problems of this important region. The negotiation of a peace settlement between Israel and the Arab States would open the way to fruitful cooperation to the benefit of all.

"In the Far East it is evident that any settlement must be reached with the Peking Government as the effective government of China. This will involve the admission of the Peking representatives to the United Nations. The Peking Government must for its part show willingness to respect the principles of the United Nations Charter in its international relations."

"In Vietnam the guarantor nations of the Geneva agreements have the duty of contributing to the establishment of a democratic regime in the country. They have as well, and above all, the duty to demand a strict observance of the agreements by the Governments of the North and South."

"In the Union of South Africa the intransigent policy of the present Government, violating the Declaration of Human Rights by depriving the overwhelming majority of its people of the common rights of citizenship, is dealing a heavy blow to all efforts towards a peaceful and democratic settlement of the racial conflicts in the area. Socialists should press for any steps by their Governments and their organizations which can assist in calling a halt to this dangerous course."

*

"For Socialists 'peaceful co-existence' is only a means to an end. The Socialist aim is, as it always has been, more than mere co-existence; it is peace and international cooperation to realize the true brotherhood of man.

"This goal is not an idea in the minds of a few. It is a growing need of the common people everywhere. Capitalism, under which the evils of exploitation and subjection have flourished, is opposed to the principles of social justice and equality between men. Totalitarianism, whether Fascist or Communist, is the old tyranny writ large by using the new techniques. Democratic Socialism alone has taken a positive stand to the new social forces at work in the world. It is the Socialist movement which provides an answer to the needs and hopes of the common people throughout the world."

Excerpts from:

RESOLUTION ON GENERAL PROBLEMS

Adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Socialist International
(Hamburg, July, 1959)

II. Nuclear Disarmament

"2. Congress further recognizes, as it did in Vienna, 'the supreme importance of also securing agreement to abandon the production of all fissionable material for military purposes and therefore of nuclear weapons, parallel with agreement to control conventional forces'. The achievement of all-round multilateral disarmament with effective inspection and control remains our paramount aim...

"3.--Progress made on tests has not yet been matched by any similar advance in the wider field of disarmament. Indeed, we recognize that even with good will by all concerned the negotiation of a disarmament agreement will take a long time. And we are already faced with the prospect that more and more countries may, in the absence of agreement on disarmament, proceed to manufacture their own nuclear weapons. The spread of nuclear weapons to more and more countries is a

terrifying prospect for the future peace of the world, because:

- a) it would lead to a further poisoning of the atmosphere through increasing radioactivity;
- b) it might lead to a breakdown of a test agreement among those powers that already have nuclear weapons;
- c) it would make the achievement of multilateral nuclear disarmament more difficult.

In view of these facts, this Congress reiterates its view that while progress toward world-wide disarmament, nuclear and conventional, is an urgent necessity, immediate action is required to prevent a deterioration in the international situation by the spread of nuclear weapons..."

IV. Developing Countries

"1. Congress welcomes the progress made by Socialists of Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America in the service of their ideals of liberty and peace. It voices its solidarity with them in their action to assure for the peoples of these continents the respect of their fundamental rights and of democratic liberties."

SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

Statement adopted by the Bureau of the Socialist International
(London, April, 1956)

"Socialism and Communism have nothing in common. The Communists have merely perverted the very idea of Socialism. Where they are in power they have distorted every freedom, every right of the workers, every political gain and every human value which Socialists have won in a struggle lasting several generations.

"We believe in democracy, they do not. We believe in the Rights of Man, they mock them. This is not changed by the refutation of Stalinism.

"The repudiation of Stalin by those who -- whether in fear of their lives or in genuine complicity -- previously helped in Stalin's crimes and praised his sins, has not fundamentally altered the character of the Communist regime. Even with collective leadership it yet remains a dictatorship; and what they now call 'Leninism' is nothing but an earlier edition of the misconceptions and misdeeds of Stalinism.

"We note the professed desire of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for some form of cooperation with Socialist

parties.

"But where Socialist parties in the Russian-dominated part of the world have cooperated with them, they were crushed out of existence, compulsorily merged or otherwise eliminated by the ruthless methods of a dictatorship which ironically calls itself People's Democracy.

"Nor can we forget that Socialists are denied all political rights in the countries of the Soviet bloc and that many are still in prison whose only crime was to believe that there are more roads to Socialism than one.

"Therefore, the Council of the Socialist International has already stated that the recent changes of Communist tactics provide no grounds for departing from the position taken up by democratic Socialism, which firmly rejects any united front or any other form of political cooperation with the parties of dictatorship.

"While the Socialist International thus rejects all forms of cooperation with Communist parties, it favors forms of cooperation between governments which will facilitate the peaceful settlement of disputed issues. The Soviet Union together with the Western Powers has a heavy responsibility for the settlement of such major questions as disarmament and the reunification of Germany -- solutions for which the whole world is waiting.

"The Soviet Union could, however, immediately contribute to the relaxation of the international situation by stopping the arms sales to the Arab States which have aggravated the danger of war in the Middle East; halting the virulent propaganda campaigns directed against democratic countries; and permitting the free dissemination of news and opinion.

"We reaffirm that without freedom there can be no Socialism. Socialism can be achieved only through democracy. Democracy can be fully realized only through Socialism. It is indeed democratic Socialism which offers to the workers of the world the surest way to their emancipation and offers to the peoples of the world a road towards the achievement of a better society."

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WASHINGTON POST,
26 JANUARY 1966

China's Science Aims Called 20-30 Years Away

By Howard Simons
Washington Post Staff Writer

Red China's aim to become an industrial giant with a great leap forward in science and technology has stumbled and probably will not be realized for another 20 or 30 years.

This is the conclusion of a massive and detailed report on "Scientific and Engineering Manpower in Communist China, 1949-1963," made public by the National Science Foundation. The report was written by Dr. Chu-yuan Cheng, formerly of Seton Hall University, and now associated with the University of Michigan. It also makes these observations:

- There is a faint glimmer of hope that the mainland Chinese might someday return to cooperation with the West.

- Along with the production of atomic weapons, Red China is conducting a program to develop rockets.

- China has rapidly developed its chemical and petroleum industries; whereas it could not even make aspirin in 1949, it now produces antibiotics, hormones and plastics.

- Without Soviet assistance, lost in 1960 at the beginning of the Sino-Soviet split, or without new ties elsewhere, Communist China's scientific development will be retarded and its ambition to climb the world's scientific apex will be delayed.

- Red Chinese science suffers from political intrusions; the persistent suspicion of "old" Western-trained Chinese scientists; early ideological emphasis on the quantity rather than the quality of trained manpower; and the failure to woo back 10,000 "capable, middle-aged, Western-trained" Chinese scientists and engineers from abroad.

In Cheng's view, China's present economic difficulties have forced significant modifications in her once-ambitious science plans. Famine, particularly, has diverted resources and attention to agricultural sciences.

"Communist China has great distances to travel before it can reach the peak of modern science and technology," Cheng says, setting the distance at 20 to 30 years.

The present tendency to reaffirm the value of studying Western science and technology suggests to Cheng that future cooperation might be possible.

He says, too, that the backbone of China's present progress are middle-aged, Western-trained scientists. Ch'ien San-ch'ang, who received his doctorate from the University

of Paris, heads China's atomic effort; Ch'ien Hsueh-shan, who is responsible for rocket development, was trained at the Massachusetts and California Institutes of Technology.

Though viewed with some suspicion, these Western-trained scientists are paid well and pampered by the state, which is living in a kind of uneasy truce with these "intellectuals."

Nonetheless, according to Cheng, there is a critical and growing gap between these "senior" scientists and China's home-educated "junior" scientists.

"The success or failure in bridging this gap," concludes Cheng, "will determine whether China becomes a scientifically advanced power in the next decade or two."

January 1966

CHINA'S DISCONTENTED YOUTH

THE Chinese leaders' intense efforts to ensure that future generations are worthy "heirs and successors" to the revolution seem to be running into the obstacle of disillusionment among China's young people.

In the country's present state the attainment of "worthy heirs" in the minimum possible time—admitted to be several generations—means self-sacrifice, austerity, unquestioning obedience to party and State commands, and sublimating self to the collective good.

The *People's Daily* editorial of June 1, 1965, recommended:

"Only by learning to voice their own opinions and make their own decisions to handle affairs by themselves, to become accustomed to a collective life of democratic centralism, to independence in thinking and carrying out activities in their own organisations, can the children from an early age acquire the ability to work for the country and the collective, the courage to persist in truth, to be daring in struggle and to shoulder heavy tasks. Trained and tempered in this way, young people will be prepared to deal with world affairs, dedicate themselves to the cause of Communism and take over from the older generations of revolutionaries on all fronts".

Privation resented

But in the absence of war-time conditions it becomes more and more difficult to persuade people to accept the prospect of unrelieved hardship and privation. After 15 years of Communist rule some sections of the population, particularly young people, are showing signs of disillusionment at the failure of the régime to achieve any significant improvement in living conditions.

One of the promises the Communists made in 1949 and have not yet been able to keep was higher education for all. The cut-back in industrial progress in 1960 was followed by a reduction in the number of students receiving higher technical education. This, in turn, meant disappointment, with no alternative but to work in the countryside, particularly in the remote border regions.

One way in which the authorities have tried to deal with the situation has been to expand the youth organisations. On May 3, 1965, a China Young Communist League (CYCL) communiqué revealed that youth leagues were being established which would enrol young people between the ages of 7-15. Young Pioneers (cadet branch of CYCL) would continue to exist as an élite nucleus of the youth leagues. Similarly, in October, 1965, it was announced that the CYCL (cadet organisation for the Communist Party) would also increase

October 9:

"Expansion of CYCL membership is neither a question of merely increasing the number of organisations, nor a matter of the CYCL alone, but, more important still, a question concerning the further consolidation of the party's leadership over the youths and the unceasing reinforcement of the forces for carrying out Socialist revolution and construction".

**Peking's
'poisons'**

The spate of publicity given to stories of the struggles of young people of "bourgeois" and worse origins to repudiate their families and to live acceptable revolutionary lives has emphasised that "contaminating" influences are everywhere. These include not only "hangovers" from the past—such as capitalism, bureaucratism and feudalistic and other undesirable ideological concepts—but also those which are still emerging, such as the new capitalism, revisionism, complacency and lethargy.

The Press is full of exhortations to young people not to take an interest in fashions, to stop thinking of "extravagant" meals but to be thankful that, however monotonous the diet, the State always manages to put something in the rice bowl, to forget their own wishes and ambitions and instead to work for the attainment of Communism. But even those young people who have accepted sacrifices for the good of the State, have found hostility in the remote areas to which they have gone, have been weakened by physical hardships and have begun to write to the newspapers questioning the validity of current policies. The Peking *Daily Worker* on September 25 rebuked those "who do not believe there are any future prospects for any young intellectuals who cherish any ambitions at all".

But life is little better for those students who have been fortunate enough to be accepted for higher education. The "part-work, part-study campaign", together with increased physical education and study of Mao's works reached such a pitch by the beginning of September that a *People's Daily* editorial was forced to urge that a proper balance should be maintained between work and rest and that extra-curricular activities should be reduced. It added: "What useful thing can a student do if his health is ruined? A student with poor health will be a very big loss to the country".

Enforced courses Overseas Chinese students who responded to appeals from the Chinese Government to return to China for higher education have also become disillusioned. Many were forced to accept courses despite their lack of interest or aptitude. The standard of living was much lower than that to which they had been accustomed, and their studies were far too heavily filled with ideological indoctrination. Moreover, the "part-work, part-study" drive interfered with their academic work still further. Some did not even go to the promised higher educational institutions but were

sent to work on farms. A recent edition of the *Overseas Chinese Affairs Journal* admitted: "Many young people are not happy with agricultural production. Some want to work in factories and some on the farm for one year and then sit for the university matriculation examination".

Those overseas Chinese who have expressed a wish to abandon their studies and leave China have been reminded that they were sent to school on a government order and must stay.

Refused visas Even those who have applied for leave to visit their families outside China during their vacations are being refused visas, mainly because the régime has found that once they leave they never return.

Li Yung-chuan, who had been studying in Canton, told the *Sing Tao Daily News* of Hongkong on June 16, 1963, that of the 3,000 overseas Chinese students in Canton in 1962 only 1,000 remained by the spring of 1963. "I am not going back to the mainland . . .," he added. "In three years all I learned was Marxist-Leninist theories." The Hongkong Press also reported that another overseas Chinese student had said that "not one in a hundred" of his fellow students had been able to obtain visas to leave China during 1963. By last year, according to *Sing Tao Daily News*, of August 8, fewer still were successful. Instead they were told by the authorities that the summer vacation was a time for more political education and military training and that the "development of their thinking" would be harmed by contact with "capitalist society and exposure to *bourgeois* living".

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U.S.-Trained Intellectuals Advise China

By Stanley S. Karnow

Washington Post Foreign Service

HONG KONG—It was late 1950, and Chinese Communist "volunteers" had crossed the Yalu River into Korea weeks before. Aboard the liner President Cleveland as it cruised the Pacific were more than 100 young Chinese physicists, psychologists, economists and other "higher intellectuals," as they would later be labeled.

Bearing degrees from a dozen American universities, they were returning to Red China fired with enthusiasm. They sang stirring songs, discussed world events in a new lexicon of slogans they were learning and speculated ambitiously on their futures.

"We were filled with hope," recently reminisced one of those youths, now a Hong Kong engineer. "The corrupt Kuomintang regime had collapsed and a new China offered us the chance to build our country. Besides, there were signs that war was coming. We had to serve the motherland.

"Call it naive idealism perhaps, but for the first time in our lives we felt patriotic, proud to be Chinese."

Windfall for Peking

THOUGH MANY regretted it afterward, that motive stimulated thousands of Chinese experts educated in the United States to offer their talents to the Peking government. An estimated 2000 American-trained scientists and engineers, including 450 with doctoral degrees, stayed in China following the Communist takeover, while hundreds went home from abroad.

Without their skills, Communist China might not have managed to industrialize even as modestly as it has. These American-educated specialists contributed significantly toward developing fields that barely existed in pre-Communist days, such as chemicals,

pharmaceuticals, electronics and plastics.

Without them, Peking might still be years away from a nuclear weapon instead of possessing an atomic stockpile and approaching the construction of a hydrogen bomb as well as a delivery system that could crucially alter the nature of its challenge to the West.

Indeed, a study published this month by Prof. C. Y. Cheng of Seton Hall University reveals that American-educated Chinese predominate in Red China's academic circles. The Chinese Academy of Sciences, for example, contains 150 members trained in the United States, more than the combined total of those with European, Soviet, Japanese or Chinese higher educations.

The large majority of prominent faculty members at Chinese universities have American backgrounds. Of the 32 winners of prizes awarded in 1957 by the Academy of Sciences, 17 held American degrees.

China's most eminent nuclear physicist, Chien San-chiang, studied in France with the late Frederic Joliot Curie. However, three of his key deputies owe at least part of their formation to American universities.

Wang Kan-chiang, an expert on cosmic rays, did research at the University of California (Berkeley) in 1948, later moving to the Joint Sino-Soviet Nuclear Center at Dubna, where he reportedly worked with Pontecorvo. Chao Chung-yao, who took his Ph.D. at the California Institute of Technology in 1930, is well known for his observations on gamma rays. The youngest of the Atomic Energy Institute's deputy directors is 50-year-old Chang Chai-hua, who received his doctorate at Washington University in St. Louis in 1952.

The Chinese nuclear project includes an array of other American-educated talent. Hu Ning, now a physics professor at Peking University, and Chang Wen-yu, head of the Atomic Institute's, cosmic ray laboratory, both worked at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study. Teng Chia-hsien, 41, took his Ph.D. at Purdue in 1950 before returning to China to become a leading nuclear researcher.

A random sampling of different departments in the Chinese Academy of Sciences discloses a wide assortment of American-educated scholars: agronomists from Cornell and botanists from Minnesota, metallurgists from the Colorado School of Technology, Columbia-trained philosophers and bacteriologists with experience at the Rockefeller Institute.

AMERICAN - EDUCATED Chinese scholars

have suffered severely for their American backgrounds. Their worst period came in 1957 after Mao Tse-tung's "hundred flowers" experiment in free speech inspired a cascade of criticism against the Communist Party. Stunned by the criticism, party leaders reacted vigorously, and American-trained intellectuals were an obvious target.

A Cal Tech physicist was made to confess that his wartime research had transformed him into "an instrument of American imperialism." A Harvard-educated biologist had to admit that collecting botanical specimens in his youth for the U.S. Agriculture Department had served "in the exploitation of colonial and semicolonial countries." The dean of National Peking University's law school, a Harvard Ph.D., acknowledged his contacts with "devils and monsters" such as Harvard Prof. John K. Fairbank, who had been "engaged in espionage in China."

An almost nerveless case of courage was that of Peking University's president, Ma Yin-chu, an economist trained at Yale and Columbia, whose "crime" was his advocacy of birth control. Ordered to recant, he refused, insisting, "I shall not yield to those who resort to force rather than to reason."

For many less prominent Chinese with American educations, life in China could be intolerable. In the words of Ching Wu-chao, a California-trained

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economist who recently reached Hong Kong from the mainland: "It was like being struck by a fate we could not have foreseen."

The son of a Kuomintang official, Ching went to the United States to study in 1947. Three years later, when the Communists took power, he returned to Peking.

"For the first few years it was fine," he recollected. "I worked as a researcher in a government office and my wife taught school. As returnees, we received higher salaries than other officials. We trusted our friends and they trusted us."

In the early 1950s, however, the Communists began to check family, economic and political backgrounds. Ordered to write his autobiography, Ching revealed his father's past political affiliations, his American education and his relatives living in the United States.

"You could not lie," Ching said. "They questioned your friends about you, and if the information didn't coincide, everyone would be in trouble."

Blossoms Wilted

AS A RESULT of his background, Ching was removed from his government job and assigned to teaching in a college. He was told that he was "not thoroughly reliable."

Still the pressures accelerated. There were more and more meetings, denunciations, criticisms and self-criticisms until suddenly in 1957, the "hundred flowers" bloomed and everything changed. As Ching remembered it, "Instead of criticizing us, officials begged us to criticize the party."

After some hesitation, Ching obliged. At a meeting at his college, he argued for more rational legal procedures to apprehend "counter-revolutionaries." He urged better treatment for intellectuals and pointed out that party members were not always trustworthy.

The hundred flowers wilted in six weeks, withering Ching. Arraigned before a crowd at what the Communists call a "struggle meeting," he was pelted with invective. His three years in America were a natural focus for attack.

"Since Ching was educated in the United States," an official announced, "he must be our enemy." From then on, Ching theoretically wore a Yu Pi Mao Tze, the "cap of a rightist."

Meetings of confession and criticism continued for seven months. Ching's salary was cut and his status reduced. Finally, in April, 1958, he was arrested and sent without trial to a labor camp

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Matter of Fact *By Joseph Alsop*

Prudence Plus Paranoia

HONG KONG — The view Nor is this an isolated episode of paranoia on the educational front.

of China from this vital vantage point becomes stranger, more downright bizarre with every return to Hong Kong. Consider, for example, the recent fate of Peking University.



Alsop

Not very long ago, on the occasion of one of Mao Tse-tung's rather rare public appearances, he talked briefly with a foreign diplomat. The foreigner, for want of anything better to say, remarked that he had just visited China's leading university, and had been much impressed. Whereupon Mao replied shortly that it was a dreadful place, about which something would soon have to be done.

Something was done indeed. All members of the university's three upper classes were shipped off to Sinkiang — the Chinese equivalent of Siberia — to improve their minds by a period of hard labor. This was exactly like the U.S. Government sending the sophomore, junior and senior classes of Harvard or the University of California to forced labor in Alaska.

Nor is this an isolated episode of paranoia on the educational front. The Philosophy Department of China People's University, the Chinese Language Department of Peking Normal University, and the professors of both the History and Philosophy Departments of Peking University have all been permanently exiled to the countryside.

THIS IS ONE reason why the number of "black men" is now estimated at anywhere from 200,000 to 500,000 in the city of Canton alone—"black men" being people without proper identity and work papers, mostly students who have fled from forced labor. In short, the persecution of the young, and more particularly the students, is now a very marked feature of Mao Tse-tung's China. It bespeaks the leadership's intense distrust of the next generation.

Because of this openly manifested distrust, the expert China watchers here are more and more persuaded that a rather radical change of regime is likely, not very long after the ailing, 73-year-old Mao passes from the scene. But meanwhile China must continue in the grip of aged leaders, some of whom have seemingly been driven close to madness by their countless frustrations.

in northeastern China near the Soviet border. There he endured three years felling trees, building roads and digging ditches. When he was released, he said, he could hardly walk.

Barred from Peking after that, Ching was sent to a school in Shantung Province, nominally as a faculty member but actually to tend the school garden.

For many other American-educated Chinese inside China, life is less intolerable. Those with key Foreign Ministry jobs, for example, enjoy a certain sense of security. Top scientists and technicians

know that the Communist regime needs them. Several are dedicated and disciplined enough to accept the continual din of slogans and the constant rounds of political meetings that interfere with serious research.

By now, it seems, most of the evil, American-influenced intellectuals have been weeded out. And in the wake of the bitter dispute between Peking and Moscow, a different kind of devil is being singled out for exorcism—the Soviet-trained Chinese scientist. His treatment may even be worse than that of his American-educated counterpart.

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