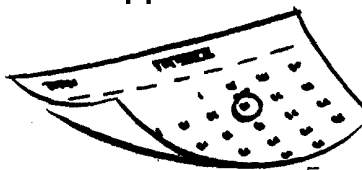


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Significant Dates ▶

[ASTERISK denotes ANNIVERSARIES. All others are CURRENT EVENTS]

JAN

- January or February: Congress of International Union of Students (IUS, Communist front). Warsaw. (Rescheduled from December-January.)
- 21* V.I. Lenin dies. 1924.
- 23-30* In Stalin's purge trials, Karl Radek, Grigory Sokolnikov, two other Old Bolsheviks imprisoned; 13 others condemned to death. 1937. THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY.
- 26* Republic of India proclaimed. 1950.
- 28* Birthday of Jose Marti, leader of Cuban independence struggle. 1853.
- 30* Adolf Hitler becomes Chancellor of Germany. 1933.
- 31* German Army at Stalingrad surrenders, World War II. 1943.

FEB

- 1* UN General Assembly adopts resolution charging Chinese Communist aggression in Korea. 1951.
- 7-12* World War II: Yalta Conference (Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin). 1945.
- 13* Katanga Government announces "massacre" of Patrice Lumumba on 12 February. 1961.
- 13-25* Czechoslovakia, last East European nation governed by traditional parliamentary methods, falls to Communist coup. 25 February: Klement Gottwald becomes Prime Minister. 1948.
- 16* Fidel Castro becomes Prime Minister of Cuba. 1959.
- 21* Anti-Colonialism Day (Communist holiday celebrated mainly by youth and student fronts. Commemorates Communist-inspired mutiny of Indian sailors.) 1946.
- 27* Mao Tse-tung delivers "Hundred Flowers" speech. (Text released 18 June 1957.) 1957. TENTH ANNIVERSARY.

MAR

- 8 International Women's Day. (Celebrated by WIDF, Communist women's front.)
- 8-15* February Revolution in Russia. (Old Style dates: 23 February-2 March.)
15 March: Tsar Nicholas II abdicates. 1917. FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY.
- 12* President's message to Congress advances Truman Doctrine: recommends aid to Greece and Turkey to combat Communism. Approved by Congress, 15 May. 1947. TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY.
- 18-25 3rd Afro-Asian Writers' Conference at Beirut. (This meeting of Soviet-line followers of the split Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau is rescheduled from February.)

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Briefly Noted ✓

5 December 1966

"On the
Receiving
End"

Cultural Purge Hits Chi-
com Propagandists Hard

According to the NEW YORK TIMES, 23 November 1966, at least 20 of the leading propagandists of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) have been purged. Among them were Chou Yang, Deputy Director of Propaganda for the Central Committee of the CCP; Wang Kuang, propaganda chief for 5 central-south provinces; and Tseng Tun, a propaganda leader for Hupeh Province. All had held their posts for many years. (MEDIA LINES, BPG #197, 15 August 1966 reported the dismissal of Lu Ting-yi as head of CCP propaganda operations, and also as Minister of Culture.) The Chinese press has been denouncing these men for weeks, asserting that for years they frustrated the will of Chairman Mao. The "evidence" against them consisted of their published statements and informers' reports of private conversations with them in which they questioned certain official views and programs. Taken together, the charges against them are a catalogue of what constitutes ideological heresy in China to-day. Among the main charges against such men as Messrs. Chou, Wang and Tseng are that they denigrated the idea of Mao's infallibility and opposed the (disastrous) "Great Leap Forward" of 1958. They are also accused of opposing rural communes, the supremacy of politics over technique in art and literature, and the renewed class struggle (precursor in 1965 to the "great cultural revolution" of 1966). Having said that China should run schools known for academic excellence,

Chou is accused of having clearly tried to abolish the party leadership over schools and turn them into "bourgeois nurseries." (Actually, a telling comment on Communis education!) Wang is quoted as having said (during the 1965 campaign to revive the class struggle between poor peasants and old bourgeois elements) that it would be more profitable to "collect more manure in your spare time".

* * *

Terms are "Socialism" and
grossly "Capitalism"
distorted

The term "capitalism" has been discredited throughout much of the world by the success of the Marxists in labeling everything bad as a product of "capitalism," abetted in this by rapaciously exploitative capitalists (unfortunately still extant in some countries of the world). Consequently it is generally more effective to speak of "free enterprise" or "private enterprise" than of "capitalism."

However, as confused as the meaning of "capitalism" may be, it is easily surpassed by the distortion which has arisen in the use of the word "socialism." The Soviets proclaim that theirs is a "socialist" regime which is building "communism," and they speak of the "socialist camp," excluding therefrom the socialist governments of Sweden or England which are part of the "capitalist camp."

For propaganda purposes we must persist in labeling Communists as "Communists," and refer to the "Communist bloc" rather than the "socialist camp" (and never the "people's democracies" -- unless, perhaps, one refers to the "so-called people's democracies").

The confusion in these terms was discussed in a useful article which appeared in the Review of the Swiss Press on 1 November 1966, a copy of which is enclosed -- in English and French.

* * *

Cadre Schools AALAPSO Fostering
For Three Guerrilla Warfare
Continents

Some countries were shocked by the declarations issued by the Tri-Continent Conference in Havana, January 1966. The Economic Committee of the Tri-CC, for example, passed a Resolution calling for "economic, financial, and material aid of all kinds, including arms and munitions, to the authentic representatives of the countries which fight with arms in their hands, so that they may liberate their country and consolidate peace in the world." Reaction was particularly strong in Latin America. The Uruguayan Foreign Minister publicly demanded a formal clarification of the declarations made by the chief Soviet delegate, Sharaf R. Rashidov, at the conference and of his status as an official representative of the Soviet government. After consulting with Moscow, the Soviet ambassador in Montevideo rather lamely alleged that Rashidov represented a "Soviet social organization," rather than the Soviet government.

The Havana declarations were not empty threats. The permanent organization created at the conference -- the Afro-Asian-Latin American People's Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO) -- on 18 November 1966 called for the establishment of schools to train political cadres of the revolutionary movement in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The same communique revealed that Cuba and North Korea have already agreed to create such institutions. Thus we have an official announcement of AALAPSO (of which the USSR claims to be a leading member) overtly announcing the establishment of schools to train revolutionaries to subvert governments on three continents.

Member governments of the AALAPSO organization should be called to account for this brazen step. Should they issue disclaimers, as did the USSR to Uruguay, they should be asked to renounce this official communique of the organization.

A copy of the text of the communique as carried over Radio Havana is attached, along with a Reuters article which provides useful commentary.

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"From COMMUNIST Sources" -- A New *Press Comment* Feature

A field station has suggested that PRESS COMMENT could usefully include more articles from Communist publications. We agree, and are now instituting a new section of PRESS COMMENT entitled "From COMMUNIST Sources." This will appear once a week, and will carry items from Communist or Leftist, Communist-leaning publications. Our aim is not to give the Communists "equal time" but to circulate materials which are of interest to our propagandists, including articles criticizing conditions in Communist countries, articles revealing respect for the Free World, articles showing changes of line, articles which can be redirected against audiences for which they were not intended, articles attacking religion, articles showing revisionist tendencies, or articles which lend themselves to satire. In some cases we will follow up with Briefly Noted comments. (This new section does not affect our periodical issuance of annotated COMMUNIST TEXTS.)

* * * * *

If you find this a useful feature, help us by forwarding items which could be included in this section. In particular, we suggest that readers let us have items which (1) appear in periodicals of small circulation or in exotic languages, or (2) which -- while effective Communist propaganda in the local setting -- will be anti-Communist dynamite when planted elsewhere. (We need original clips or clear black and white reproductions: thermofax copies cannot be reproduced. Translations should accompany items in foreign languages.)

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BIWEEKLY PROPAGANDA GUIDANCES
INDEX

Issues #191 (23 May 66) through #203 (7 Nov 66)

<u>A. SUBJECT</u>	<u>BPG NO.</u>	<u>ITEM NO.</u>	<u>DATE</u>
<u>AGRICULTURE</u> (See also Economics)			
<i>Cuban Sugar Crop Failure Poses Major Problems*</i>	194	1035	5 July 66
<u>AUTHORITARIANISM</u>			
<i>Facts on Cuban Defectors*</i>	191	1022	23 May 66
<i>Hungary: Ten Years Later. Assessing the Decade Since the Revolution*</i>	191	1023	23 May 66
<i>The Struggle for Power in Communist China*</i>	194	1038	5 July 66
<i>Problems of Communist Youth</i>	195	1042	18 July 66
<i>Stalin's Unruly Ghost*</i>	197	1049	15 Aug 66
<i>February 1917: The Real Russian Revolution*</i>	199	1055	12 Sep 66
<i>Nasser Jails Yemeni Cabinet</i>	202	1069	24 Oct 66
<i>Soviet Youth: A Different Set of Problems*</i>	203	1074	7 Nov 66
<u>DISARMAMENT [See Military...]</u>			
<u>DISSENSIONS IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT</u>			
<i>Rumania's International Ventures: What's Behind Them?*</i>	192	1028	6 June 66
<i>Belgium: A Communist Party with Problems*</i>	193	1033	20 June 66
<i>Venezuela: Communist Split-Up</i>	196	1046	1 Aug 66

*Indicates unclassified attachment(s)

*Japanese Communist Party Assumes a More Autonomous Facade** 199 1056 12 Sep 66

*The Development of Communist China's Cultural Revolution** 203 1070 7 Nov 66

ECONOMIC

Europeans to Modernize Soviets' Outmoded Automobile Industry 193 1034 20 June 66

Soviet Industry's Growth Rate Continues to Decline 198 1054 29 Aug 66

*Burmese Seek New Answers for Economic Problems** 200 1062 26 Sep 66

The Latin American Free Trade Association -- LAFTA 203 1073 7 Nov 66

FREE WORLD DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVES

*Population and Food in Latin America** 192 1025 6 June 66

The Socialist International Breaks Its European Shell 192 1027 6 June 66

*Indonesia's Uncertain Future** 193 1030 20 June 66

*Atlantic Charter: 1941-1946 -- How Its Promises were Fulfilled -- or Violated** 194 1037 5 July 66

*South Korea Advances Towards Maturity** 195 1041 18 July 66

*Elections in Brazil** 200 1061 26 Sep 66

*South Vietnam Advances in Self-Government** 201 1064 10 Oct 66

*Free Choice for Puerto Rico** 202 1067 24 Oct 66

*Japan's Role in Asia and the Community of Nations** 203 1072 7 Nov 66

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND FRONTS

Split in Afro-Asian Writers Organization 196 1048 1 Aug 66

<i>Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation Plans "War Crimes" Against U.S. Leaders*</i>	198	1053	29 Aug 66
<i>Afro-Asian Writers' Organization Deepens Split</i>	201	1063	10 Oct 66
<i>Front Activities: I.O.J. Congress</i>	203	1071	7 Nov 66

LITERATURE, ARTS & SCIENCES,
INTELLIGENTSIA

<i>China's Educational Upheaval*</i>	198	1052	29 Aug 66
<i>Soviet Science and Technology at the 50 Year Mark*</i>	201	1066	10 Oct 66

MILITARY, DISARMAMENT, NUCLEAR,
SPACE

<i>The Warsaw Pact and Nato: Two Radically Different Alliances</i>	194	1019	5 July 66
<i>Is Soviet Doctrine on Nuclear War Changing?</i>	195	1044	18 July 66
<i>Vietnam: U.S. Air Strikes Near Hanoi and Haiphong</i>	196	1047	1 Aug 66
<i>"Vltava": Warsaw Pact 1966 Maneuvers Unprecedented in Scope*</i>	202	1068	24 Oct 66

RELIGION

<i>Communists and Religion*</i>	196	1045	1 Aug 66
<i>Religious Persecution in Communist China*</i>	200	1059	26 Sep 66

SUBVERSION

<i>New Opportunities for French Com- munists*</i>	191	1021	23 May 66
<i>West European Communists Stress Popular Front Tactics: The Case of Finland*</i>	192	1026	6 June 66

<i>Kenya's Fight Against Communist Subversion*</i>	192	1029	6 June 66
<i>Ultimate Communist Goals Unchanged</i>	193	1031	20 June 66
<i>The Lessons of Ghana*</i>	193	1032	20 June 66
<i>Sweden: A Communist Party with a New Image*</i>	194	1036	5 July 66
<i>The Lessons of Ghana: Chapter II*</i>	194	1040	5 July 66
<i>Communists Court Social Democrats In Denmark and Norway*</i>	194	1043	18 July 66
<i>Communist International Secret Police Network*</i>	199	1058	12 Sep 66
<i>Soviets Attempt to Isolate the U.S.</i>	200	1060	26 Sep 66
<i>Castro's Actions Isolate Cuba*</i>	201	1065	10 Oct 66

B. COUNTRY

AFRICA

Ghana

<i>The Lessons of Ghana*</i>	193	1032	20 June 66
<i>The Lessons of Ghana: Chapter II*</i>	194	1040	5 July 66

Kenya

<i>Kenya's Fight Against Communist Subversion*</i>	192	1029	6 June 66
--	-----	------	-----------

EUROPE

Belgium

<i>Belgium: A Communist Party with Problems*</i>	193	1033	20 June 66
--	-----	------	------------

Denmark

<i>Communists Court Social Democrats In Denmark and Norway*</i>	195	1043	18 July 66
---	-----	------	------------

Finland

*West European Communists Stress
Popular Front Tactics: The Case
of Finland** 192 1026 6 June 66

France

*New Opportunities for French Com-
munists** 191 1021 23 May 66

Sweden

*Sweden: A Communist Party with a
"New Image" ** 194 1036 5 July 66

FAR EAST

Burma

*Burmese Seek New Answers for
Economic Problems** 200 1062 26 Sep 66

China, Communist

*The Struggle for Power in Communist
China** 194 1038 5 July 66

*China's Educational Upheaval** 198 1052 29 Aug 66

*Religious Persecution in Commu-
nist China** 200 1059 26 Sep 66

*The Development of Communist
China's Cultural Revolution** 203 1070 7 Nov 66

Indonesia

*Indonesia's Uncertain Future** 193 1030 20 June 66

Japan

*Japanese Communist Party Assumes a
More Autonomous Facade** 199 1056 12 Sep 66

*Japan's Role in Asia and the Com-
munity of Nations** 203 1072 7 Nov 66

Korea

*South Korea Advances Towards Maturity** 195 1041 18 July 66

Vietnam

<i>Vietnam: U.S. Air Strikes Near Hanoi and Haiphong</i>	196	1047	1 Aug 66
<i>South Vietnam Advances in Self-Government*</i>	201	1064	10 Oct 66

NEAR EAST

<i>New Soviet Accommodation in the Middle East</i>	191	1024	23 May 66
<i>Nasser Jails Yemeni Cabinet</i>	202	1069	24 Oct 66

SOVIET BLOC

General

<i>Ultimate Communist Goals Unchanged</i>	193	1031	20 June 66
<i>The Warsaw Pact and NATO: Two Radically Different Alliances</i>	194	1039	5 July 66
<i>Problems of Communist Youth</i>	195	1042	18 July 66
<i>Communist International Secret Police Network*</i>	199	1058	12 Sep 66
<i>"Vltava": Warsaw Pact 1966 Maneuvers Unprecedented in Scope*</i>	202	1068	24 Oct 66

Hungary

<i>Hungary: Ten Years Later Assessing The Decade Since The Revolution*</i>	191	1023	23 May 66
--	-----	------	-----------

Rumania

<i>Rumania's International Ventures: What's Behind Them?*</i>	192	1028	9 June 66
---	-----	------	-----------

Soviet Union

<i>Europeans To Modernize Soviets' Outmoded Automobile Industry*</i>	193	1034	20 June 66
<i>Is Soviet Doctrine on Nuclear War Changing?</i>	195	1044	18 July 66
<i>Stalin's Unruly Ghost*</i>	197	1049	15 Aug 66

<i>Soviet Industry's Growth Rate Continues to Decline</i>	198	1054	29 Aug 66
<i>February 1917: The Real Russian Revolution</i>	199	1055	12 Sep 66
<i>Soviets Attempt to Isolate the U.S.</i>	200	1060	26 Sep 66
<i>Soviet Science and Technology at the 50 Year Mark*</i>	201	1066	10 Oct 66
<i>Soviet Youth: A Different Set of Problems*</i>	203	1074	7 Nov 66

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

General

<i>Population and Food in Latin America*</i>	192	1025	6 June 66
<i>Free Choice for Puerto Rico*</i>	202	1067	24 Oct 66
<i>The Latin American Free Trade Association-- LAFTA*</i>	203	1073	7 Nov 66

Brazil

<i>Elections in Brazil*</i>	200	1061	26 Sep 66
-----------------------------	-----	------	-----------

Cuba

<i>Facts on Cuban Defectors*</i>	191	1022	23 May 66
<i>Cuban Sugar Crop Failure Poses Major Problems*</i>	194	1035	5 July 66
<i>Castro's Actions Isolate Cuba*</i>	201	1065	10 Oct 66

Venezuela

<i>Venezuela: Communist Split-Up*</i>	196	1046	1 Aug 66
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Propagandist's Guide to WORLD COMMUNIST AFFAIRS



#8

25 October-21 November 1966

ICM AND "SOCIALIST CAMP" AFFAIRS

1. Mutual recriminations and splintering among the world's Communist and their cohorts accelerate as the Chinese appear unable to bring their "cultural revolution" (CR) to any conclusive result and increasingly alienate the rest of the world. While Chinese relations with the Soviets become even more bitterly hostile, the Peking government now feels impelled to lash out insultingly at the Bulgarian and Hungarian regimes (as well as at the non-Communist Ghanaian and Indonesian Governments and the Gandhi-Nasser-Tito "neutral summit"). The Soviets open support for their position and condemnation of the Chinese by an "overwhelming majority" of the Communist world, yet they fail in still another effort to win general approval for convening a world conference. (See details below.)
2. The current alignment of the ICM is graphically highlighted by congresses of the ruling Albanian and Bulgarian parties. Apart from the "big brother" Chinese, the "neutral trio" (N. Vietnam, N. Korea and Rumania), and the tiny but disciplined New Zealand CP, the Albanian Congress is attended only by a handful of representatives of small pro-Chinese dissident minority "parties" or groups. Not only are the Soviets and Yugoslavs castigated by name as leaders of the modern revisionists, but Tirana publicizes a message read at the Congress by the Belgian Grippa purporting to come from a pro-Chinese "Provisional CC of the Polish CP," and attacking the "counter-revolutionary turn in Poland." (Nov 1-8)
3. The Bulgarian Congress, on the other hand, is attended by high-level delegations of a majority of the world's national CPs, including all of the ruling parties except the Albanians and Chinese. Bulgarian chief Zhivkov leads off denouncing Chinese conduct and saying that "conditions are ripe" for convening a world conference. His initiative is quickly, though somewhat cautiously, seconded by Brezhnev. Rumanian chief Ceausescu, however, immediately reaffirms Rumanian opposition. Although PRAVDA at the close of the Congress claims support of the conference initiative by the Czech, E. German, Hungarian, French, and a number of lesser parties, it was opposed by the N. Koreans, Yugoslavs and Italians, -- and apparently ignored by the N. Vietnamese, Mongolians, Cubans, and others. PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA articles on the 19th, however, indicate Soviet intention to continue to push for the conference. (Nov 14-19)
4. A further demonstration of the alignment of the ruling parties is given as the Chinese alone walk out in protest against critical comments in October Revolution speeches in Moscow while the Bulgarians, E. Germans, Czechs, Hungarians, Poles, and Mongolians join the Soviets in walking out of a Peking mass rally when Chou En-lai attacks the Soviets (12).

INTERNATIONAL FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

5. A Chinese delegate describes another bitter internal struggle against the Soviet revisionists at an international front meeting, the "5th International Conference of the Trade Unions of Metal and Engineering Workers" in Sofia, Oct. 18-23; again the Soviets engaged in "tricks of every kind" to impose their line and suppress the Chinese. (Nov 8)
6. A Peking "Afro-Asian Writers Bureau statement" denounces "new plots" of the "Soviet splittists in Cairo" and describes its own Peking-based publishing activities. (Nov 12)
7. A statement by the CPR National Women's Federation blasts Soviet manipulation of the WIDF-sponsored Oct. 3-6 Stockholm "World Conference for Children." (Nov 18)
8. A Havana communique of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO) announces that schools to train revolutionaries from all 3 continents are being established in Cuba and N. Korea. (Nov. 18)

COMMUNIST CHINA

Our Chronology cites a host of reports (and these are selected from a larger volume received) on developments in the Chinese CR, -- yet our picture is far from complete, clear, or reliable. Most of our information comes from foreign correspondents in Peking -- primarily Communist Bloc, Japanese, and Canadian -- and they are reporting largely what appears on wall newspapers, posters and leaflets, plus limited first-hand observation. Regular Chinese publications, now sharply curtailed in number and volume and hampered by heavy staff purges, devote much space to the CR, but the material they carry is generally exhortative and often seems designed to misinform or cover up rather than to inform. As of this writing, our best assessment of the available information seems to indicate that:

- a. The power struggle in the hierachy is far from decided. By the time of the rally of 2 million on Nov. 12, Lin Piao seemed to be more clearly in the ascendancy and Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, and Chen Yi were practically ignored. Yet at the rally a week later, Liu and Chen seemed to be back in close public rapport with Mao, and Lin was unaccountably missing from the huge procession on the following day while Chou and Chen Po-ta shared the lead car with Mao, -- and Chinese reporting concealed Lin's absence. (There is some speculation that Lin's health, not good for the past two years, may not be bearing up.) The last two, highly contradictory, reports in our Chronology, both from TANYUG Peking, illustrate the difficulty in trying to interpret or forecast developments in this situation.
- b. More than 10 million Red Guards have now been reported as having come to Peking and participated in one (or more?) of 7 huge rallies. Red Guards have

been reported in clashes with other RG units, army units, workers, and unidentified civilians. Their posters have attacked most of the top Party/State officials at one time or another, and some have been replaced by new posters defending the former targets. Rampaging Guards occupied the building housing the Peking City Committee, run by the CR's own appointee Li Hseuh-feng, and they camped outside Chou En-lai's office demanding to talk with him. Much of this activity seems to be undirected, and some even out of control, though Soviet and Czech media emphasize the militarization of the Guard and its preparation for war. A drastic reduction in RG activity may be expected to follow the ban on travel to Peking effective Nov 21. However, the ban was presumably adopted primarily because the transportation network was threatened with a complete breakdown by this heavy overloading rather than as a means of reducing RG action: moreover, it has been announced that the schools will remain closed throughout the remainder of the school year, -- and the regime is now promoting the concept of "long marches" for the Guards. Thus the future scale of activity and role of the Guards remain a big question mark.

c. Publications have been so heavily purged that PEOPLE'S DAILY is the only "general circulation" newspaper still published in Peking. One report indicated that even its future was in doubt, but then its chief editor and half of the editorial staff were replaced by personnel from the LIBERATION ARMY DAILY and it was permitted to continue.

10. Simultaneously, the Chinese regime has sharpened the animosity of its attacks on the Soviets, hit insultingly at the Bulgarians and Hungarians (both Nov 18) and at Ghana (Oct 29), and has again struck at the Indonesian Govt. (Nov 10), -- all in the form of official "diplomatic" notes! They heavily exploit the Chinese students expelled from the USSR as eyewitnesses to Soviet "degeneration" (Nov 3, 6, 9, 14, 16), and publicize another statement by Indonesian students resident in China denouncing Soviet betrayal of Indonesian Communists.
 11. A Swiss Catholic news agency reports that 5 Chinese Catholic priests were sentenced and buried alive in Tientsin. (Oct 29)
 12. ComChina has bought 1.5 million tons of wheat from Australia for delivery in the first half of 1967, bringing Chinese purchases for the year ending June 1967 to 4 million tons. In view of this year's mediocre crop, eventual purchases for the year may top last year's 6.3 million. (Confidential)
 13. Reaction to China's announcement of a nuclear-armed missile test brings Communist reaction ranging from a Soviet one-sentence note to Albanian rejoicing in the "magnificent victory." (Oct 27)
- SOVIET AFFAIRS
14. Soviet celebration of the 49th anniversary of the October Revolution is "routine" and almost low-key (leading to speculation that they were "saving up" for next year's 50th). Criticism of Chinese conduct by Pelshe and

Malinovsky is brief and restrained, but it provokes Chinese walk-out and a shrill NCNA denunciation.

15. Soviet media give much space to the Chinese CR and to statements by other parties and Communist leaders criticizing the Chinese and supporting the Soviets. A Soviet Foreign Ministry note to the Chinese on Oct 27 protests the newest provocative actions outside the Embassy in Peking and says that such flagrant violations of international law and of diplomatic immunity are becoming standard practice in China. A particularly biting denunciation of the Chinese by the famous Spanish Communist woman leader Ibaruri ("La Pasionaria") is featured by PRAVDA on Nov. 5. On the 19th, TASS announces that Chinese "hostile and insulting attacks" forced a Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society delegation to cut short its visit to China and return home: the delegation head, PRAVDA's Mayevsky, gives details at a press conference on the 21st.
16. The Soviets tighten ties with Finland with 3 high-level exchanges (Oct 29-November 20), and Podgorny's visit to Austria, though held in pleasant forms, gives him occasion to warn bluntly against ties with the EEC. (14-20)
17. The editor of the Paris-based Polish emigre literary journal KULTURA, who had served as a channel to Western publishers for Soviet writers Sinyavsky and Daniel, discloses to the press that he has received 10 letters signed by more than 95 leading Soviet writers protesting the sentences passed on S & D and intends to publish them in a book. (Nov 13) Two of them are published in English translation by the NYTIMES on Nov 19. (PRESS COMMENT, 21 Nov.)
18. Three cases of Soviet espionage are charged during the period: in the U.S. (Oct 31); West Berlin (Nov 2); and Italy (Nov 3). Soviet security organs are also suspected of complicity with the Czechs in diverting a Soviet airliner to an unscheduled landing in Prague where the Czech police remove a Czech-born American accused of anti-Czech activities in the distant past. (Nov 15). And the Soviets claim that they caught two spies (ostensibly Chinese) just inside their Far East border with China. (Nov 4)

EAST EUROPE

19. ALBANIA: Along with international aspects described in para. 2, the Party Congress re-elected Hoxha and reaffirmed the old course.
20. BULGARIA: Same comment re the Bulgarian Party Congress, which reelected Zhivkov. A Bulgarian military attache is expelled from Greece.
21. HUNGARY: The 10th anniversary of the 1956 uprising passes quietly.
22. POLAND: Continuing intellectual ferment is demonstrated by the circumstances surrounding the expulsion of prominent Party philosopher Kolakowski. (Oct 31)

23. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: An amazingly frank article on "The Social Roots of Dogmatism" is published in the Slovakian Party daily PRAVDA. (Oct 19)

ASIA

24. JAPAN: A series of new convulsions in the Japanese left results in new splintering from the JCP and complete splits of several key national front organizations. (Oct 25 and continuing)

25. VIETNAM: Albania has agreed to receive a permanent representative of the "National Liberation Front" (NLFSV), thus giving it representation in all Communist countries except Mongolia as well as in several free world nations (SECRET). Stop press item: Defectors from the Vietcong in North Vietnam rose to a record 2,505 in November (Unclassified).

26. THAILAND: Further battles of armed Communist guerrillas with police patrols in Northeast Thailand are reported. (Nov 13)

WESTERN EUROPE

27. FRANCE: A prominent French CP theorist defects to the pro-Chinese "M-L Movement," charging "ideological collapse" of the PCF. (Nov 11) L'HUMANITE NOUVELLE, organ of the pro-Chicom French M-L Movement, "leaps forward" from a monthly to a weekly (Sept/Oct).

28. SWITZERLAND: The tiny Swiss CP completes another about-face (see #3 and BN, BPG #203), returning to a total pro-Chinese alignment: there is evidence that one Pierre Charles has taken de facto control from founder Bulliard. (Sept/Oct. For details: JPRS Translations on International Com. Developments #907.)

LATIN AMERICA

29. CUBA: The Party/State delegation to the Moscow October conference goes to Pyongyang and Hanoi and back to Moscow before returning: there is no indication of the results, if any. (Oct 27-Nov 3) An Oct 27 GRANMA article again blasts Chilean President Frei, Yugoslav journalist Barbieri, and, by strong implication, the USSR and any other socialist country which likes Frei. Ten dancers of the Cuban national ballet request asylum in France (Nov 5).

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CHRONOLOGY
WORLD COMMUNIST AFFAIRS

September/October (delayed): The September issue (Vol. 2, No. 21) of L'HUMANITE NOUVELLE, Marseilles-published monthly organ of the pro-Chinese dissident "French Communist Movement (M-L)," announces that it will become a weekly as of 6 October. The same issue describes noisy street rivalry between activists selling this organ and those selling the Sunday edition of the French CP's organ, L'HUMANITE DIMANCHE.

The September issue (Vol. 3, No. 22) of L'ETINCELLE, monthly organ of the dissident Swiss CP, reveals that this tiny group has returned once more to the Chinese camp. No. 18, March-April, had disclosed a surprising about-face from a former pro-Chinese stance to a new line bitterly critical of the Chinese and pro-Chinese dissident groups in other countries (especially the Grippa group in Belgium) and had sounded an open call for collaboration with the old Soviet-aligned Swiss Labor Party. (See Chrono #3.)

October 19 (delayed): Bratislava PRAVDA, daily organ of the Slovakian Party CC, carries an amazingly frank article on "The Social Roots of Dogmatism" by Miroslav Kusy, including the following passage:

"... Vulgarized dogmatic Marxism is not in the interests of the class of manual workers and of the socialist society but only ... of a given ruling group which takes a position outside of this class and society, a group which claims that it is above it and can make decisions independently of it. This group must insure its position by a dictatorship of dogmatized ideology which is supposed to sanctify each step which it makes, justify each move which it makes, and praise uncritically the given state of affairs as if it were the best possible state of affairs.... This is precisely where the determining social roots of dogmatism lie: in the change of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of leaders and cliques, ... in the change of the political theory into its apology...."

* * *

October 25 and continuing: New splits in the Japanese left apparently result from the JCP's shift from alignment with the Chinese CP to "neutral independence" -- which leave significant elements of the Japanese Socialist Party more pro-Chinese than the JCP itself! (See also Chrono #7, Oct. 14, for slavish endorsement of China vs. the Soviets by head of a JSP delegation in Peking.)

-- On the 25th, Chairman Miyazaki and 28 other JSP-aligned officers of the Japan-China Friendship Association withdraw to form a separate organization. ASAHI EVENING NEWS says next day that the split was

touched off by JCP objections to a joint statement signed in Peking on the 12th by a Miyazaki-headed delegation which indirectly blames the JCP for obstructing friendly relations between Japan and ComChina.

-- According to the same ASAHI article, the JCP's 10th Congress on the 25th heatedly discussed the opening report by SecyGen Miyamoto on the 24th (see Chrono #7 for opening), with only 23 of the 150 delegates supporting it. On the 28th, the JCP expels "6 members now staying in Peking." According to Tokyo JIJI agency, the 6 expellees had "roughed up" 8 other JCP members in Peking "loyal to the Party's new policy of independence from all foreign influence": this brings to 14 the number of expelled JCP members in Peking. The Congress ends smoothly, however, confirming the new "independence" course and reelecting Nosaka and Miyamoto to their fourth terms as Chairman and SecyGen, resp. (During the Congress, a telegram of greetings from the North Korean Party was read on the 25th: it affirmed the close unity between the KWP and the JCP, -- which "resolutely opposes modern revisionism, dogmatism, and sectarianism" and "is struggling determinedly for an international joint action and united front against U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam....")

-- On the 30th, NCNA reports that "Yuichi Kobayashi, Chairman of the Japan Congress of Journalists, on 27 Oct pulled out of the Congress, which is controlled by some saboteurs of Sino-Japanese friendship." NCNA confirms that the Congress split over the joint statement signed in Peking by the Friendship delegation.

-- On November 4, NCNA reports that "Tokumatsu Sakamoto, Director General of the Japanese Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, and more than a dozen members of the organization's standing committee after a fierce struggle walked out of the standing committee yesterday afternoon and severed their relations with the saboteurs who oppose Japan-China friendship." The "saboteurs" opposed a joint statement signed in Peking on 9 Oct.

-- On the 9th, NCNA announces that "the Central Japan Assistance Association for the Chinese Economic and Trade Exhibition, at an emergency standing committee meeting on 5 Nov., exposed the sinister activities of a small group of saboteurs who were trying to undermine Sino-Japanese friendship" and decided to expel "these two-faced 'friends.'"

-- On the 19th, NYTIMES reports from Tokyo that "a dissident group headed by Tomochika Naito, who parted from the parent JCP in a dispute over its policy of independence from Peking and Moscow, announced this week that it would form a new party on M-L principles in January." It is said to be closely linked to the CPSU and "plans to absorb the pro-Moscow organization headed by Yoshio Shiga." (But a Tokyo JIJI dispatch on the 17th says that the Shiga group, largest pro-Soviet faction, has "withdrawn from the movement for the new party.")

October 25 and continuing: Chinese Communist media continue to devote their principal attention to the "cultural revolution" (CR) and strive to show acclaim and support abroad. On the 25th, for example, PEOPLE'S DAILY "prominently features (according to NCNA) an article in the latest issue of VOZ REBELDE, organ of the Uruguayan Leftwing Revolutionary Movement, which warmly praises the great proletarian CR in China," "an article in the Greek journal REBIRTH hailing the Chinese CR," "the speeches" of Ceylonese Communists Sanmugathasan and Gunawardena "on various occasions," and "a special column devoted to 'Acclamation for the Red Guards,' containing statements by well-known people from Japan, Tanzania, and Mexico, and by French and Greek journals."

October 25 and continuing: Soviet and other Bloc media continue to report and comment critically on the Chinese CR. PRAVDA on the 25th, for example, summarizes a statement by Haitian People's Unity Party leader Antoine Joseph who "resolutely condemned the so-called 'great proletarian CR'" and on the 26th critical excerpts from CPUSA theoretical journal POLITICAL AFFAIRS, Swiss CP weekly NY DAG, and SED [East German Party] West Berlin daily DIE WAHRHEIT, while TASS publicizes its own correspondent's report from Peking on the latest posters and leaflets of the "Hung Weipings" (Red Guards), paralysis of the work of the Ministry of the Coal Industry for the fifth day, and "difficulties of accommodations, food and transport" plus increasing sickness resulting from the presence of 1.5 million "revolutionary students." The Yugoslav TANYUG agency on the 25th reports from Peking on a new poster containing the text of a speech by Lin Piao which says that

"Mao Tse-tung is far above Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In the present-day world there is no personality who can be compared to Mao. In the history of the world such personalities appear once in several hundred years, and in the history of China once in a thousand years."

An East Berlin Radio commentary on the same day reports that "everywhere in Peking the slogan 'Long Live the Red Terror' can be seen."

"(The Red Guards)... are thus continuing to discredit the ideas of socialism and revolution before the eyes of the whole world. From their actions it is becoming increasingly obvious at the same time that it is the primary aim of the so-called great proletarian CR to fight all those -- particularly all Communists -- in China who do not agree with the irresponsible policies of the Peking leaders around Mao Tse-tung...."

October 26: Several hundred Russians in Red Square taunt and jeer at the expelled Chinese students (#7, Oct 7) who are delayed by police while attempting to place wreaths at the tombs of Lenin and Stalin before their departure.

October 27: The Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs delivers to CPR Embassy a note strongly protesting "new provocative, offensive actions from organized crowds of raging Chinese citizens since 23 October" at the Soviet Embassy in Peking. The organization of these actions

"is nothing more than another premeditated step of the Chinese side designed to further aggravate Soviet-Chinese interstate relations.... One cannot escape the impression that the flagrant violations of universally recognized principles of relations between states, of elementary standards of international law, and of the immunity of diplomatic missions are becoming something like standard practice in China...."

Peking reveals a successful test of a guided missile with a nuclear weapon over its own territory: Communist reaction ranges from a one-line TASS report to Albania's rejoicing over the "magnificent victory."

PEOPLE'S DAILY Commentator denounces the Indonesian Govt's "gross insult to the Chinese people" in using the word "Tjina" to refer to China:

"It is a well-known fact that "Tjina" was a derogatory term used to insult the Chinese people in the days when Indonesia was still under the rule of imperialism and colonialism."

NCNA blasts the 4-day New Delhi conference of Mme. Gandhi, Tito and Nasser as "a component part of the U.S.-Soviet schemes for large-scale global collaboration."

October 27-Nov 3: The Cuban party-state delegation headed by President Dorticos and Defense Minister Raul Castro which had participated in the conference of the ruling parties in Moscow Oct. 17-22 (#7) gets a warm welcome in Pyongyang on the 27th. Speeches emphasize agreement and unity, but the communique reports only that "talks proceeded in a friendly and comradely atmosphere." On Nov. 1, Hanoi reports that they "recently visited Vietnam," and on the 3rd publishes a lengthy communique with flowery but "routine" language. Moscow reports a meeting with the Soviet high command on the 3rd.

October 27: The Chinese students suspended from study in the USSR depart from Moscow. NCNA describes a warm send-off by international student friends, including "some Soviet students." Embassy Chargé Chang repeats the Mao quote contained in the Chinese note of Oct. 22: "To be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing." Peking press on the 29th features the departure, with photos of the students trying to place wreaths on the mausoleum but barred by Soviet police.

IZVESTIYA's Peking correspondent Kosyukov states that "among a certain section of the commanding personnel of the People's Liberation Army there are people in disagreement with the ideas of Mao Tse-tung."

Havana resumes its polemic with Belgrade with a GRANMA article by Gabriel Molina, "Johnson, Tito, and Frei": pegged to an article in the Mexican journal SIEMPRE of 28 September by Belgrade POLITIKA's Latin American correspondent Barbieri, it rants:

"Barbieri ... asserts that 'Fidel had initiated against the Chilean president a series of attacks which have caused great surprise in LA circles.' B. describes this as a 'negative reaction.' Hitting the lowest in insidious insinuation, B. suggests that this posture is due to the fact that socialist countries support the Frei alternative, and the spread of Frei's ideas is also in contrast with the Cuban search for leadership in the continent.'"

In an implied warning to the USSR, he adds: "The socialist countries to which we refer had better defend themselves against the calumnious assertion regarding support for the 'Frei alternative.'"

October 29: A TASS Peking report emphasizes the military threat of the "Hung Weipings (HW)." (i.e., "Red Guards"):

"... The HW are affecting an army type of organization. They have at their disposal instructors who drill revolutionary students, give them instructions on bayonet fighting, etc. The HW are formed into combat units and regiments. They have their own headquarters, supreme headquarters, and command. In their leaflets and newspapers, the HW declare that they have arms. The army supplies them with its own motor cars and gives them old uniforms as well. Millions of HW have been conducting 'military training' over the last two months, moving from city to city. They have at their disposal railway, automobile, and river transport.

"Since our HW are soldiers, they must fight, writes the newspaper HUNG WEIPING PAO. The Chinese HW declare that they are called upon to 'remake the entire world with the help of Mao Tse-tung's ideas,' that they are preparing for a 'world war' and will take part in it, and that the CR is a 'military exercise.'"

TANYUG Peking adds the name of another prominent target of poster attacks: CC member Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the State Council's Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, Chairman of the Committee of A-A Solidarity, and President of the Chinese-Japanese Friendship Society.

In an apparent "trial balloon" move to follow the Soviet semantic acrobatics (#7), East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND uses the term "Hung Weiping" -- followed the first time by "Red Guard" in parentheses. (We have not seen any further E. German coverage of the subject, but note the Soviet retreat to the use of RG -- Nov. 9 and continuing.)

WASHINGTON POST carries a report from the Catholic news agency KIPA in Fribourg, Switzerland, that 5 Chinese priests were sentenced by a Communist court in Tientsin and buried alive.

NCNA publicizes a Chinese Embassy note of 28 Oct. to the Ghanaian Foreign Ministry which "lodges the strongest protest" against Ghana's suspension of relations and withdrawal of personnel. PEOPLE'S DAILY Commentator next day says that by their "frantic anti-China activities," the "Ghanaian coup authorities have thus completely revealed their true features as a pawn of U.S. and British imperialism." NCNA carries on the attack whole announcing that the entire Embassy staff and the NCNA correspondent in Accra left for home on Nov 5th.

October 29-Nov 20: The ties that bind Finland to the USSR are tightened by 3 high-level exchanges. On the 29th, USSR Foreign Trade Minister Patolichev heads a trade delegation to Helsinki to discuss trade plans for 1967. Next day a high-level CPSU delegation, headed by Suslov and Ponomarev, leaves for 5 days of secret talks with the Finnish CP leadership. And on the 15th a Finnish Govt delegation headed by Premier Paasio goes to Moscow for a 5-day official visit.

October 30: Tokyo MAINICHI's Peking correspondent Takada adds Chi-Com Vice Premier Po I-po, State Economic Commission Chairman, to those attacked by the Red Guards. Tokyo SANKEI on same date describes wall newspapers in Peking reporting clashes between two hostile Red Guard groups at the Tungpeilin Academy in Harbin, and at the "Peking Maoism No.1 Middle School."

October 31: The FBI arrests 23-year-old U.S. Air Force Sergeant H.W. Boeckenhaupt as a spy recruited by Soviet Commerical Counselor A. R. Malinin, who is declared persona non grata.

Polish Philosophy Professor Leszek Kolakowski of Warsaw University, long controversial because of his unorthodox views, is reported (in a Warsaw NYTIMES dispatch) to have been expelled from the Party after a speech commemorating the accomplishments of the last decade.

"... It was described as a balance sheet between the hopes engendered by the anti-Stalinist revolution of October 1956 and the Polish reality of today.

"The meeting was said to have been a stormy one, at which students who sought to defend today's Poland ... were shouted down by a majority...."

October 31: The Chinese publicize a new hero: "Tsai Yung-hsiang, 18-year-old soldier guarding the bridge over the Chientang River, Chekiang Province, gave his life saving a train-load of Peking-bound Red Guards" and "the big steel bridge." In the headlight beam of the onrushing train at 2:34 a.m., he "suddenly saw that a great log lay on the rails."

"It was an act of sabotage by an inveterately hostile class enemy opposed to the current great proletarian CR."

"With utter selflessness," and "mustering all his strength," he removed the log but was struck and killed by the train.

A Peking "grand rally" marking the 30th anniversary of the death of Lu Hsun is used to promote the CR against internal as well as external adversaries, with Chou En-lai, Tao Chu, and Chen Po-ta heading the dignitaries on the rostrum.

November 1: Chinese Foreign Ministry note to Soviet Embassy replies to the Soviet protest of Oct. 27 against new demonstrations at the Embassy. The Soviet charge of "organizing an anti-Soviet mass disturbance," it says, is "sheer nonsense."

"It was an entirely just and revolutionary action ... condemning your intensification of the anti-China campaign and your worsening of Sino-Soviet relations... (by revolutionary youth) who shouted such slogans as: 'To oppose imperialism, it is imperative to oppose revisionism!'; ... 'Long live the friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples!'; 'Long live the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung!' Is it not obvious and deliberate vilification when you assert that their revolutionary action bears a publicly anti-Soviet nature? If you have the courage, please publish ... (all such posters) and let the Soviet people judge whether there is anything in them that is against the Soviet people.... By creating this absurd pretext ..., you are vainly trying to deceive those who do not know the facts and to sling mud at us. This is at once ludicrous and pitiable. ... What qualifications have you to talk glibly about the principles guiding relations between states and the principles of international law? We would advise you to behave a bit more honestly...."

A Brezhnev speech in Tbilisi (awarding the Order of Lenin to Georgia) expresses "decisive condemnation of the leaders of the CCP and the CPR," who, "trampling on the principles of proletarian internationalism," have rejected all Soviet proposals for coordination of support to Vietnam.

November 1-8: The Albanian Workers (Communist) Party holds its 5th Congress in Tirana, with claimed attendance by representatives of some 30 foreign parties or groups. However, the only ruling party representations are from the Chinese and the "hard-core-neutral" N. Vietnamese, N. Koreans, and Rumanians, all headed by Politburo members. Only one of the other delegations represents a recognized "national" CP, the tiny but reliable Chinese-aligned New Zealand crew. Violent attacks were hurled against revisionism, the CPSU/USSR, and Yugoslavia, especially in Hoxha's opening speech and Chinese delegate Kang Sheng's follow-up, while the "neutrals" avoided controversy. Hoxha is "re-elected," and Albanian policies are likely to continue unchanged. On the 3rd, Tirana broadcasts the text of a message from "the Provisional Central Committee of the Polish CP" read to the Congress by Chinese-

aligned Belgian dissident chief Grippa: it deplores "the counter-revolutionary turn in Poland" and follows the Chinese anti-revisionist line.

November 2: TASS publicizes a statement by the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Education rebutting "a series of anti-Soviet charges in Chinese newspapers in recent days," regarding reciprocal education. It gives figures showing that many thousands of Chinese students have been trained by Soviet educators in the USSR and in China, while "during the entire period of the exchange of students between the USSR and the CPR only 153 Soviet citizens were trained in China." "In recent years the CPR... has opposed by every means the admission of Soviet students ... to CPR higher educational establishments. In the 1965-66 academic year, the Soviet side requested the admission on reciprocal conditions of 50 Soviet citizens. After prolonged procrastination and intentional delays... the Chinese side agreed to the admission of only 28."

"Those who are today guiding the anti-Soviet campaign in China are trying to use the thwarting of the student exchange agreement, brought about by the Chinese side itself, to pour oil on the flames of activities hostile to the Soviet Union...."

Tokyo ASAHI carries a report by its Peking correspondent Nogami of a "terrorist incident" at Peking Machine Tool Plant No. 1 described by wall newspapers: Red Guards from outside the plant were used to combat the inside Red Guards and built "a prison, a torture room, and an inquiry room" within the plant, imprisoned "more than 80 revolutionary workers," and expelled many others from the plant as reactionaries.

Toronto GLOBE AND MAIL correspondent Oancia in Peking reports a 31 Oct. emergency order of the State Council posted at the Peking RR station decreeing a 5-day suspension of all Red Guard travel beginning the 1st and putting future movements under control of the Army.

West Berlin police arrest two Jordanian residents on charges of espionage for the USSR.

November 3: At the 6th and biggest of the Peking Red Guard rallies two million gather for a look at Mao and a brief word from Lin Piao, the only speaker. Eyewitness Oancia of the Toronto GLOBE AND MAIL says Mao appeared to ignore completely his two former right-hand aides, Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping on the rostrum: the same is true of TV coverage.

NCNA comments that "the U.S. and the Soviet Union are stepping up their collusion in the United Nations" following the Chinese nuclear missile test.

Rome expels a member of a Soviet trade delegation, Kir Lemzenko, for attempting to obtain classified information from Italian military personnel in Naples.

In Brussels, the USSR opens its first retail store outside the Communist world: Maison de la Russie, which will sell goods from food and drink to arts, is managed by Belso, Ltd., a Belgian-Soviet company made up of Belgian private firms and Soviet state trading organizations. (NYTIMES)

The Greek Govt expels the Bulgarian Military Attache, Col. Z. Christankov, reportedly for engaging in intelligence activities.

November 3, 6, 9, 14, 16: Peking heavily exploits the Chinese students expelled from the USSR, publicizing in NCNA releases on the foregoing dates statements and speeches by them as "inside" eyewitness descriptions of Soviet degeneration. The most far-ranging and devastating of these, taken from a speech by Chang Peng-ya at a mass rally on the 5th, is appended in full. Another worth noting, on the 9th, was the text of a brief, Mao-idolizing letter purportedly by a Soviet youth read by one of the Chinese students at the rally on the 5th.

November 4: TASS reports from Peking that Tan Ping-tao, former acting chief editor of the Army newspaper CHIEH-FANG CHUN PAO (Liberation Army Daily), has been appointed acting chief editor of PEOPLE'S DAILY and half of the latter's "main personnel" have been transferred from the former. Tao Chu is reported having decided that it will not be necessary to close PD now, because it is "pursuing a line in conformity with CC instructions."

PRAVDA confidently claims that China's efforts to engineer a split in the ICM has failed and that only Albania continues to eulogize Peking.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA describes the apprehension of two spies near the ComChina border with the Maritime Province by an alert tractor driver.

November 5: Prague CTK reports from Peking on a document, "14 Problems of the Present Movement," published by HUNG WEI PING PAO, including passages such as:

"The CR is a great exercise of troops, a preparation for a people's war...." "Our Red Guards are not only revolutionary groups within the country, but are also international revolutionary groups...."

The document again acknowledges controversies and disunity within the RG movement.

IZVESTIYA accuses the CPR of hypocritically expanding its trade with the U.S. via Hong Kong, supporting its claims with figures showing that 1967 trade with HK, "whose population is 3 million," reached 534 million dollars, "8 times the figure for 1955," and double the total U.S. trade with the USSR and all EE Communist countries put together."

Ten dancers of the Cuban National Ballet request asylum in France, issuing a statement deploring "the arbitrary persecution which has developed in our country...."

PRAVDA carries a scornful denunciation of the CR by prestigious Spanish CP Chairman Dolores Ibarruri, including such passages as:

"The so-called 'proletarian CR' is not a revolution at all and even less a proletarian revolution, but simply an outburst of nihilism and petit bourgeois impotence in the face of natural difficulties.... It is difficult to imagine anything more pitiful, more infantile, and anti-Marxist...."

NCNA Peking reports briefly: "A protocol of the 15th session of the Sino-Soviet Committee for Scientific and Technical Cooperation, which was recently held in Peking, was signed here today."

November 7: Celebration of the 49th anniversary of the Soviet October Revolution further contributes to the Sino-Soviet split as the handful of Chinese present walk out in protest against attacks on the Chinese leadership and the CR (and appeals to the Chinese Communists and people) made by Latvian Old Bolshevik Pelshe at the Kremlin meeting on the eve of the holiday and (very briefly) by Marshal Malinovsky at the beginning of the parade. The very brief Chinese greeting message also appealed directly to the Soviet people. TANYUG reports from Peking that the atmosphere at the celebration there was noticeably cooler.

Czech CTK from Peking adds the names of Tao Chu, one of the leaders of the CR, and Vice Premier Li Fu-chun to those attacked by Red Guard posters.

November 8: NCNA Peking publicizes a statement by "a leading member" of the Chinese delegation which attended the "5th International Conference of the Trade Unions of Metal and Engineering Workers in Sofia, October 18-23, where the Chinese "waged tit-for-tat struggle against the Soviet revisionists for their renegade acts...."

"Toward the end of the conference, the Soviet delegation issued a so-called statement in 'protest against curses and attacks from Chinese delegates and rejection of slanders....' However, none of its clamors dared to touch on a single question of substance.... It wielded the baton of great-power chauvinism to impose on the conference its capitulationist class line ... and prevented the Chinese delegates from making statements by closing down the microphone, stopping the simultaneous translations, ... stamping their feet, booing, and tricks of every kind...."

November 9: TASS Peking adds the names of Minister of Education Ho Wei and Academy of Sciences Vice President Chang Tsin-fu as attacked

by the Red Guards. It also uses the term RG, instead of Hung Weipings, for the first time since mid-September (see #7), and seems to use both terms at random from here on.

A Mongolian UNEN roundup claims that "some 30,000 people rose up against the Red Guards in Kewiyang, capital of Kweichow Province," with "fierce conflicts in many cities and provinces, including Tientsin, Canton, Chegtu, Shantung, Kwangtung, and Heilungkiang."

November 10: Hanoi's NHAN DAN expresses gratitude for the powerful support and great assistance granted to it during Le Than Nghi's recent visits to the CPR, DPRK, USSR, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, GDR, Albania, Poland, and Mongolia.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry protests to the Indonesian Embassy against "a new serious incident on the morning of 9 Nov. to sabotage the Chinese Governments work in repatriating Overseas Chinese in Indonesia from Medan. It describes bloody beating by "more than 400 thugs."

November 10-11: Mao and the rest of the Chinese high command again review 2 million Red Guards. On the 10th, half a million roll past the reviewing stand in trucks: Mao is reported by foreign observers as breaking precedent by responding to their cheers by saying "Long life, comrades" into the microphone (thus demonstrating that he can speak), and chatting amiably with Liu Shao-chi for half an hour on the stand, and with Chou En-lai and Chen Yi as well as Lin Piao.

On the 11th, the leaders drive 13 kilometers past 1½ million (during which Mao in the lead car is flanked by Chou En-lai and Chen Po-ta, and Lin Piao is absent).

November 11: NCMA again comments on U.S. and Soviet Union "stepping up their collusion ... to try to preserve what remains of their position of nuclear monopoly."

Reuters reports from Paris that Gilbert Mury, "one of the French CP's leading theorists today announced his resignation from the Party and gave new impetus to a recently formed pro-Chinese splinter group ... calling itself the French M-L Movement." In a press conference, he criticized the "ideological collapse" of the Party and said that attacks on Stalin were used as a pretext to attack Marxist theory.

November 12: At a Peking meeting of 10,000 senior party and military personnel commemorating the 100th anniversary of Sun Yat-sen's birth, Soviet, Polish, Bulgarian, Czech, East Germany, Hungarian, and Mongolian delegates walk out after Chou En-lai says that "the clique of Soviet leaders have betrayed the great Lenin and the path of the great October Revolution. It has advanced a federalist, revisionist line, sold out the interests of the revolution," and "degenerated to become the accomplice of U.S. imperialism."

NCNA Peking publicizes a statement of the "Federation of Indonesian Students in China" denouncing "the Soviet modern revisionist leading clique for its betrayal of the Indonesian people."

NCNA describes a recent Soviet industrial and commercial exhibition in Osaka, which "smacked of the offensive odor of capitalism, was despised by the Japanese people, and closed quietly." (See opening of Chinese trade fair on 19th.)

NCNA publicizes an Afro-Asian Writers Bureau "statement exposing in very strong terms the new plots to disrupt the A-A writers movement engineered by the Soviet splittists in Cairo." It reveals arrangements for setting up an A-A Writers publishing house in Peking and says that "THE CALL, bulletin of the Bureau, is already printing in 3 languages, English, French, and Arabic."

Referring to recent reports in Swedish and Norwegian newspapers on detection of submerged submarines (implicitly Soviet) in their territorial waters, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star) publishes an interview with "a representative of the Chief of Staff of the Soviet Navy" who denies that they could be Soviet.

Hungarian MTT reports from Peking on clashes between the Red Guards and the army in Peking and the provinces, in one of which 20 soldiers were killed.

November 13: NCNA accuses the "revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union" of "pursuing with ever-increasing vigor a Munich-type plot over Vietnam" in collusion with the U.S.

NCNA accuses Soviet media of carrying out "a frantic anti-China campaign" in connection with the centenary of the birth of Sun Yat-sen.

NCNA reports articles in Chinese media criticizing Sun Yeh-fang, former director of the Institute of Economics, "an out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist" who, like the Soviets, believes in the profit motive to increase production.

Yugoslav Radio Moscow correspondent Sundic reports "grave concern" in the Soviet Union at "the Chinese leadership's policy of going to the limit in sharpening its relations with the Soviet Union and presenting the SU to the Chinese masses, particularly the youth, as the No. 1 enemy."

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND publishes an Ulbricht speech at Halle voicing fears for the safety of the Chinese CP in view of the excesses of the Red Guards. He calls on all Communist and workers parties to state their positions and show unequivocally on whose side they are in this struggle." (As reported by Reuters.)

Reuters reports from Bangkok that "armed Communist guerrillas killed two police officers and wounded 10 others on Saturday in a jungle ambush near Nakea in northeast Thailand. The police party was on the track of about 200 armed Communists. It was the second battle with Communist guerrillas in two days."

November 14-19: The Bulgarian CP holds its 9th Congress, claiming representatives from parties and "democratic movements" in more than 70 countries, including all of the ruling parties except the Chinese and Albanian, with the Soviet and Rumanian represented by bosses Brezhnev and Ceausescu, resp. In his long opening speech, Bulgarian First Secy Zhivkov criticizes the Chinese and voices his Party's opinion that "conditions are ripe for convening an international conference" to "unmask and fight present-day dogmatism which in essence is a sign of nationalism and adventurism." Brezhnev follows with a more detailed condemnation of the Chinese, but cautiously limits himself to saying that "it is no coincidence that a number of fraternal parties have recently expressed the opinion that conditions are ripening more and more for convening a new international conference." Ceausescu immediately reiterates Rumanian opposition, saying that "under today's conditions it is necessary to undertake nothing which might deepen the divergencies and increase the danger of a split...." By the 19th, PRAVDA claims support from the Czech, Polish, Hungarian, E. German and French among the major parties, but the initiative was apparently ignored by the N. Vietnamese, Mongolian, and Cuban, and opposed by the N. Korean, Yugoslav and Italian.

November 14-20: Soviet President Podgorny and daughter make a generally favorable impression visiting Austria, though he bluntly warns Austria against association with the European Economic Community as violating its treaty-imposed neutrality.

TASS reports from Peking that the Red Guards have turned against Chinese sports, attacking the Chinese national table tennis team and Vice Chairman of the Physical Culture Committee, Jung Kao-tang: the sports newspaper TIYUI PAO has not been distributed since 2 Nov.

The U.S. State Department reveals that Czech-born American citizen Vladimir Komarek is arrested and held incommunicado by the Czech police for anti-Czech activities long past -- after a Soviet Aeroflot plane in which K. was returning from a meeting in Moscow is diverted to an unscheduled landing in Prague "because of mechanical difficulties." (Since the plane was scheduled to pass over Riga and Copenhagen, those would have been the normal points for emergency landings).

November 16: Hungarian MTI reports from Peking that Mongolian-born Vice Premier Ulanfu, alternate member of the Politburo, is under Red Guard attack.

NCNA reveals that top economic planner Li Fu-chun is now a member of the Politburo Standing Committee, top body in the Party hierarchy.

November 17: MTI reports further attacks on Ulanfu, while last week's posters attacking Tao Chu have been replaced by slogans praising him, and saying "We must defend Tao Chu to the death."

Correspondents in Peking report that wall newspapers carry a CC and State Council decree of the 16th prohibiting the use of trains, buses, and ships for the transportation of Red Guards to Peking after Nov. 21. Simultaneously, Chinese media began to promote "long marches" as being very helpful to the Red Guards in making contact with all sections of the people and exchanging revolutionary experience. Toronto GLOBE AND MAIL correspondent Oancia on the 18th cites evidence that mass movements of Red Guards had severely disrupted the shipment of food, raw materials and industrial goods throughout the country.

November 18: NCNA a Chinese Foreign Ministry note to the Hungarian Ambassador protesting a Nov. 2 Hungarian decision to suspend and expel 5 Chinese students. It concludes by "pointing out" that "your expulsion of our students is by no means accidental and is inseparable from your persistent tailing after the Soviet revisionists in opposing China.... We would like to tell you bluntly that you will never come to any good end conducting yourselves in this way!"

Another NCNA dispatch from Sofia describes Bulgarian "contemptible tricks," "procrastination," and "slight of hand" in preventing the NCNA correspondent there from covering the Bulgarian Party Congress. The Chinese Ambassador is quoted as telling the Bulgarian Foreign Minister:

"Your perfidious and contemptible action ... is a grave discrimination ... and a serious incident ... and worsens relation between our two countries. The pretext which you advanced is absurd and your conduct is mean!"

And on the same day, NCNA reports a statement by the CPR National Women's Federation blasting the Soviet manipulators of the Oct. 3-6 World Conference for Children convened in Stockholm by the WIDF, to "lay bare the tricks played by Soviet revisionism at the conference so that this No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism, notorious traitor to world revolution, and scab in the international workers movement is exposed to the light of day!"

Havana Radio broadcasts a communique of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO) stating that the governments of N. Korea and Cuba have agreed to establish "schools to train political cadres of the revolutionary movement" in fulfillment of a resolution of the Tri-Continent Conference.

November 19: A Chinese economic and trade fair opens in Nagoya, Japan, to continue through Dec. 10.

November 19 & 21: TASS on the 19th announces that "a delegation of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society (which left for Peking on Nov. 2) had to cut short its tour of the CPR and return home earlier than planned" because the Chinese "put every obstacle in the way of the delegation's normal work, exploited its presence to stage anti-Soviet provocations, and made it the object of insulting and hostile attacks." The delegation head, PRAVDA commentator V. Mayevsky, gives details of the hostile treatment they encountered at a press conference on the 21st.

November 20: TANYUG Peking reports a new poster calling for a mass meeting to "finally expose the bourgeois-reactionary line followed by Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, and Li Hsueh-feng."

November 21: TANYUG Peking reports a 16 Nov decision by the CC demanding that "all files made against various personalities after 16 May of this year be proclaimed invalid and publicly burned." It speculates that an effort is under way "to condemn fully and publicly and to unmask before the masses 'working groups' and their organizations which were greatly incited during the initial phase of the CR by 'some comrades from the CC.'"

(See separate attachment for text of Chang Peng-ya's exposé of Soviet capitalism.)

5 December 1966

CHINESE STUDENT'S COMMENTS ON DEGENERATION IN USSR

NCMA 14 November 1966 English-language release on Chang Peng-ya's exposition of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, sufferings of the Soviet people, and discontent and opposition.

Peking, November 14 -- Facts exposing the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union by the revisionist leading clique there were given by Chang Peng-ya, a representative of the Chinese students who were unjustifiably ordered home by the Soviet Government. He said that it had brought sufferings to the Soviet people, among whom it was arousing discontent and opposition.

He originally presented the facts in his speech at the Peking mass rally on 5 November, which was held to welcome back the returned students....

When Chang Peng-ya spoke at the more than 15,000-strong rally, the whole audience responded by repeatedly shouting the slogan: "Carry on the struggle against modern revisionism to the very end--the leadership of the CPSU is the center of modern revisionism.

The following excerpts are taken from Chang Peng-ya's speech at the rally:

We are now back home, where our beloved leader Chairman Mao lives, back in the embrace of our great motherland at a time of a new upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution. In this stimulating revolutionary atmosphere, and the excellent situation in which an all-round leap forward is taking place in our socialist construction, we recall the Soviet revisionist restoration of capitalism which we witnessed in the Soviet Union. It added to our anger at the monstrous crimes committed by the Soviet revisionist leading clique and helped us to understand more profoundly its hideousness and reactionary nature.

In the Soviet Union today, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been replaced by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The high-salaried privileged stratum of society which the Soviet revisionist leading clique represents forms a new exploiting class which oppresses and exploits the Soviet working masses in all sorts of ways and stops at nothing to maintain its rule amounting to fascist terror.

There was a Soviet drilling worker we knew. He was fired from his job by the Soviet authorities and subjected to vicious political persecution solely because he showed some disapproval of the reactionary actions of the Soviet leading clique. The so-called Soviet Security Department had him labelled "mad" and sent him to a "psychiatric hospital."

This clique, which is afraid of the masses, afraid of the truth, often confines honest Soviet people in "psychiatric hospitals" and "insane asylums" on a variety of pretexts, and subjects them to outrageous mental torture, as one of its methods of repression of the Soviet people. Such cases are now quite common in all parts of the Soviet Union.

It has destroyed proletarian democracy at the very roots in order to maintain its reactionary rule. The working masses of the Soviet Union have been deprived of all freedom of speech, assembly, and election. At the same time the high-salaried privileged stratum uses its privileged position to engage in embezzlement, speculation, rigging of the market, and graft. Members of this stratum live extravagantly and dissolutely, in glaring contrast with the growing impoverishment of the masses of the working people whom they recklessly exploit. They wallow in the blood and sweat of the people.

Not far from the capital of one of the union republics where we lived there are some lovely hills, and nestling among them, a fair sprinkling of villas--resorts of some of the big Soviet bureaucrats and rich men. They enjoy themselves and live a princely life there. The ordinary Soviet people call the place "Little America."

The party secretary in one locality, with just a few members in his family, occupies two great mansions, magnificent buildings with a total floor space of more than 1,300 square meters. Yet a large number of workers there are living in very bad housing conditions and some are virtually homeless.

One leading Soviet revisionist had a most luxurious mansion built for himself on the outskirts of Moscow, but, not content with that, has had a private villa constructed on the Black Sea coast. This villa has two swimming pools, one for fresh water and another for sea water. He had a special pump installed to draw in the sea water.

At a school an old worker said to us with great bitterness: "To think that I have lived to see the emergence of new capitalists and landlords in our country!" Corruption, bribery, and speculation are absolutely rife. It's incredibly widespread. Urban and rural sharks, countenanced and even abetted by members of the leading clique of Soviet revisionists, speculate in almost everything, from fruit and vegetables to grain and automobiles, operate black markets, or set up underground factories.

Some people, quite openly, build pleasure villas on the outskirts of cities or at scenic sites and let them out to members of the high-salaried privileged stratum or to speculators. The rent for a night's stay at one of these villas comes to the equivalent of a month's earnings for a lower-paid worker.

We know of the manager of a shoe-repair cooperative who has devised a variety of pretexts whereby he squeezes several thousand rubles out of the workers every month. If any worker fails to give him a "kickback," this manager finds a way to retaliate and expel him from the co-op.

There are many cities where bribery is blatantly practiced even by the police bureaus and the courts.

Capitalism is rampant in the Soviet countryside today, and the collective economy has been undermined; the polarization process is intensifying and

new kulaks are rapidly emerging. There is a so-called "collective farmer" who employs several men to look after his large private herds of sheep, the total number of which adds up to 15,000.

There is another "collective farmer" who, together with the members of his family, draws around 800 rubles a year from the collective farm. But his income from the grapes alone which he grows in his private orchard amounts to some 4,000 rubles annually. In addition, he has many horses, cows, and sheep. There is an endless number of instances of this sort.

And because the leading Soviet revisionist clique is pursuing a line which results in the restoration of capitalism, today in the Soviet Union--where there has been great talk about the beginning of the building of "communism"--the gap between workers and the peasants, between towns and country and between mental and manual labor, far from growing narrower is growing wider day by day. Wage differences are very great. The highest wages are as much as a hundred times as great as the lowest wages. A Ukrainian coal miner once told us: "The differences in pay are growing in our country. Many of our leaders are richer than millionaires of the tsarist times."

A doctor at a certain hospital told us: "I have been working in this hospital for more than two decades. Yet my son and I still live in a collective dormitory, while one of our so-called leaders has a special room even for his dog."

More and more workers in the Soviet Union have become unemployed or semi-employed. And many have to work at more than one job to make ends meet, toiling for 10 or 12 hours a day. Many students of worker and peasant origin are compelled to hire themselves out for odd jobs at night or after classes. They carry loads at railway stations or transport coal.

Chairman Mao has taught us: To overthrow a political power, it is necessary, first of all, to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counterrevolutionary class. This is exactly what the Soviet revisionist leading clique, which has betrayed Marxism-Leninism, has been doing.

In October of this year KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA declared that revolutionary heroes like Paul Korchagin were long out of date.

The Soviet revisionist leading clique uses the press, radio, and television to spread the most degenerate bourgeois stuff to befuddle people and poison the minds of the young.

To push their general policy of collaboration with America against China, they spread a pro-American outlook among the people, a worship of everything American, and a fear of the United States. They have given the green light to decadent films and fiction and to photographs of women in the nude, and publish "fashion" and "hair-style" magazines, to corrupt the Soviet people, and particularly the young peoples.

In order to maintain and consolidate their revisionist rule, the Soviet revisionist leading clique takes the educational front as its main sphere for getting its grip on the young people, for selecting and training its "successors." Its line for education is a revisionist one which serves its revisionist political line in all respects, in the system of enrollment, the content of education, the examination system, the allocation of posts after graduation, and so on. There is discrimination against children of worker or peasant families. Education is divorced from reality and from labor, and there is indulgence in scholasticism. The schools place "money in command" and "marks above everything." The amount of a student's subsidy is determined by his or her marks.

There is a graded system of post-graduates, candidate doctors, and doctors. The higher the degree, the higher the salary. This is done deliberately to encourage teachers and students to seek personal fame and monetary reward.

As a result of the wide dissemination of reactionary bourgeois ideas among the people, and particularly the youth, the social atmosphere in the Soviet Union is deteriorating. Prostitutes ply on the streets of some cities even in the daytime. Drunkenness, immoral conduct, violence, and murder are common. Juvenile delinquency is on the increase. It is an everyday occurrence in the courts for youngsters to be sentenced to punishment.

But where there is repression there is struggle. The great Soviet people, nurtured by the great Lenin, will never submit to the reactionary rule of the Soviet revisionist leading clique. Chairman Mao always tells us that the overwhelming majority of the masses all over the world, including the Soviet Union, favor revolution. The great majority of Communist Party members and cadres in the international communist movement, including those of the CPSU, favor revolution. The fact is that the Soviet people remember Lenin and Stalin, and by every possible means are resisting and opposing the moving away from socialism which they achieved under Lenin's leadership, at the cost of so much self-sacrifice, and the restoration of capitalism by the leading clique of Soviet revisionists.

The counterrevolutionary revisionist line pursued by the Soviet leading clique has become increasingly unpopular among the people. In August, a Soviet journalist said: "The group that is now in the leadership of the CPSU has got nothing in common with the party of Lenin. The members of this new gang leading the CPSU are all of the Khrushchev type."

A taxi driver said angrily: "Our leaders are exploiting the people to the limit!" A middle-aged Soviet woman told one of our Chinese students: "We all call them 'Red capitalists' -- those people in the CPSU leadership, who draw fat salaries. They don't want communism or revolution. They are afraid of revolution, and they are afraid of China's great cultural revolution." A Soviet worker said: "Khrushchev was like a bad tooth that was pulled out without pulling out the root. That makes it all the more painful!"

Broad sections of the Soviet revolutionary people see more and more clearly through the sham "building of communism" by which the Soviet revisionist leading clique tries to deceive the people.

There are signs that the strong dissatisfaction felt by the Soviet people with the leading revisionist clique is steadily growing to the point of struggles against it. The taxi drivers in one city went on strike on two occasions in the spring of this year. Five Soviet university students were recently arrested for distributing leaflets and organizing other activities opposing the leading Soviet revisionist clique. Not long ago, news began circulating widely in the Soviet Union about the activities of an underground group of 25, consisting of workers, intellectuals, engineers, and others. Its slogan of action is "from bureaucratic dictatorship to the dictatorship of the proletariat." They are determined to overthrow the bureaucrat-capitalist class and restore the dictatorship of the proletariat.

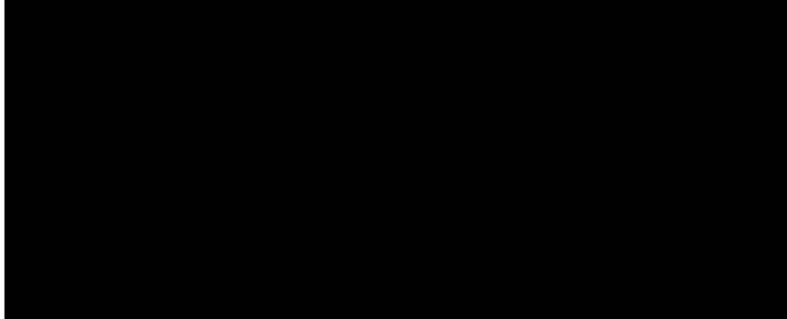
The great Soviet people will surely undertake revolution. They see a bright future in China, they draw hope from China, they draw hope from China, for China is persisting in the socialist road. They draw hope from Chairman Mao, the greatest leader of the revolutionary people of the world. As one Soviet friend put it to us: "Our hopes are now placed on the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Our hopes are on China." Many Soviet people told us with great confidence: "sooner or later we will make a revolution right here."

We are absolutely convinced that one day the great Soviet people with their revolutionary tradition will rise up in rebelling against the Soviet revisionist leading clique. The proletarian revolution which the leadership of the CPSU has strangled will shine again in all its glory in the home of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the banner of Marxism-Leninism which they have torn down will once again fly high over the land of the Soviets.

1078.

THE "OTHER WAR" IN VIETNAM

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SITUATION: The military role the U.S. is playing in Vietnam is receiving so much attention from world news media that the very considerable hand the U.S. is taking in nation-building in Vietnam is widely ignored. As a result of this international chronicling of U.S. military might, the U.S. is widely pictured as a savage white warlord constantly counting over the regularly reported toll of enemy dead, callously burning villages and raining unending destruction from bomb-laden B-52s on roads, livestock and oil dumps. By contrast the pajama-clad Viet Cong is made to look virtually helpless and an object with whom Asians and the people of underdeveloped lands can readily identify.

Well buried in the emotionalism generated by reports of mountains of U.S. equipment and the U.S. fighting men who use it, is the cold fact that at least 50,000 of these "pajama clads" are heavily armed, well-trained regular units of the North Vietnamese Army (see unclassified attachment for figures on enemy forces -- figures which are seldom aired for general consideration although every additional complement of U.S. men is thoroughly publicized by friend and foe alike).

Completely erasing the picture of the rich white warlord trampling the gallant, slender Asian is a difficult task: obviously the dramatic and the grisly side of the war will continue to receive the lion's share of attention. What we hope to do - despite the news appeal of the shooting side of the war - is to divert attention from the U.S. role in Asia as a fighter to her role as a nation-builder, always with stress on how nation-building in South Vietnam is a mutual venture shared in by 34 other nations (unclassified list attached). And as a corollary to this, to keep before the public eye the facts, wherever available, about North Vietnamese troop strengths and military maneuvers, their wanton killing of Vietnamese civilians, women and children and the like.

The latest elements of the nation building program in South Vietnam were born at the much-publicized Manila Conference in late October this year (see unclassified attachment) when the Conference set its sights beyond the purely military aspects of the Vietnam war and eventually beyond Vietnam itself with plans to help alleviate the ills that have burdened

much of Asia for centuries. The emphasis in Manila was placed on gains that can be made in economic cooperation on an Asia-wide basis, once the communists have been persuaded to end their war against South Vietnam.

Nation-building is vitally necessary in every newly independent country; it can be carried on in countries where the situations range from the early stirrings of subversion through guerrilla activity and armed insurrection. Until the present daring experiment in Vietnam, however, nation-building has never been attempted by a nation in the throes of a war on its own soil. Whatever the circumstances under which nation building is attempted, its long-range objectives are to lay the foundation for a viable, indigenous administrative and political structure which is actively supported by the population. This is the basis of the sweeping training program started in the Vietnamese Army on 7 November (see unclassified attachment). The program may be considered over-ambitious by some, and will undoubtedly suffer setbacks and unforeseen emergencies. But it unquestionably represents the most in daring, imagination and confidence in the future that any nations deeply involved in a full scale war have ever attempted in the non-military field.

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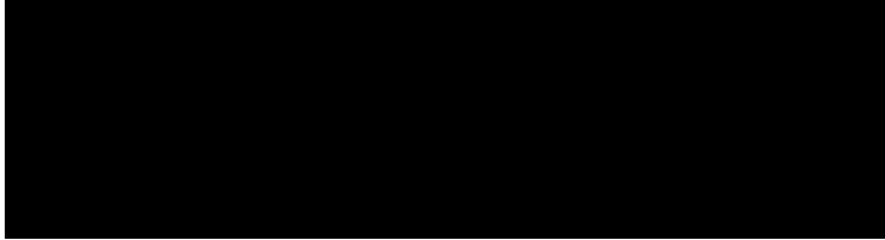
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1079.

WPC: STRUCTURAL AND OPERATIONAL EXPANSION

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SITUATION: During the past two years, the World Peace Council (WPC) has planned changes in its structure which it has begun to implement since last spring. They affect above all its leadership, direction and control. With its special appeal to pacifists, intellectuals, idealists, the church-oriented, etc., the WPC has been most successful among all Communist fronts in camouflaging its true nature and in winning non-Communist members. But it also has the greatest difficulty of all the fronts in keeping its variegated membership in line; with its more abstract "peace" objective it is organizationally less cohesive than some of the other international Communist fronts such as the labor front, WFTU.

The Sino-Soviet conflict has accentuated these inherent weaknesses within the WPC, has lessened outright Soviet control over the organization, and has reduced the WPC's effectiveness. The changes which are being made are calculated to restore the influence which the WPC exerted as a Communist auxiliary in the Fifties in the changed world and under the different conditions of the late Sixties. At the same time, regardless of organizational changes, the war in Vietnam has tended to breathe new life into the WPC for many months. WPC's activities have stimulated some interest and support in Asia and Africa where its avowed aims of mobilizing the peoples of the world in "defense of peace", of exposing "warmongers", and bringing about peaceful settlement of international differences are not always recognized as being a covert way of furthering the quite different interests of the Soviet Union and of International Communism.

Priority Propaganda Objectives. WPC's current major campaigns are: A multitude of world-wide and regional actions in support of the people of Vietnam and against U.S. aggression; support of the struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America for national independence; actions for "European Security" and for disarmament.

United Action is Key to Operational Success. At the WPC's full Council meeting in Geneva (13-16 June, 1966), the resolution on the principles and organization of the WPC stressed the "universality" of the mass movement and put great emphasis on the need for united action. The resolution said inter alia: "Every individual, every national or

regional group, every national or international organization taking part in the struggle for peace and independence has a place inside or alongside our movement and can put forward their viewpoints on all problems of peace.... [The WPC] seeks cooperation with all other peace organizations and forces; it welcomes participation of these organizations in common and parallel activities; and it encourages and supports all initiatives for common actions for peace -- for no peace organization has a monopoly on peace activity". The resolution further stated on liaison with other peace organizations that measures should be taken to ensure that liaison with all organizations and movements engaged in the struggle for peace "becomes an integral and important part of our actual regular and day-to-day activities".

In practical terms this has meant that the WPC has increasingly opened its conferences and national gatherings not only to representatives of other Communist fronts (an older practice), but also to representatives of pacifist, neutralist and non-Communist international organizations; further, that the WPC has set out to engage in joint activities with non-Communist groups pursuing "peace" goals or in attempts to become a partner of their independently launched activities. Some recent and future examples are: The Vietnam Solidarity Conference (Brussels, 24-25 September) held jointly with the non-Communist International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace (ICDP); the study conference on "Education for a World without War" in Warsaw in August held in conjunction with the War Resisters' International (WRI); proposals for a World Culture Conference, a Festival for Peace, and an International Exhibition of Art in the Service of Peace -- all envisaged to attract non-Communist participation; an appeal to leading (Communist, pro-Communist, and non-Communist) figures in all countries for signatures to statements on the war in Vietnam for subsequent publication in leading world papers; attempts, particularly in connection with its "European Security" and the Disarmament campaigns, to obtain the cooperation of Christian elements and of Socialist forces; support of the All-India Peace Council's International Conference against War Danger (New Delhi, 13-16 November); representation at such conferences as Pugwash and East-West Round Table (Paris); world-wide circulation of the resolution of the 20th Congress of the Red Cross (on the bombing of North Vietnam); support for an appeal proposed by Swedish doctors (also related to the Vietnam war) etc.

In other words, the WPC increasingly associates itself with the idea of its former President Professor Bernal of "unity in diversity", and seeks to translate his concept into action on the international plane as well as in the national peace movements.

Organizational Emphasis and Changes. The Geneva meeting also reorganized the WPC. Change of the character and scope of the WPC was the main subject of meetings of the Presidential Committee and leaders of affiliated national peace movements, held in Budapest in March 1966.

(1) The resolution on structure stated that the WPC is "the supreme body of the peace movement"; that it takes a stand on all issues concerning the struggle for peace and on campaigns and programs of action for peace; and that it reflects the broad political and geographic composition of the movement, being composed of representatives of national peace committees and of national, regional and international organizations and movements "agreeing with its principles and aims." It adopts resolutions and decisions by majority vote, if unanimity cannot be obtained, the right of the minority to express its opinion being recognized (this is the formal way of dealing with the opposition of the Chinese and their supporters). Well-known personalities, representatives of national peace committees and of other peace organizations may be invited to WPC sessions as guests and observers.

(2) On national (peace) committees, the resolution stressed that they are autonomous and independent organizations; that the effectiveness of the movement hinges on their activities as initiators of mass action; that they should constantly strive toward growth and expansion and increased liaison with ever-wider sections of the people in their respective countries. The WPC is not an organization with rigid rules; its structure conforms to changing realities, "varying in accordance with different conditions in different countries and regions" as the resolution says.

(3) The Presidential Committee, elected at full Council sessions, constitutes the leadership of the WPC between sessions of the Council and is empowered to adopt resolutions and decisions in its behalf. According to the resolution on the structure, the Committee should reflect in its composition the political and geographic breadth of the WPC. The chairman of the Presidential Committee carries out their work with the help of the Secretariat.

A new enlarged Presidential Committee was elected, bringing in 17 new members and increasing the total membership from 28 to 45. The enlargement provides for bigger Asian, African and Latin American representation.* The aging Belgian Isabelle Blume was elected "Coordinating Chairman", still leaving the Chairman of the Presidential Committee position unfilled since the resignation of British professor Bernal in the summer of 1965 on grounds of ill-health.

(4) The resolution stressed in rather specific terms the role of the WPC executive body, the Secretariat. The Secretariat is charged with sparking the peace movement's actions around the world; with popularizing initiatives and experiences of national peace movements, working out proposals and recommendations, liaising with national committees, promoting cooperation with other peace organizations, supporting

* The new members include delegates from Nigeria, South Africa, the Portuguese African Colonies, Madagascar, Cuba, Chile, North Korea, North Vietnam, "South Vietnam" (NLFSV), Syria, the USA (Carlton Goodlett), West Germany, Bulgaria, and representatives of the WFTU and WIDF.

research and studies, ensuring the editing and production of the various WPC publications, making operational trips to different countries, etc.

The Secretariat was also enlarged from 6 to 13 positions. Romesh Chandra (India) was appointed Secretary-General, a post unfilled since 1959. As in the case of the Presidential Committee, the Secretariat's enlargement provides for bigger "third world" representation.* Also, the WPC would seem to have reason to expect that Chandra's appointment to the secretary-generalship will enhance the WPC's image and facilitate its operations in the Afro-Asian area.

Staff Operations. Peace Research and Study for Peace was stressed as an important, hitherto much neglected, WPC activity, to be practically applied to the movement's activities. On questions of Publications and Publicity, decisions were reached to replace the BULLETIN OF THE WPC by two monthly publications, PERSPECTIVES and INFORMATION BULLETIN. While the WPC stresses its publications program as a means to popularize its activities, to prepare documentation, and to develop dialogue with other "peace" groups, it also recommends that stress be put on films and exhibitions as publicity media.

In the meantime, one issue of PERSPECTIVES, published in Vienna, has become available. PERSPECTIVES is designed to appeal to an audience beyond the ranks of the WPC and thus is in sharp contrast to the BULLETIN which it replaces as the WPC's major periodical. The BULLETIN functioned as a house organ. It appealed to WPC members with reports that publicized their accomplishments, boosted their morale, and high-lighted current propaganda themes. Even for WPC members, however, the BULLETIN's articles were of short-term value and they held little conceivable interest to non-members.

PERSPECTIVES' articles are more substantial; while maintaining brevity they focus more on issues or events with, not surprisingly, an article on Vietnam taking the lead. Many of the articles are signed contributions and some of the authors seek to give an impression of objectivity by adroit use of statistics and research. The editors launched the first issue with a promise of quality content, free discussion, and a confrontation of views and concepts in politics, economics, science, and the arts; PERSPECTIVES' tone may attract sympathetic contributors and readers.** In a signed editorial, Isabelle Blume announced

* Current representation by nationalities: India (2), Iraq, France, West Germany, Spain, China, USSR, Latin America (2), USA, Africa (2).

A Pole was appointed head of the "Research Institute"; and an Italian Chief Editor of WPC Publications.

** The editors have adopted a fairly appealing $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ format for PERSPECTIVES. It is printed on the same flimsy paper as the BULLETIN, but through improved design it looks less like a throw-away than the BULLETIN and its page layouts have a cleaner, less cluttered appearance. Like the BULLETIN, it is printed in black and white with ample photo-illustrations, and the recurring use of blue for background accent and print.

the change as being in line with "revised working methods and structure" of the WPC; and committed the journal to opening wider a dialogue that has begun "across once-rigid Cold War barriers", between "all forces seeking peace". PERSPECTIVES is to be issued in English, French, Spanish and German. INFORMATION BULLETIN, probably in future to take up the role of house organ, is to be issued between publication of PERSPECTIVES.

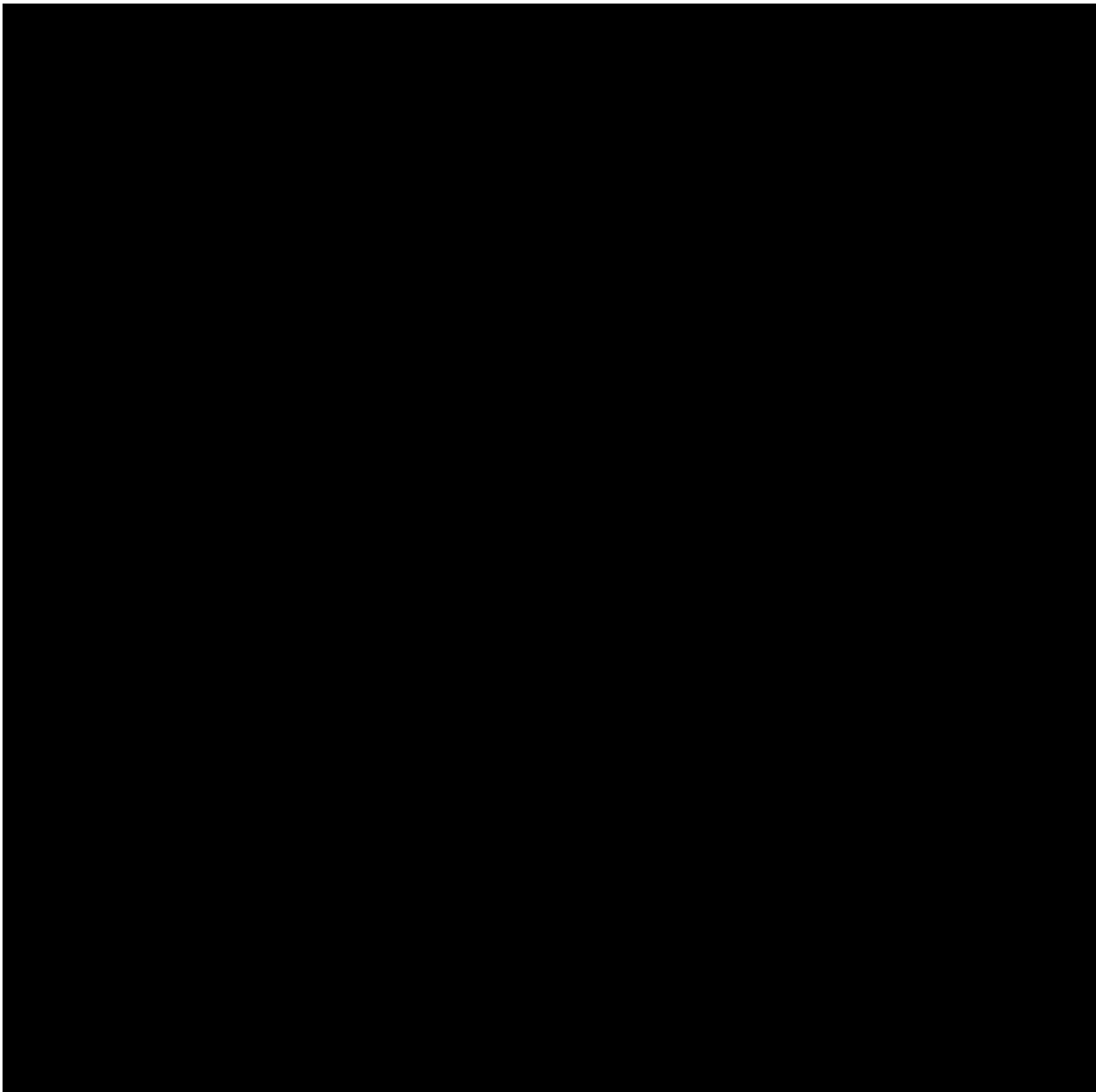
Finances. In February 1966, the WPC established a World Peace Fund in Helsinki, Finland, whose stated task is the promotion and support of actions for peace in all world areas. It will attempt to gather funds by organizing lotteries and international bazaars; by asking painters and writers for authorization to sell their works in the cause of peace; by outright solicitation from individuals in different countries, especially in ecclesiastical circles, etc. However, the WPC continues to collect funds from national peace committees and for special activities through its Secretariat. It may well be that the World Peace Fund is designed to camouflage for friend and foe alike the major Soviet funding channel to the WPC -- and perhaps to instill a feeling of active (monetary) support to the peace movement from individuals and organizations from the "third world".

IIP -- Legal Cover for the Secretariat. The WPC still has not legalized the status of the WPC Secretariat in Vienna, where since the expulsion of the WPC by the Austrian authorities in 1957, it has operated under cover of the International Institute of Peace (IIP). Since its establishment, leading IIP staff members have been, at the same time, members of the Secretariat and functionaries of the WPC. The projected scope of WPC operations and the enlargement of the "Secretariat" (for practical purposes of the IIP) will result in accelerated IIP activity, but the IIP must proceed with caution in any expansion since the prohibition of WPC activities in Austria is still in force. IIP missions will include: direct contact with various national peace groups; collection and dissemination of intelligence requiring contacts in the academic and journalistic community; intensified guidance and support for WPC participation in international seminars, colloquia and symposia; closer ties with special organizations of the U.N. and with institutions pursuing pacifist aims.

Chicom Disruption Tactics; "Third World" Dissatisfaction. The Chicoms and their supporters continue to do their best to disrupt the WPC's activities, attacking the Soviet control and policy line with virulence. They accuse the Soviet leaders of using the WPC as an instrument of Soviet diplomacy and of trying even to reduce it to a tool of U.S. imperialist aggression. But there is no indication of a Chicom intent to boycott the WPC, as they have recently done in the case of a WIDF conference in Stockholm and a conference of the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) in East Berlin; they continue to pursue their policy of disruption from within. In the meantime, the Chinese posted in Vienna appear to be making Maoist propaganda among the new staff of functionaries and creating dissension. There is also more rational, less politically-charged dissatisfaction within WPC ranks; Some

representatives from the underdeveloped areas feel that even with the changes they are still inadequately represented on committees and commissions, that there should be less concern for prominent names and more for practical regional work and conferences, and that there should be more direct discussions with national organizations and generally more awareness of the many millions who only recently began to speak for themselves. Moreover, even within WPC ranks the fact is not overlooked that some WPC "representatives" have questionable influence or standing in their own countries, i.e. that they "represent themselves", more or less.

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COMMUNIST CLANDESTINE BROADCASTS

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SITUATION: There are currently ten clandestine broadcasts carried by Communist transmitters for audiences in Europe and the Middle East.* With one exception (the "National Voice of Iran," which is broadcast from the Baku area), the transmitters are located in the East European Satellite countries. These stations operate without overt registration under international broadcasting conventions, emanate from an unannounced location, and -- usually speaking in the name of an exile or illegal group, such as a banned local CP -- are aimed primarily at subverting the target audience. In general, they are more harshly anti-Western and their language is far more abusive than broadcasts for the same areas originating from the overt facilities of Radio Moscow.

The oldest Communist clandestine broadcast, "Radio España Independiente," began operations in the USSR in 1941, but in 1954 switched its transmission facilities to the Bucharest area. Most of the others which are still heard today started in the late 40's or early 50's. A few which began during this period are no longer heard:

A group of programs for France ("Aujourd'hui en France," "Ce Matin en France," and "Ce Soir en France") broadcast from 1950 to 1955 by transmitters in Prague, Budapest, and Warsaw.

*Because of the unstable situation in SEAsia, this Guidance does not treat the programs now being carried on the Communist clandestine broadcasts of Radio Pathet Lao (in Laotian, Meo, and French), Radio of the Laotian Kingdom (in Laotian and French), Liberation Broadcasting Station (in Vietnamese, Khmer, Cantonese, and Kloyu), the Voice of the People of Thailand (in Thai). Nor does it discuss the discontinued Communist clandestine broadcasts of Radio Free Japan (from 1952 to 1955), Voice of South Vietnam (from 1948 to 1955), Voice of Nam Bo (from 1948 to 1955), and Voice of Free Saigon-Cholon (from 1950 to 1955).

A program for Italy ("Questa Sera in Italia") broadcast from 1951 to 1953 by transmitters in Prague, Budapest, Leipzig, and Wroclaw.

A program for Yugoslavia ("Radio Free Yugoslavia") broadcast from 1949 to 1954 by transmitters in Rumania.

A program for Greece ("Radio Free Greece") broadcast from 1947 to 1948 by transmitters in Yugoslavia and from then until 1955 by transmitters in Rumania.

A program for Iran ("Azerbaijan Democratic Party Radio") broadcast from 1947 to 1953 by transmitters in the Baku area.

A program for Algeria ("Voice of National Independence and Peace") broadcast from 1954 to 1955 from Budapest.

Another deactivated program, "Radio Return to the Homeland," began broadcasting in 1955 to Soviet expatriates in West Europe, using transmitters in Leipzig, East Germany. Although it did not announce its location (except by inviting its listeners to write to a P.O. box in East Berlin) it did not fit under the general category of clandestine radios; it purported to be a quasi-official organization of Soviet citizens inviting the return of emigres to the USSR. In 1959 this program also began a service for North America originating from facilities in the Ukraine.

That the "official" line of the ten different programs is centrally coordinated by Moscow, and periodically altered to correspond with changes in Soviet Government policy, is evident when one studies their pattern over the years. For the past two decades programs for Iran, to cite a good example, have modified the harshness of their invective against the person of the Shah in proportion to Moscow's official overtures to his regime; the familiar clandestine broadcast pattern of virulence against him periodically re-emerged whenever Moscow-Teheran relations cooled. (See the attached article from the 2 September TEHRAN MOSAVVAR magazine for details.)

Recently, the clandestine radios have all been plugging the theme of the need for a "united front" to combat the Western imperialists (see, for example, the "Briefly Noted" items of 15 August, "West German Communist Party Ban Noted -- Another Call for a Popular Front," of 1 August, "United Fronts in Middle East Urged by Communist Parties -- Subversion by Radio," and of 5 July, "Spanish Civil War Anniversary Cited by Communist Party -- Proposes United Front Against Franco").

Another indication of the firm control Moscow exerts over the clandestine broadcasts is the "monolithic" stance they have adopted in regard to the Sino-Soviet split. In broadcasts heard to date, all the clandestine transmitters have sided with Moscow. For example:

A statement of the Political Bureau of the Greek Communist Party (KKE) Central Committee, broadcast by the clandestine "Voice of Truth" on 8 September, declared: "The KKE considers inconceivable the Chinese

leaders' persistent refusals of every proposal for agreement and common action by all Socialist countries on such a vital problem for the socialist camp and world peace as the problem of U.S. imperialism directed against Vietnam."

An article in the Iraqi CP organ TARIQ ASH-SHAAB, quoted on the clandestine "Voice of the Iraqi People" on 11 October, stated: "The Iraqi Communists and other progressive and national forces are seriously concerned at the events which have taken place during the Chinese proletarian cultural revolution, particularly since acts are being committed which have no connection whatsoever with proletarian ideology and which harm the unity of the socialist camp and the Communist movement in general."

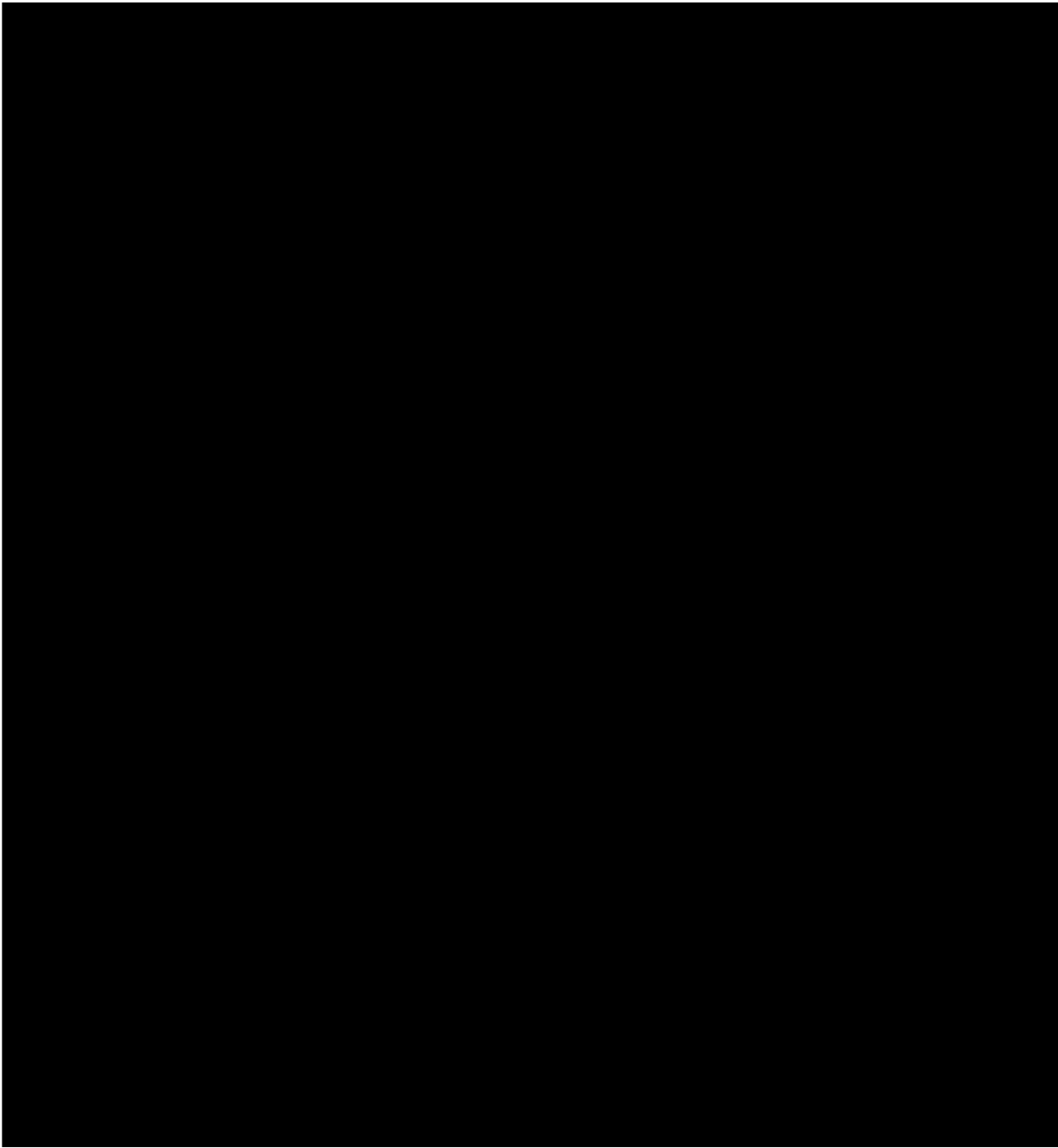
A commentary entitled "Where Are You Taking China?" carried on the clandestine "Radio Peyk-e Iran" on 29 August, observed: "What is going on in China today is contrary to Marxism, a cause for the happiness of the enemies of socialism, and a cause for anxiety among friends of the Chinese people, all progressives, and all Marxists-Leninists."

Only "German Freedom Station 904" is currently identified as an outlet of a Communist Party: it announces itself as the voice of the outlawed West German CP (KPD).* The clandestine broadcasts to Iraq, Greece, Spain, and Portugal come close to openly admitting their sponsorship by devoting considerable broadcast time to appeals and decisions of the respective (illegal) CP's of those countries. In the countries where the Communists have other overt mechanisms for spreading propaganda, Italy and Turkey, the broadcasts refer much less frequently to the CP's.

Attached is an unclassified compilation of material containing background information on the ten clandestine radios, along with exploitable quotations from recent broadcasts. Transcripts of significant items on these programs are published periodically in the Foreign Broadcast Information Service DAILY REPORT, normally in the sections devoted to the country to which the broadcast is beamed.

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*Voluminous KPD propaganda is also carried by the overt East Berlin broadcasts which can be heard in both zones of Germany. The East Berlin overt broadcasts in Persian have also acted as an outlet for the Iranian Tudeh Party, while the clandestine "National Voice of Iran" rarely mentioned this local CP.



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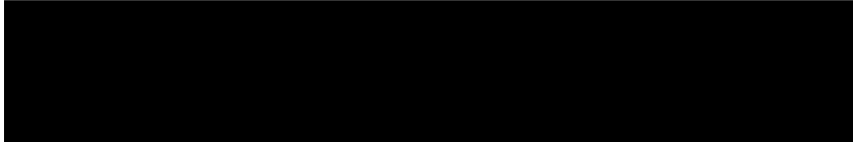
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1081 f.

YOUTH PROBLEMS IN EUROPEAN SATELLITES

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SITUATION: (Unclassified) The Communist regimes of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and East Germany are faced with increasingly serious youth problems. Many youths in these countries are apathetic to Marxism-Leninism and sharply critical of the systems formed under Soviet sponsorship. The most dramatic illustrations of disaffection are seen in recent events at the universities (see attachments and discussion below). More generally, youth's mood in Prague (and possibly in other Satellite capitals as well) has been stated recently by a Czechoslovak as follows:

"Our young people not only heartily dislike the regime, they have developed a hostile attitude toward the older generation as a whole (including their parents) because they blame it for having brought about the dismal state of affairs, i.e., drabness, despondency and especially the pervading atmosphere of the big lie."

At the universities in these countries students have been reprimanded for shortcomings in their ideological education, and they have made implicit demands for greater political and cultural freedom. Furthermore, the punishment of some outstanding and popular young faculty members suggests that the regimes are increasing their efforts to insulate the students from the appeal of liberal views.

At Poland's Metallurgy and Mining Academy in Cracow, 734 first-year students were polled in 1965 and found deficient in ideological education, appallingly ignorant of the Polish political system, and unwilling to include a single Pole among the first 5 on their list of heroes.* At Warsaw University Leszek Kolakowski, the prominent 39-year-old philosophy professor, was expelled from the Party following his harshly critical speech which stimulated students to attack regime policies and even to call on older men to step down from their positions of leadership. At Prague's Charles University the Party leaders, including Novotny himself, were unable to restrain the students from raising and printing heretical proposals on youth organization. At Budapest University, 11 popular liberal professors who could not be influenced by the CP were dismissed. Students at Humboldt University in East Berlin and at the University of Leipzig were charged with inadequate political-ideological education and patriotism, and indifference to the Party program.

*President Kennedy was the choice of a great majority of the students. (See attachment for details.)

Other evidence of disaffection and apathy is seen in a smattering of recent incidents and reports. According to the Czech press, on 20 September a group of about 20 youths paraded around Prague shouting anti-regime slogans and clashed with police; all but the minors were tried and given sentences ranging up to 17 months in jail. In Budapest a group of youths daringly passed out anti-regime leaflets on 23 October, the 10th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. Polish youths in unexpected numbers participated on the side of the Church in its recent clash of popular appeal with the state.

Frequent press reports discuss the prevalence of "hooliganism" and alcoholism amongst youth in the Satellites. A report in KULTURA (published by Polish emigres in Paris) cites CP studies on the apparent cynicism of Polish youth. A recent Polish press item notes estimates that each year there are about 200,000 youths who are not in school and unemployed in small towns and settlements in economically underdeveloped areas; some of these youths have been in trouble with the law and, because of a general lack of education, they are having difficulties in finding employment. In June 1966 the editor of the Hungarian Communist Youth Organization journal, IFJUSAGI MAGAZIN, was fired by the Central Committee of the Party for overemphasizing Western themes and articles.

The above evidence that the CP regimes have failed to raise a generation of dedicated communists in the image of their founding fathers is elaborated on in the attachments. 25X1C10b

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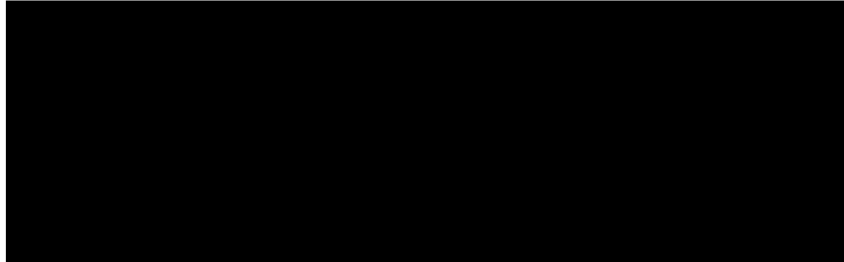
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1082.

THE NORTH VIETNAMESE INVASION
OF NEUTRAL LAOS

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SITUATION: North Vietnamese Army (PAVN: Peoples Army of Vietnam) incursions into Laos started in the 1950's when Ho Chi-minh's troops went into Laos to bolster the Pathet Lao* in their interminable guerrilla war against the Royal Laotian Government (RLG). By 1962, when the warring elements in Laos reached an uneasy accord at Geneva, there were several thousand North Vietnamese troops in Laos. Despite Geneva rulings requiring the withdrawal of foreign troops and materiel from Laos by October 1962, fewer than 50 North Vietnamese soldiers left the country through the Conference-established checkpoint and by late 1964 Hanoi's troop strength in Laos had reached an estimated 7,000. By mid-1965 the number had grown to an estimated 10,000 and one short year later Hanoi was denying reports that 20,000 North Vietnamese troops were battling in Laos.

Accurate estimates of North Vietnamese strength in Laos are extremely difficult for such estimates must include PAVN units regularly operating in Laos; PAVN units using the infiltration routes through Laos from North Vietnam into South Vietnam; North Vietnamese truck crews bringing military and related supplies over Laotian roads and into South Vietnam for PAVN troops and Viet Cong units fighting there; coolie bearers packing supplies over the Laotian routes into South Vietnam and finally the great numbers of North Vietnamese construction workers impressed into repair maintenance work on Laotian roads damaged by bombing.

The U.S. Government has regularly issued official and unofficial protests against 1) North Vietnamese incursions into Laos; 2) infringements of the 1962 Geneva Accords to which Hanoi is a signatory and 3) the use of Laos as an infiltration route for an estimated 4,500 PAVN troops moving every month from North Vietnam to join other PAVN units already battling in South Vietnam.

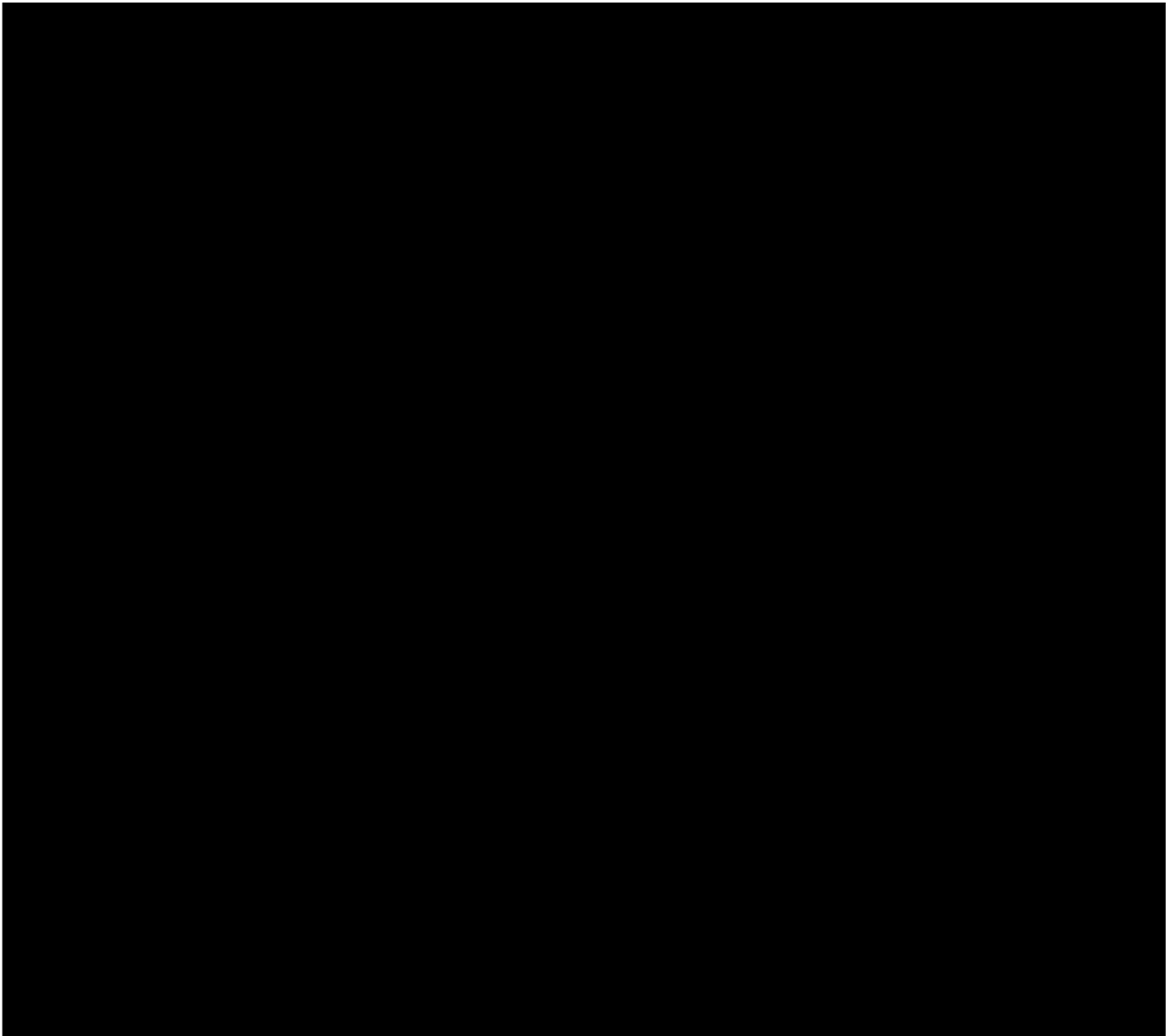
*organized in 1950 from leftist Laotian groups by North Vietnamese communist elements; the Pathet Lao has constantly battled RLG forces with military equipment and troops supplied by Hanoi, Peking and Moscow.

In the propaganda sense U.S. protests have not been too successful for two reasons -- first, we are not an Asian nation and second, we are not considered disinterested. However, the tide may have turned, for in September 1966 the long-suffering Laotian government issued a 230-page White Paper; subject: North Vietnamese violations of the Geneva Accords. The Paper is long and rambling but it provides hard evidence of North Vietnamese violations of Laotian territory. Included are interrogations of PAVN troops captured in Laos; accounts of PAVN battles with Laotian forces on Laotian territory; North Vietnamese documents, pertinent photographs such as weapons captured in Laos bearing Chinese, Soviet and North Vietnamese markings, etc. (see unclassified attachments for details).

The Lao government White Paper contains excerpts from another document which also supports U.S. and free world complaints. The document in question was published on 22 August 1966 by the British Co-Chairman and consists of a report prepared by the Indian and Canadian members of the ICC* for Laos; the subject: North Vietnamese presence in Laos in 1965 (see unclassified attachment for quotations and details). The most dramatic facet of the ICC report is the evidence given by nine North Vietnamese prisoners who were captured by RLG forces in mid-March 1966 at Dong Hene, Laos. North Vietnamese troops had attacked the Royal Laotian Reserve Officers Training Academy at Dong Hene and were repulsed by Academy cadets who killed upwards of 180 PAVN soldiers and captured the nine prisoners who later provided so much useful information regarding North Vietnamese military activity on Laotian territory.

An earlier ICC report released by the British in December 1965 highlighted the interrogations of North Vietnamese army prisoners and their Laotian captors. The ICC investigating team concluded that: "North Vietnamese regular army soldiers have entered Laos with weapons and ammunition to wage war against the Laotian people and government" (see un- 25X1C10b classified attachment for details).

*International Control Commission; established within the framework of the Geneva Conference of 1954 to ensure Laotian independence remains inviolate; members are Canada, India and Poland



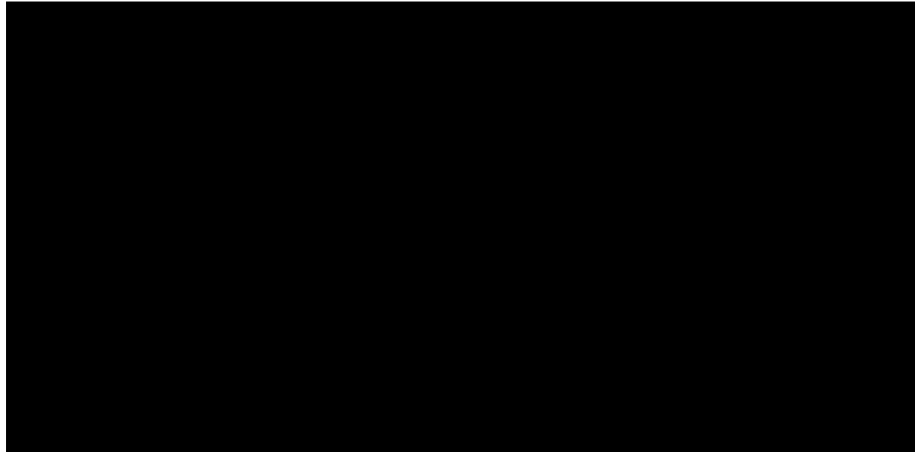
*Burma, Cambodia, Canada, France, India, Poland, Communist China, North Vietnam, Laos, South Vietnam, USSR, UK and U.S.

5 December 1966

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INDIA FACES ELECTIONS

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SITUATION: Until very recently there was little doubt anywhere that the ruling Congress Party of India would again be the easy victor in the fourth general elections scheduled for next February. After twenty years in power dating from Indian independence from the British in 1947, Congress Party leaders have expected to win a comfortable majority in Parliament and in all but two or three of India's 17 states, in spite of the growing disunity within the Party and waning confidence in its leadership.

The significance of the elections -- the focal point towards which political events in India are now directed -- is far greater than simply who will come out on top. Election results will indicate not the "will of the people" so much as the ability of the Congress Party to pull itself together during the next two months and the extent of political and civil irresponsibility to which the opposition parties will resort.*

Furthermore, the ability or inability of the Congress Party to control the outbreaks of violence erupting all over India and to function as an effective unified government may determine the future of freedom and democracy in all of Southeast Asia. Should democracy fail in India, optimistically relied upon by a sometimes-complacent Western world as the bastion of democracy in Asia, this will be due more to Congress Party factionalism and ineptness and mischievous political maneuverings rather than to the allure of communism to the Indian people.

*The February elections will be the first national elections contested by the Congress Party without the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who died in May 1964. They will also be the first national elections in which the opposition will include two Communist Parties of India (CPI/L and CPI/R), which formally split along Sino-Soviet lines in October 1964.

Whatever the outcome next February, there now appears to be some danger that the 1967 elections may be the last elections to follow the pattern India has known since achieving independence. Although important sections of the electorate have been disenchanted with the Congress government, the opposition is too divided to offer an effective threat or alternative. All it can hope for is to reduce Congress dominance and exacerbate existing splits within that party. Major opposition forces at the national level include two rightist parties and four parties on the left (See unclassified attachments for details of political parties of the opposition). None of these groups has more than a limited regional following (with the exception of Kerala, where Congress lost state elections in 1957 and 1965, and where the February elections are already written off as going to the United Leftist Front -- i.e., the CPI/L); none has a realistic chance of displacing the Congress government in New Delhi. What the opposition does possess, and what it is wielding with almost incredible irresponsibility, is the power to instigate public disorder and fan the growing dissatisfaction among all levels of society with the seeming inability of government to solve India's many crucial national problems.

While attempting to cope with a sagging economy, the second consecutive year of critical food shortage and the threat of famine, the Congress leadership has been bedeviled with an increasing tempo of rioting and demonstrations. Groups with grievances have acquired the habit of violence: the slightest cause has become a provocation for violent lawlessness, usually led by restless students and the urban poor, which the Congress government has for the most part proved unable to contain. The opposition parties, spearheaded by communists and socialists, have publicly announced their determination to "splinter and smash" the Congress Party even before elections, to further disrupt the economy through strikes and riots, and so complete the voters' disillusionment with the democratic processes. (See Bi-Weekly Propaganda Guidance 978, "India, Famine and Communist Demagoguery".)

According to official U.S. observers in New Delhi, the tragic clash in front of Parliament 7 November between police and demonstrators protesting the government's refusal to pass national legislation against cow slaughter is a further expression of trends which have been developing for some time. These disturbances represent a composite reaction reflecting a variety of forces such as

a) the frustration of many university students resulting from an outmoded educational system, the lack of minimal amenities and inadequate opportunities to utilize their abilities;

b) traditional modes of Indian life in bitter conflict with demands of modern society, as typified by fanatical Sadhus living in the past and seeking to force enactment of legislation to ban cow slaughter which the government maintains is unconstitutional;

c) political leaders of both left and right who are frustrated by the still powerful position of the Congress Party and are seeking to exploit domestic discord to bring themselves to power and advance their particular ideology;

d) the desperate food situation which remains intractable because of the continuing perversity of the weather despite major effort at comprehensive agricultural reform;

e) other economic distress as a result of rising food prices, lagging wages and increasing unemployment;

f) international insecurity stemming from a hostile Pakistan, an aggressive Communist China rapidly developing nuclear military capacity, fear that a common ideology and external threat may bring the Soviet Union and Communist China together, increasing lack of confidence that the U.S. and the West will support India, and the collapse of the non-aligned group which appears to have lost its impact -- all of which seems to leave an economically weak India out in the cold, and buffeted by forces it cannot control; and

g) a well-organized and well-financed, although not yet broadly based, communist movement directed partly by Moscow and partly by Peking, and ready and eager to pour gasoline on every spark or flame. (See Bi-Weekly Propaganda Guidance 981, "Effect of Sino-Soviet Rivalry on Communist Parties of India")

Mrs. Indira Gandhi inherited these bewildering and urgent problems when she was sworn in as Prime Minister in January 1966, following the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri in Tashkent. As the compromise choice of Congress Party bosses and the daughter of Nehru, she was then regarded as a "caretaker" Prime Minister expected to provide only nominal leadership in the interim before the February 1967 elections. She has shown unexpected decisiveness in making and defending major shifts in economic policy. Her handling of several political crises, however, most of them involving regional and linguistic disputes, has been less forceful. In both these areas, she has brought her government under heavy opposition fire; she has evoked criticism from Congress Party leftists, and the disapproval of state Congress Party leaders and government officials on several scores -- all varying in degree upon the issues as they affect the parochial and personal vested interests of individual parties and politicians.

The shifting of alliances and splits that have characterized Congress Party politics since Nehru's death have increased; in the absence of any serious threat to its supremacy from another indigenous political party, there has been no compulsion to end Congress infighting even in the face of the approaching general elections. Despite Mrs. Gandhi's election slogan of "One Country, One Team," factional strains and jockeying for position with an eye to the plums of office continue to weaken hopes of party unity at a time when it is most needed.

Confidence in Mrs. Gandhi's leadership has been eroding for several months and was not strengthened by the awkward handling of the Indian cabinet re-shuffle of 13 November. However the shift of one of the most competent men in the government, Y.B. Chavan, from the Defense Ministry to the Home Ministry has strengthened the cabinet in some respects; the Home Ministry has responsibility for security as well as for law enforcement. Chavan's firm steps to prevent a national protest march by students on 18 November, which in all probability would have resulted in a repetition of the "ban the cow slaughter" violence earlier in the month, give new hope that the Gandhi government has recognized the peril into which it has fallen, largely through vacillation and internal party bickering.

A further complication for the Congress Party government has developed from Premier Kosygin's late November postponement of his visit until after the February elections.* Indian officials had predicted that he would arrive in November, and had been looking forward to his visit as a strong boost to Mrs. Gandhi in the elections. Soviet officials now claim that Premier Kosygin has a full schedule through February.

The Soviet press and radio have been increasingly critical of India's political and economic policies. They regard Mrs. Gandhi's recent concession to private enterprise as evidence that the right wing of the Congress Party is in control, and charge the government with neglecting the public sector of the economy. Moscow has urged the "unity of left forces" for the elections, is covertly financing the CPI/R election slate, and apparently hopes that the parties of the left and the left wing of the Congress Party will make substantial electoral gains.

Although the Soviets are still openly holding to their pose as a friend of India (e.g., the November 21 announcement that the Soviet Union was coming to India's aid in surmounting her food shortage by giving machinery and equipment for seed farms), the refusal to "endorse" Mrs. Gandhi suggests another interpretation: Moscow's assessment that the Congress Party has been so weakened by recent events that India is ripe for major CPI/R gains.

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*His earlier scheduled visit to India last spring was cancelled because of Prime Minister Shastri's death.

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Note: If developments during the period before the elections drastically change the current situation, appropriate specific guidance will be cabled.

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(See also unclassified Attachments)

December 1966

Review of the Swiss Press
Bern, Switzerland
1 November 1966
Vol. V, No. 44

"Socialism" and "Capitalism"

In a "referendum-contest" an African weekly of world renown asks its readers if they are for the socialist or capitalist way, in the economic sense.

This is as good a point as any to consider the terminological embroglio in which we all find ourselves entangled the minute it is a question of capitalism or -- and especially -- of socialism. In this case moreover, those who edited the text of the contest have been aware of the difficulties, since they earlier explained the term "socialist way" by the two points of the program of "planning and nationalization," while they added the adjective "liberal" to the term "capitalist way," thus placing it in a sort of ideological neutrality.

The term "capitalism" is prejudiced

This does not diminish the fact that the reader, when he finally finds himself confronted by the alternative posed in the form of "socialism" or "capitalism," will find his freedom of choice somewhat limited. I find it difficult to imagine a reader who, preferring a "liberal" system in one form or another would call it "capitalism." Because the term, although technically applicable to economics, is politically prejudiced. Of Marxist origin, it was chosen to define, in the context of the 19th century moreover, a system which had to be opposed. In this sense capitalism signified not only private ownership of the means of production, but also the exploitation of man by man which always resulted therefrom. Therefore there is fundamentally a negative and polemical meaning to the word, a meaning which is still deliberately intended in the Communist's vocabulary and in a perhaps less conscious way in everybody else's usage.

If this interpretation is correct, it is understood that those people who adhere to the system which their adversaries call capitalist, see it in a different way, indeed would not otherwise support it. No-one would normally say that he prefers to be exploited by another (or to exploit others) just because he is against state planning as it is practiced in the Communist countries, for example. Nevertheless, this is just what is required of him when he is asked if he is for a socialist or capitalist system. It is as if you asked a religious person if he is for a rational view of the world or for religious superstition. Or as if you asked a Communist if he is for freedom of the peasants or for the slavery of the kolkhozes.

But if leading questions are forbidden in judicial proceedings, they are practically inevitable when it is a question of current political language. In the case which we are using as an example could one have replaced the word "capitalist" by "liberal" or something equivalent? The result would have been to replace a negative connotation with a positive one. Insofar as the term "liberal capitalist" is concerned, used in the introduction to the contest question of which we are speaking, it has the merit of being neutral, but mostly as a result of the cumulative effect of the two contradictory connotations, which leads to an artificial and totally hybrid creation.

The term "socialist" is equivocal

But things become more complicated when one gets to the term "socialist." Right off, it has the virtue of not evoking elements of moral judgment as in the case of "capitalism." Not only are the polemical connotations missing, but by the success of its historical evolution it has acquired a positive tone for the great majority of people. The result is that everyone claims kinship with it.

And that's where the virtue turns into a fault: In the current political vocabulary no term lends itself to more confusion than that of "socialism."

Fundamentally this does not seem inevitable, since socialism originally defined an economic system. But can one stop there? "Certainly," some people reply. "Since it is the economic system which interests me, I can speak of it outside any political context." -- "No," others answer, more precisely the Marxists and their sympathizers, "since the socialist economic system necessarily requires an adequate political structure. And it is the latter which will guarantee the building of socialism as an economic system."

And there we are in the middle of an ideological debate. Those who affirm that the question of socialism can be posed on the economic plane alone, find themselves already, whether they want to be or not, in a political contradiction with the Communists who cannot conceive of this separation. Whether this contradiction is or is not evoked in the framework of a given political debate depends on the momentary interests of the participants, but does not remove its fundamental nature.

Also, the question of knowing what is or is not "socialist" has always been subject to confusion on the political level. Take for example the distinction between "socialist countries" and "capitalist countries." In reality this separates the countries where a Communist party is in power from the other countries where this is not the case. A political distinction, therefore. Elsewhere countries governed by a socialist party, such as Sweden or Israel, appear in this classification as capitalist countries. Thus it is always necessary to be clear about what one means in speaking of a "socialist country."

In the same way there is a terminological confusion when socialist parties are involved. There are some which are Communist (as for example the East German party) and others which are not. Other analogous titles require equally close scrutiny. Thus the Labor party in Albania or in Switzerland is Communist, that of England certainly is not. Speaking of terminology, you can also, if it amuses you, speak of an identity between Fascism and Communism: the single party in Hitler's Germany was officially titled "Germany National Socialist Workers' Party."

In the Third World: Confusion even more marked

But if, in Europe, people have for better or worse become more or less adept in the daily task of distinguishing between socialism as conceived by the Communists (although even there also ideological unity has cracked) and socialism as conceived by others, things are not the same in what is called the Third World. People there are actively studying the political systems of many countries. In the process socialism is a key word and consequently each person (inwardly and outwardly) uses it to suit himself, sometimes poorly defining it, sometimes deliberately falsifying it.

And people skip from one criterion to another. Take for example Algeria. It was recognized by the Soviets as a country building socialism up to the summer of 1965, but not since. What happened? Did its economic structure deviate towards a capitalistic path? Not at all; to the contrary as a matter of fact, if one judges by the way it has developed since. Of course, what happened was the downfall of Ben Bella -- a political event. In this case, therefore, the criterion for judging the level of socialism which has been attained was exclusively of a political nature. But on the other hand this does not hinder Algeria from following quite faithfully the criteria of the Soviet Union and her allies for determining what is socialist and what is not in the world -- excepting, of course, its own case.

An analogous phenomenon is very widespread: On the one hand the socialism of countries with Communist regimes is accepted as authentic, while on the other hand people limit their meaning of socialism to something quite different in their own country. In effect this sometimes amounts to supporting a political system in other countries while attacking the proponents of this same system at home. Between the death of Stalin in 1953 and the assumption of power by the military in Djakarta in 1965, the greatest persecution of Communists was in Egypt, wherever recently some Communists were executed following the trials instituted against certain Moslem brethren. Notwithstanding, on the international level Egypt recognizes socialism in the sense which the Communists give to it.

So much for political practice, where one could multiply the examples. But there is certainly a basis for the problem which cannot be explained

by simple political manipulation. Plain socialism tends towards an economic program which socialism in the Communist sense also acknowledges, but adds to it the remainder of its program which it sees as an entity: the exercise of power by the party, its monopoly on ideology, the monopoly of the party in all aspects of life, etc. Yet the difficulty resides in the fact that all this is considered less and less as a whole package, to take or to leave. From that point on one never knows very well whether or not one is including specifically political elements when one speaks of socialism and, if so, which ones. Here are several versions among the varied choice: "Socialists the only party, yes; ordained ideology, no." "Marxist ideology, yes; atheism, no." "Socialist camp, yes; China, no." "Dictatorship of the proletariat, yes, but with the minor exception that we don't have one, having no industry." Etcetera. It is a game anyone can play.

In brief, we are in the presence of a multitude of conceptions when one refers to socialism. Moreover, this is agreeable to all those who believe in something other than a bare dogma (wherever it may come from). But the situation has its humorous side when it comes to communicating. Because each person tends to think of his own socialism when he uses or hears this term. And the confusion grows from day to day.

There is no remedy to the multiple meanings of the term "socialism." But there is still a long way to go in defining it more precisely. If each person takes the trouble to make clear to his interlocutor what he really means in using this all-purpose term and if each person tries to discern what his partner understands by this same term, each will understand more clearly. This will be too bad for those who prefer the confusion, but better for the others.

Christian Brugger

18 November 1966

AALAPSO PLANS REVOLUTIONARY CADRE SCHOOLS

For the purpose of giving effective support to the national liberation movements of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the Executive Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO) adopted an agreement some days ago to proceed with the creation of schools for the training of political cadres for the revolutionary movements of the three continents.

The agreement stemmed from a resolution voted by the Tricontinental Conference regarding the creation of such schools which are to have extraordinary importance in the development of the revolutionary movement in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. It is one of the most important tasks of the AALAPSO Executive Secretariat.

A call was issued recently to the governments of independent nations represented by the AALAPSO Executive Secretariat to provide the necessary funds for the creation in their respective territories of the aforementioned schools. The call has been favorably received by the governments of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Cuba.

The creation of the political cadre training schools is an effective step by the peoples who are struggling against the aggressions of the imperialists headed by the United States. Their existence will be a symbol of the friendship and the spirit of international solidarity of the revolutionary forces.

by Michael Arkus

Havana, Cuba, November 18 (Reuters) -- Cuba will set up a school to train political officers to lead revolutionary movements in Latin America, Africa and Asia, it was announced today.

It will be organized under the auspices of the Havana-based tri-continental anti-imperialist organization.

In a communique today the organization described it as an "effective step of the peoples struggling against imperialist aggressions headed by yankee imperialism."

The communique said North Korea has also agreed to establish a similar school in its territory and that it was initially planned to have at least one such school in each of the three continents.

The Tri-Continental Secretariat called on the governments of independent countries represented within it to provide the financial resources necessary for establishing such schools on their territory.

Apart from Cuba and North Korea, they are Syria, the United Arab Republic, Guinea and possibly North Vietnam.

The remainder of the Secretariat's membership is formed by the revolutionary movements in Pakistan, the Congo (Kinshasa), the Portuguese territories, Venezuela, Chile, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo -- all opposed to the governments of their respective countries.

The tri-continental organization was set up in Havana last January following a conference here of communist revolutionary movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

This is the first published concrete measure taken to step up the revolutionary struggle in three continents.

THE WASHINGTON POST Monday, Nov. 7, 1966
 Headed Toward Pacification Work

Saigon Tries to Reorient Army

By William Tuohy
 Los Angeles Times

SAIGON Nov. 7 (Monday)—

The Vietnamese Army will begin a sweeping new training program today — a program to which U.S. advisers are attaching high hopes and importance.

The training plan involves no less than reorienting most of the 275,000-man army away from conventional warfare toward pacification work in areas where the government is trying to extend its control.

This means that most of the battalions in the 10 Vietnamese Army divisions will eventually switch from the classic "search-and-destroy" operations to what is known here as "clear-and-hold" assignments.

The new training program is one of the first visible results of the Manila Conference, at which the Vietnamese government announced, among other points, its "intent to train and assign a substantial share of the armed forces to clear-and-hold action in order to provide a shield behind which a new society can be built."

Role Shifts

This means that the job of searching out North Vietnamese Army regiments and some of the crack Vietcong units, will be shifted in large measure to U.S., Korean, and Australian battalions with their greater strength and heavier firepower.

However, mobile Vietnamese units such as the five Marine battalions, eight airborne battalions, and selected Regular Army battalions will continue to be used as strike forces, informed sources indicated.

Over the years, the Vietnamese Army, in theory, has pursued a strategy of "search and destroy" operations — trying to find and annihilate the Vietcong.

After these operations, Army battalions returned to their base camps, leaving the areas they had swept free for the Vietcong guerrillas to come back in.

Villagers felt the lack of the essential ingredient, security.

Now, in the words of one high official, the new role envisages "continuous local security."

Convince Farmers

As this official puts it, "you've got to come and stay in an area, and you've got to assure the people that you're going to come and stay."

In a sense, the Vietnamese Army and American units will be reversing the roles foreseen when American combat troops first arrived in March, 1965.

Then, the U.S. Marines and paratroopers were assigned to provide security to major base areas like Danang and Bien-hoa. This strategy was expected to release Vietnamese Army troops for offensive operations.

But over the months, it began to dawn on the strategists that offensive operations were not enough, so long as the enemy troops were allowed to infiltrate back in areas presumed cleared.

The U.S. Marines found this out in their tactical area in the five northernmost provinces: It was no good keeping on the offensive if your rear was riddled with a hostile population.

The weaknesses of conducting solely a "search-and-destroy" strategy became evident earlier this year with the advent of "Revolutionary Development teams" which were designed to enter villages and win over the population to the government side.

Lacked a Base

One of deep flaws in this plan was that often the teams were sent into areas where

security was lacking. And since they were not designed to both fight and pacify, in many cases the usefulness of the Revolutionary Development teams was vitiated.

The new plan calls for Vietnamese troops to "clear and hold" areas and provide security for both villagers and the Revolutionary Development teams. The plan has the hearty concurrence of Maj. Gen. Nguyen Duc Thang, head of Revolutionary Development, the so-called "nation-building" program in Vietnam.

"The main role of the Army in 1967 should be to support the pacification plan in the rural areas," said Gen. Thang. "The emphasis should be on quality rather than quantity."

The new training program that begins today is described by one official as "on-the-job" training. Twelve bright officers from each of the four corps areas in Vietnam will assemble at the headquarters of the Vietnamese Armed Forces High Command in Saigon.

They will be given an intensive two-weeks course of 88 hours training in various techniques to support the rural reconstruction program. Teach Others

The 12-man teams will then return to their corps area, and in two-week cycles, train every battalion in the Army's 10 divisions in the techniques learned at headquarters.

The battalions will remain at their posts. The instructors—known as "Mobile Training Teams"—will go to the battalions. However, all offensive operations and other activity will be suspended during the two-week training period in order to insure that fullest attention will be given the lectures and demonstrations.

Other supplementary steps are to be taken.

For instance, the Army has always been criticized by the

citizenry for stealing chickens, pigs, and ducks as it moves through an area.

Unfortunately, the Army pays its soldiers only about

five cents a day for ration allowance, so that, like Sherman's troops, the Army has been forced to forage in the field.

In the future, it is planned to give units a larger mess allowance, presumably cutting down on food raiding in the countryside.

On paper, the plan sounds exemplary. It preaches the doctrine enunciated for years by counter-insurgency experts here. But reorienting the Army will be a herculean task.

Its main job in the future will consist of laying ambushes, intensive night patrolling, performing police functions, and helping villagers in civic action projects — along with an occasional conventional operation.

The Vietnamese Army in the past has been loath to develop these techniques.

One U.S. expert says of the problem, "It will be very tough to convince the officer corps that it is not ignoble to do these things. The most difficult job will be to get the officers and NCOs to accept this role."

The difficulty is convincing an Asian soldier—whose first and often only real loyalty is to his own family—to "care" about people in villages miles away from his own.

CPYRGHT

CPYRGHT

TIME, OCTOBER 21, 1966

FOREIGN AID Revolutionaries Wanted

Viet Nam, the ads make clear, is no Bali Ha'i. They emphasize that the job involves "long hours, difficult and possibly hazardous working conditions; minimum assignment: 18 months without dependents." Nonetheless, more than 25,000 Americans have volunteered in the past year to join an expanding U.S. team of civilians in South Viet Nam to push forward a peaceful social revolution amid the ravages of war.

"They seem to regard a tour of duty in Viet Nam as the most challenging, most demanding and most satisfying experience that anyone can find in the world today," says Sam Simpson, chief recruiter for the Agency for International Development's Far East bureau. Indeed, after a tour in Viet Nam, 64% of old AID hands ask to be sent back—a higher percentage of veterans who want to stay on than in any of the 77 other countries with AID missions.

Kurd Hurdle. This month AID began the second year of its drive to enlist skilled workers for Viet Nam. In the New York City area, 5,210 applicants, of whom perhaps 200 will qualify, swamped recruiters. Last week in Omaha, 285 responded to AID's campaign, and 23 qualified for serious consideration. The AID party then went on to Denver and Portland, Ore. By Christmas the agency needs 500 new agronomists, public administrators, teachers, economists, engineers, police specialists, auditors, nurses and secretaries.

David Werp, 28, a market researcher, drove 100 miles from Sioux City to Omaha in hopes of becoming an AID aide. "I've wanted to do something for my country since I was a kid," said Werp, who has a physical disability that kept him out of military service. Volunteers must meet demanding professional requirements, pass stringent medical tests and undergo a security check. The toughest hurdle is a linguistic-aptitude test, aimed at gauging their ability to learn the six-tone Vietnamese tongue, that includes memorizing a string of Kurdish words. "Musicians do well on it," says Simpson. (So do Kurds.)

Friendly Lizards. To reward its revo-

lutionaries, AID tries to better an applicant's stateside salary and then adds a 25% Viet Nam bonus; group-health, life-insurance and leave benefits are the same as for other foreign-service workers, and allowances are paid for fami-

lies that must be left at home. Volunteers are warned that a job in the boondocks could be dangerous—nine AID men have been killed by the Viet Cong, eleven wounded and two kidnaped. Even so, commented one recruiter, "It's probably safer working there than crossing Times Square."

Living conditions are admittedly rugged: a shared hotel room, rats, no bathtub, and electric power for perhaps two hours out of 24 in the boonies. Applicants, worried about tropical insects, are reassured that bugs and scorpions are no special problem. What Viet Nam has in abundance, says Nurse Dorothy De Loeff, just back from two years in Saigon, is lizards. "But you don't have to worry about them," she tells applicants. "They sing, they eat the insects and they're very friendly. You'll miss them when you come home."

TIM PAGE



U.S. AID MAN IN VIET NAM
A different kind of battle.

5 December 1966

Who and how much:

In addition to the U.S. the following countries have contributed assistance (mostly of a non-military nature) to South Vietnam

Argentina	Japan
*Australia	*Korea
Belgium	Laos
Brazil	Liberia
Canada	Luxemburg
China	**Malaysia
Denmark	Netherlands
Ecuador	*New Zealand
Germany	*Philippines
Greece	Spain
Guatemala	*Thailand
Honduras	Turkey
Iran	United Kingdom
Italy	Venezuela

*Military aid -- combat forces

**Military aid -- training

France
Ireland
Israel
Norway
Pakistan
Switzerland

These countries have assisted South Vietnam by channeling aid through the Red Cross, etc., and not directly to the SVNese

In money this Free World assistance totalled more than \$15 million during the first six months of 1966

The U.S. maintains a foreign aid program in South Vietnam at a cost of more than half a billion dollars a year.

5 December 1966

Enemy forces in Vietnam:

-- 50,000 of the attackers are soldiers in regular units of the North Vietnamese army sent into South Viet-Nam.

-- More than 60,000 are hard-core Viet Cong in organized units, many of them led by cadres trained in and infiltrated from North Viet-Nam.

-- More than 110,000 are part-time guerrillas.

-- Some 60,000 are political and support troops.

-- So far this year alone, between 45,000 and 50,000 regular troops have been sent into South Viet-Nam from the north.

5 December 1966

QUOTES FROM PRESIDENT JOHNSON RE U.S. NON-MILITARY
ROLE IN VIETNAM

In April 1965, President Johnson outlined plans for a billion dollar program of cooperative development in Vietnam in conjunction with the United Nations (which has had such programs in Vietnam since 1961) and with other industrialized nations.

On 13 May 1966, President Johnson said:

"We began in 1954, when Vietnam became independent, before the war between the North and the South. Since that time we have spent more than \$2 billion in economic help for the 16 million people of South Vietnam. And despite the ravages of war, we have made steady, continuing gains. We have concentrated on food, and health, and education, and housing, and industry.

"Like most developing countries, South Vietnam's economy rests on agriculture. Unlike many, it has large uncrowded areas of very rich and very fertile land. Because of this, it is one of the great rice bowls of the entire world. With our help, since 1954, South Vietnam has already doubled its rice production, providing food for the people as well as providing a vital export for that nation.

"We have put our American farm know-how to work on other crops. This year, for instance, several hundred million cuttings of a new variety of sweet potato, that promises a sixfold increase in yield, will be distributed to these Vietnamese farmers. Corn output should rise from 25,000 tons in 1962 to 100,000 tons by 1966. Pig production has more than doubled since 1955. Many animal diseases have been eliminated entirely.

"Disease and epidemic brood over every Vietnamese village. In a country of more than 16 million people with a life expectancy of only 35 years, there are only 200 civilian doctors. If the Vietnamese had doctors in the same ratio as the United States has doctors, they would have not the 200 that they do have but they would have more than 5,000 doctors.

"We have helped vaccinate, already, over 7 million people against cholera, and millions more against other diseases. Hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese can now receive treatment in the more than 12,000 hamlet health stations that America has built and has stocked. New clinics and surgical suites are scattered throughout that entire country; and the medical school that we are now helping to build will graduate as many doctors in a single year as now serve the entire civilian population of South Vietnam.

"Education is the keystone of future development in Vietnam. It takes trained people to man the factories, to conduct the administration,

and to form the human foundation for an advancing nation. More than a quarter million young Vietnamese can now learn in more than 4,000 classrooms that America has helped to build in the last 2 years; and 2,000 more schools are going to be built by us in the next 12 months. The number of students in vocational schools has gone up four times. Enrollment was 300,000 in 1955, when we first entered there and started helping with our program. Today it is more than 1,500,000. The 8 million textbooks that we have supplied to Vietnamese children will rise to more than 15 million by 1967.

"Agriculture is the foundation. Health, education, and housing are urgent human needs. But industrial development is the great pathway to their future.

"When Vietnam was divided, most of the industry was in the North. The South was barren of manufacturing and the foundations for industry. Today more than 700 new or rehabilitated factories -- textiles mills and cement plants, electronics and plastics -- are changing the entire face of that nation. New roads and communications, railroad equipment, and electric generators are a spreading base on which this new industry can, and is, growing.

On 1 February 1966, President Johnson proposed that the United States spend \$550 million to support the Government of Vietnam in carrying forward programs of economic and social improvement in villages and building the foundations for rural progress.

The joint declaration which concluded the Honolulu meeting of American and Vietnamese leaders on 8 February 1966, set forth the objectives of both the Vietnamese Government and those of the U.S.:

"The United States will give its full support to measures of social revolution including land reform based upon the principle of building upward from the hopes and purposes of all the people of Vietnam.

"Just as the United States is pledged to play its full part in the world-wide attack upon hunger, ignorance, and disease, so in Vietnam it will give special support to the work of the people of that country to build even while they fight. We have helped and will help them -- to stabilize the economy -- to increase the production of food -- to spread the light of education -- to stamp out disease....

"Within the framework of their international commitments, the United States and Vietnam aim to create with others a stable peace in Southeast Asia which will permit the governments and Peoples of the region to devote themselves to lifting the condition of man...."

After President Johnson returned to the U.S. at the conclusion of the Honolulu talks, he said of Vietnam:

"One front is military. The other front is the struggle against social injustice, against hunger and disease and ignorance, against political apathy and indifference."

And he spoke of his conversations with Vietnam's leaders:

"We talked of many very special and specific things. We talked of rural construction, of agricultural credits, of rural electrification, of new seeds and fertilizers for their crops, of schools and teachers and textbooks for their children, of medical schools and clinics and equipment to give them better health, of how to give training and education to the refugees, of how to deal with inflation in a war-torn country, of how to build the bases for a democratic constitution and for free elections, of how to seek the peace, and of how to effectively conduct the war."

On 23 February, President Johnson said: "... men ask if we rely on guns alone ... the answer is 'No.'" "From our Honolulu meeting, from the clear pledge which joins us to our allies, there has emerged a common dedication to the peaceful progress of the people of Vietnam -- to schools for their children, to care for their health, to hope and bounty for their land."

TEHRAN MOSAVVAR
Teheran, Iran
2 September 1966

Report on Anti-Iran Broadcasts

For 86 weeks, the three broadcasting stations belonging to the Soviet Union and East Germany have been pouring out 14 hours of lies daily against the nation's regime, the government, the people and the nation's foreign policy.

During these 86 weeks or 2616 days, these radio stations have broadcast 36,610 hours of anti-Iran material. This has only earned the Soviet Communist Party and the escapee Iranian traitors the contempt of the Iranian people and particularly the working classes who have been saved by the Shah's Revolution and led into an era of patriotism, love for the Shah and social consciousness.

From the year 1338 (1958-59) when Soviet Foreign Under Secretary Kuznetsov and Soviet Foreign Office Assistant for Middle Eastern Affairs Pavlov left Tehran in anger until now, three radio stations calling themselves Peyk-e-Iran, Sedaye-Iran-e-Azad (The Voice of Free Iran) and Radio-ye-Melly [The National Radio-Ed] have been operating from Soviet and East German soil.

Up until two years ago, the Moscow, Baku and Eshqabad radio stations devoted about two hours a day to anti-Iran propoganda, but with the gradual improvement of relations between Iran and the Soviet Union, the tone of these radio broadcasts also changed to a point that now these radio stations at Moscow, Baku and Eshqabad devote daily commentaries in praise of Iran and its foreign policy.

But at the same time, the two radio stations located near the borders of Iran - Sedaye-Iran Azad and Radio-ye-Melly - and also Peyk-e-Iran, operated by fugitive members of the Tudeh (Communist) Party from East Germany, daily broadcast 14 hours of propoganda against our sacred national traditions.

Iranian officials believe that these talks and features are prepared in Tehran and transmitted by one of the embassies to the other side of the frontier. A few hours later, they are broadcast by the above-mentioned radio stations.

In September of 1959, a 100-kilowatt transmitter and jamming equipment were purchased by one of the government agencies to stifle these voices of the evil owls of Communism. But when the matter was brought to the attention of His Majesty, he expressed his opposition to the idea. He said, "Let these people say what they want. The judgment of our people and their reaction and indifference to such broadcasts is the best answer we can give." As a consequence, the idea was dropped and the equipment was used for other purposes.

The Shahanshah has given appropriate answers to these broadcasts in his various press conferences. In answer to a question from an Iranian news correspondent during a 1959 press conference, the Shahanshah expressed surprise that such material could be broadcast by a government radio station contrary to all accepted standards of behavior. He felt that after the arrival of the new Iranian ambassador, the matter would be studied and a decision would be made whether the subject should be taken up in the UN. He had also stressed at his news conference in Paris that in listening to the contents of the broadcasts from our Northern neighbor, we sometimes feel that their action springs from a colonial mental attitude.

Nine months later, in referring to the rubbish of Communist radio broadcasts, the Shahanshah said that the contents of such broadcasts during the last year or so have been abnormal "but we do not mix feelings with politics." In 1960, after the people had become inured to Communist broadcasts, the Shahanshah told the correspondent of the French TV Network that the Communist radio attacks are understandable because they are going their way and Iran is going her own way. Moreover, the people had by now become used to such broadcasts.

When the Soviets extended a hand of friendship toward Iran and asked for the establishment of friendly relations between the two countries, the Shahanshah said at a press conference: "I hope that after this, radio broadcasts between the two countries will be normal and friendly so that we may be able to live in comfort as neighbors and to have extensive trade."

During the 86 months that the Communist and Soviet broadcasts have been abusing and attacking our regime, our government and our people, only one of the Premiers - Dr. Egbal - has answered the unfounded accusations of these radio stations. In 1959, he told the Senate that these radio stations think that their broadcasts will upset the order in Iran and will enable them to attain their vile objectives, but all their calculations have proved wrong. If they had familiarized themselves with the history of Iran and the Iranian people, they would have realized that our people have never broken under the burden of events and would never be affected by such talk.

Seven years have passed since the start of the 14-hour-a-day broadcasts of Soviet and Communist stations. Although Iran's relations with the Soviet Union have improved and the Hoveyda Government claims progress in this direction, neither the Premier nor the Foreign Minister nor the Iranian Ambassador have taken any action to stifle the evil voices of the escapee owls of the Tudeh Party and Soviet agents. If the Soviets claim friendship towards Iran, why don't they put a stop to the daily broadcasts of abuse and venom against us from radio stations operating near our borders? If the Soviets claim that these radio transmitters are not on their soil, we are prepared to

send three high-echelon experts of the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs and the Army with proper equipment to find and show them the location of these stations.

If the government is powerless to put a stop to these evil foreign voices, it should so inform the people. The only action taken was during the second visit of the Shahanshah to the Soviet Union two years ago. During official talks, Iranian Ambassador Tahmouress Adami'yat frankly brought up the existence of such radio stations within the Communist orbit and asked that they be stopped. But the Soviet leaders were disturbed by the frank statements of the Ambassador and denied the presence of these stations on Soviet soil. With the reassignment of Adami'yat, the question was left unsolved.

If the Foreign Ministry authorities and the person of the Premier are powerless in this matter, perhaps they should do what was done on the border in 1959. At that time the Communist anti-Iran radio attacks had reached a peak. Propaganda Chief Nosratollah Mo'inian would daily write and sometimes personally broadcast a talk in Persian and Russian against the Soviet Union and the Communists over Radio Iran and the provincial radios. The effect of this action was so great that during the first few months, the Russian reacted by setting up loudspeakers and relaying talks and features from Radio Iran and local material in Persian, Russian, Azarbaijan Torkey, Uzbek and Tajik. Twenty five days after the initiation of this border propaganda warfare, the Soviets suddenly stopped broadcasts and dismantled the equipment and asked Iran to stop their broadcasts, too.

If after 86 months the Government is unable to put a stop to the voices of the evil owls of Communism, it should allow the people, political parties and national spokesmen to answer in Persian, Torkey, Uzbek and other languages via the national radio networks, and to publicize the defeated objectives of Communism and the social, economic and political backwardness of such countries.

December 1966

COMMUNIST CLANDESTINE BROADCASTS

As the year 1966 came to a close, local Communist Parties in West Europe and the Middle East were attempting to establish a new guise of political respectability, making these parties better able to serve the hidden aims of the World Communist Movement.

At the same time, however, ten clandestine radios (one using transmitters in the Soviet Union and the other nine in East European Satellite countries) were spewing forth a total of almost 250 hours of broadcasts a week. These programs, speaking for the most part on behalf of banned Communist Parties in several countries of West Europe and the Middle East, contained an almost unbelievable amount of irresponsible and inciting statements, in addition to instructions to Party militants, that gave a complete lie to their sister parties' attempts to convince people that they were no longer subversive groups.

There have been other clandestine broadcasts emanating from transmitters in the USSR and East Europe during the past 20 years for audiences in Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa,* but for a variety of reasons best explained by the shifting needs of Communist political expediency and subversion they are no longer heard. These included a group of programs for France (which ceased abruptly in 1955 when the French Communist Party became the largest party in the French Parliament), a program for Yugoslavia (which was heard during the period between that country's expulsion from the Cominform and the later improvement of relations between Belgrade and Moscow), a program for Algeria (which was broadcast during the early stages of the National Liberation Front's open warfare and Communist Party subversion against the French administration), and programs for Italy, Greece, and Iran (which have since been replaced by other ones for these countries).

Most of the clandestine broadcasts of the Moscow-controlled "network" were discontinued in late 1955, in apparent deference to the "Geneva spirit" of the time. Only broadcasts to Spain and Italy were operating in 1956 until "German Freedom Station 904" began broadcasting from East Germany, but purporting to be a West German station, after the West German Communist Party was banned in August 1956 and could no longer spread its propaganda overtly. Today's clandestine broadcasts -- a means of directing to localized audiences propaganda for which the Soviet Union does not want to be held directly accountable -- are all in one way or another contrary to the recognized norms governing

* Communist clandestine broadcasts beamed today to Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand, as well as discontinued ones to Indochina and Japan, are not discussed in this paper.

international broadcast behavior.

In a resolution adopted on 17 December 1954, the United Nations General Assembly declared that the "International Convention Concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace" (which had come into force on 2 April 1938 following ratification by the member states of the League of Nations) was still in force. This convention prohibits broadcasts of such a character as to incite the population of any territory to acts incompatible with internal order or security and "any transmission likely to harm good international understanding by statements the incorrectness of which is or ought to be known to the persons responsible for the broadcasts."

How the Communists flagrantly violate the terms of this convention, as well as other international agreements such as those regulating the assignment of broadcast frequencies, is outlined below in the sections devoted to the countries to which these ten clandestine broadcasts are beamed today.

Broadcasts to Spain

Radio "España Independiente" is the oldest of the clandestine broadcasts still being beamed to West Europe and the Middle East. On the occasion of its 20th anniversary of broadcasting in 1961, the radio described itself as "the voice of the Spanish Communist Party," which has "always been in the vanguard of the struggle against Franco."

Up until the end of 1954 the programs were transmitted, although not identified as such, over the facilities of Radio Moscow; since then they have originated, in a similarly covert fashion, from Rumania. The same transmitters it began using in June 1959 were used at other times for the Radio Bucharest International Service, although they were not so indentified by Radio "España Independiente" itself. The station also calls itself "Radio Pirenaica" in an attempt to give the impression that it is broadcasting from the Pyrenees in Spain; in August 1964 "España Independiente" advised its listeners to send letters to the station in care of post office boxes in Prague, Paris, and Stockholm.

The radio broadcasts 66 hours and 30 minutes of programs a week in Spanish, and occasionally in Catalan and Basque, most of which it claims are jammed by Spanish Government facilities; programs periodically call upon Spanish Army technicians allegedly assigned to this task to alter their jamming signal in such a way that the clandestine broadcasts can be heard. Official Spanish Communist Party statements, as well as speeches by Party leaders and articles by exiled writers, form a staple part of the broadcast content. The standard theme is that by "united front" action the Communists joined with other anti-Franco forces can remove the present government and "socialism" (the Party's euphemism for "communism") can be adopted as the way of life for Spain.

On 20 November 1966, for example, "España Independiente" broadcast a report of a speech given three days earlier at the Moscow Institute of the International Workers Institute by Santiago Carrillo, Secretary General of the Spanish Communist Party, who declared that the second stage of the "struggle" in Spain would be:

"... for a thorough agrarian reform which would solve the problems of the countryside, give the land to those who till it, and free the peasants from their burdens; for the nationalization of finance and credit, as well as the big monopolistic enterprises, creating a broad sector of state democratic capitalism; and for achieving the transfer of power to the hands of the workers, peasants, and petit bourgeoisie."

Although the Spanish Communist Party usually couches its appeals for action in terms which imply that this change of power can be accomplished by peaceful means (in contrast to the definitely more inciting appeals of several of the other nine clandestine broadcasts) and frequently calls for cooperation with the lower echelons of the Catholic Church, overtones of 1936-1939 Civil War propaganda still creep into some of the programs. On 19 September 1966, "España Independiente" carried a recording of a speech made in Budapest by Spanish Communist Party leader Dolores Ibarruri, the famed "La Pasionaria" (Passion Flower) of the Civil War, who with great relish described Spain today in these terms:

"While in the industrial areas and in the cities the students, workers, priests, and intellectuals are waging a struggle, the peasants are rising in Galicia, in Aragon, in Asturias, and in Catalonia. They are compelling the government to grant their justified demands and claims against a feudalistic church, against a fascist aristocracy, and against monopolistic companies enjoying the protection of the dictatorship itself."

While the majority of programs on "España Independiente" are for audiences in Spain itself some are for Spanish workers abroad. In this connection, a broadcast in July 1966 for Spanish workers in West Germany was advertised in advance by the clandestine East German "Freedom Station 904" -- an unusual and perhaps inadvertent admission of the central control of these broadcasts.

Broadcasts to Portugal

The newest of the Communist clandestine broadcasts beamed to Europe is Radio "Portugal Livre" (Free Portugal), which was first heard in March 1962 and is now on the air for 13 hours and 20 minutes each week attacking the Salazar regime in much the same way that Radio "España Independiente" attacks the Franco regime. "Portugal Livre" also emanates from transmitters in Rumania.

A typical program, heard on 4 November 1966, carried a manifesto issued by the Executive Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party attacking a decree which empowers the Government to deport prisoners to the colonies. It declared:

"To prevent the deportation of political prisoners to camps of slow death in Africa, action by the popular masses with the working class in the vanguard is essential. In this urgent action all Portuguese democrats, irrespective of parties or political groups, beliefs or creed, can and must unite to act promptly."

On 3 October 1966 the radio quoted from an article in the Portuguese Communist Party publication MILITANTE which described the "Two Indispensable Qualities in the Life of a Communist Militant": these are "intransigent firmness in the face of the enemy and the defense of conspiratorial work," to oppose the Salazar Government's "fierce and bloodthirsty fascist rule which does not care what methods it uses in the repression of the rising popular movement."

In addition to calling for "united fronts" on the home front, "Portugal Livre" also devotes attention to the situation in the Portuguese colonies. A broadcast on 3 July 1966 reviewed the contents of the first issue of PASSE A PALAVRA, the clandestine publication of the "Popular Front for National Liberation" among the Portuguese military forces. In addition to an article by an alleged deserter calling on his former comrades to lay down their arms, the publication reportedly "points out that the struggle of the Portuguese people against the Salazar regime and the national liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies are parts of the same struggle -- for the overthrow of the fascist regime in Portugal."

Broadcasts to West Germany

There are currently two clandestine broadcasts beamed from transmitters in East Germany to West Germany, in addition to the several other East German official broadcasts which can easily be heard in the West carrying propaganda of the illegal West German Communist Party (KPD). The first one, "Deutscher Freiheitssender 904" (German Freedom Station 904 -- the numeral being derived from the frequency in kilocycles on which it is transmitted), was first heard in August 1956 on the same frequency as that carrying Radio "Return to the Homeland."* Radio "904" carries 28 hours of programs a week with critical comment

* This broadcast from East Germany began in 1955 and purported to be the voice of a quasi-official organization of Soviet citizens inviting the return of emigres to the USSR.

on West German politics interspersed with coded messages for secret agents.

Identifying itself as the voice of the outlawed KPD, Radio "904" features statements by Party leaders couched in terms almost identical with that of the radio and press of East Germany which warn of the dangers of West German remilitarization. Extremely vituperative attacks by "904" commentators on the Christian Democrats have been coupled with appeals for united action by West German workers against the Bonn Government; in the latter regard, treatment of the West German Social Democratic Party has been fairly friendly whenever the latter's policies complemented those of the Communists.

Radio "904" also stresses repeated calls for the lifting of the ban on the KPD. On 17 August 1966 it broadcast a KPD Central Committee on the occasion of the 10 anniversary of the ban on the Party, including this "united front" call:

"The time has come for Social Democrats, Communists, and trade unionists to discuss how the effects of the sole rule of the monopolies and the incorrect economic policy of the Erhard government can be opposed. The working class must face the monopolies and government with an economic policy of its own."

The other clandestine broadcast to West Germany, "Deutscher Soldatensender" (German Soldiers' Station), carries 29 hours and 10 minutes of programs a week attacking the policies of the West German Army and NATO. Unlike the other clandestine broadcasts presumed to be for basically nonmilitary audiences in West Europe and the Middle East, "Soldatensender" makes wide use of sarcastic and "sexy" material aimed at lonely and disgruntled troops in the barracks. West German leaders have been pictured as lecherous old men and incorrigible Nazis on these broadcasts which began in October 1960.

West German and American policies in regard to Vietnam also receive considerable insulting and critical comment on these broadcasts. On 27 October 1966, for instance, a commentator referred to President Johnson's statement on the increase in U.S. troop strength in Vietnam and concluded: "While President Johnson talks of honorable peace, his air gansters bomb a school and kill 30 children. We ask the President: How many children do you want to kill today?"

Broadcasts to Italy

Two parts of the same broadcast in Italian, "Oggi in Italia" (Today in Italy) and "Oggi nel Mondo" (Today in the World), are presented 31 hours and 30 minutes a week. Since the beginning of 1951 these programs have emanated without source identification from trans- in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and East Germany (which

are also used at other times for official Satellite government broadcasts). The "Oggi" programming style and content are designed to create the illusion that they are official Italian broadcasts, and the material on which they are based is apparently supplied on an up-to-the-minute basis by Italian Communist Party sources.

The "Oggi" programs carry statements by Italian Communist Party leaders on Italian affairs, as well as news and comment setting forth the Soviet position on international affairs, in particular criticizing the Rome Government's NATO-oriented foreign policies in standard terms characteristic of Radio Moscow comment. In a broadcast on 21 November 1966 "Oggi" quoted Italian Communist Party Secretary General Luigi Longo's remarks on the election successes of the "neo-Nazis" in West Germany. In terms similar to all the other Moscow-controlled spokesmen, he demanded:

"It is now necessary that all democratic and antifascist forces join their efforts to bring about a new policy which will make Bonn understand that Italy intends to put up a firm opposition to the Strausses and others who tread the dangerous path of nationalism, Pan-Germanism, and Nazism."

Since the Communist Party is legal in Italy (unlike those in Spain, Portugal, and West Germany), "Oggi" broadcasts are generally more restrained and sophisticated in their appeals to audiences in Italy. They have been sufficiently inflammatory on several occasions in the past, however, to occasion official protests by the Italian Government to East European Satellite regimes.

The Rome daily newspaper IL GIORNALE D'ITALIA on 7 June 1958 published a long expose of the "Oggi" operations, which included this passage:

"A division of labor in the treatment of various problems can be noticed in the Communist invasion of the radio networks. This presupposes the existence of an 'orchestra conductor.' Moscow, which apparently pays the expenses of all Iron Curtain propaganda, keeps for itself the privilege of broadcasting during the day a series of Italian-language programs; this is followed 30 minutes later by 'Oggi in Italia.' It seems that in Moscow there is also a third editorial board for Radio Prague's Italian-language programs. Its task is to deal, with certain nuances, in problems of foreign policy. These programs are broadcast on the same Czechoslovak wavelength as the pseudoclandestine 'Oggi nel Mondo,' which disappears and reappears in accordance with the needs of Communist propaganda."

Broadcasts to Greece

In March 1958 a new clandestine broadcast to Greece (and to Greek-

speaking audiences in Cyprus), "Radiofonikos Stathmos i Foni tis Alithias" (Voice of Truth), replaced the earlier "Radio Free Greece" broadcasts which had been carried from 1947 to 1948 by transmitters Yugoslavia* and from then until 1955 by transmitters in Rumania. Today the "Voice of Truth" is on the air for 20 hours and 10 minutes each week, emanating from transmitters in East Germany which are also used for other clandestine broadcasts as well as the official East German Radio.

The "Voice of Truth" speaks for the Greek Communist Party (KKE), publicizing its statements and pleas for legalization in much the same way that the "904" transmissions do for the West German Communist Party. A statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the KKE, for example, broadcast on 12 October 1966 declared:

"The KKE considers it imperative to increase the efforts of the entire political world which opposes dictatorship in order to find, within the framework of the United Democratic Left, a democratic way out of anomaly. In the face of the increased danger of fascist dictatorial solutions, it is imperative that there be agreement among all parties and all patriotic forces which sincerely believe in the need for normal democratic progress, for immediate elections, and for the granting of democratic guarantees which will be carried out, primarily for the abolition of all emergency measures and the legalization of the KKE. The KKE calls on all democratic parties and all political figures to rise to the importance of the occasion and their responsibilities and to silence the dictatorial proclamations by insisting and imposing the democratic solution of free elections."

Broadcasts also link demands for "freedom" for Greek "democrats" with statements concerning the need for concerted action to "free" the Cypriot Greeks. A "Voice of Truth" program on 26 November 1966 reported a greeting message sent from the KKE to the Cyprus Communist Party, which concluded:

"We express our firm belief that united, with the active support of the Greek people and the help of the socialist countries and all anti-imperialist forces, the people of Cyprus will finally impose their will. We wish you with all our hearts, dear comrades, success in your just and patriotic fight."

* The "Free Greece" transmitters in Yugoslavia became unavailable for the Moscow-directed clandestine broadcast "network" when this country was expelled from the Cominform.

Broadcasts to Turkey

At the same time in March 1958 that the "Voice of Truth" began broadcasting attacks on the Greek and U.S. Governments, "Bizim Radyo" (Our Radio) launched similar attacks on the Turkish Government for its subservience to the United States. It is now heard for 21 hours each week over the same East German transmitters that carry other programs of this clandestine "network."

"Our Radio" attempts to conceal its Communist sponsorship, although it does occasionally carry a Turkish Communist Party pronouncement which stresses the radio's general line (similar to that of Radio Moscow broadcasts) charging the existence in Turkey today of oppression and economic hardship, occasionally adding to his calls for the people to rise up against the "police state." A broadcast on 10 September 1966 carried a commentary on the 46th anniversary of the founding of the Turkish Communist Party which included this statement:

"Today the Turkish Communist Party is in the front line of the struggle being waged so that our people may rid themselves of the foreign yoke, live independently, destroy American overlordship, and establish a progressive and democratic Turkey completely liberated from destitution, usurpation, aghas, and foreign exploiters. The Turkish Communist Party is the most important political organization of the working class."

A typical incitement broadcast was carried by "Our Radio" on 11 October 1966 in a comment on the Turkish Government's action against striking pipeline workers. It concluded:

"The progressive forces -- the workers, the intellectuals, the youth, the May 27th Revolution officers, the Ataturkists, and all the opposition -- are proclaiming that there is no time to waste in establishing a united front designed to remove the Justice Party Government from power in order to protect the May 27th Revolution by preventing the Government from implementing its counterrevolutionary plan and by taking the necessary action to establish such a front."

"Our Radio" also devotes broadcast time to the plight of the Kurds in Turkey, who it claims "cannot help revolting," and to the situation in Cyprus.

Broadcasts to Iran

Over 30 hours a week of clandestine broadcasts are beamed to Iran, 5 hours and 15 minutes in Persian and Azerbaijani from "Seday-e-Melli Iran" (The National Voice of Iran) and 25 hours and 40 minutes in Persian and Kurdish from "Peyk-e Iran" (Iran Courier). The former

has emanated since April 1959 from transmitters in the Caucasus and is today the only Communist clandestine radio still operating from within the Soviet Union. One of the female announcers on the "National Voice," incidentally, also appears on the overt Soviet radio broadcasts in Persian for Iran emanating from Baku.

The latter, "Peyk-e Iran," was originally broadcast as an overt program of the East German Radio International Service in 1962, and listeners were invited to send letters with their comments about the programs to a P.O. box in East Berlin. In 1963, however, "Peyk-e Iran" no longer advertised its whereabouts and actually switched its transmission facilities to Bulgaria (emanating since then from the same clandestine transmitters which carry the "Voice of the Iraqi People"). Listeners to "Peyk-e Iran" are now advised to send their letters to a P.O. box in Stockholm, and on 8 September 1966 the radio announced that readers of the Communist underground newspaper KURDISTAN should send their letters to an address in Helsinki -- in the same way that Radio "España Independiente" advises its listeners to contact it.

The "National Voice" has been much more vituperative in its attacks on the person of the Shah than have those of the overt Persian-language programs of Radio Moscow, but it has also tempered these attacks whenever the Soviet Government was in the process of making official overtures to his regime and then resumed its familiar clandestine broadcast pattern of virulence against him periodically whenever Moscow-Teheran relations cooled. Similar patterns have been observed on "Peyk-e Iran," the self-styled voice of the Iranian Tudeh (i.e., Communist) Party.

On 2 September 1966 the Iranian magazine TEHRAN MOSAVVAR complained that "for the past 86 weeks three broadcasting stations belonging to the Soviet Union and East Germany have been pouring out 14 hours of lies daily against the nation's regime, the government, the people, and the nation's foreign policy." But, the paper added, this "has only earned the Soviet Communist Party and the escapee Iranian traitors the contempt of the Iranian people and particularly the working classes who have been saved by the Shah's Revolution and led into an era of patriotism, love for the Shah, and social consciousness."*

The accusations made in TEHRAN MOSAVVAR were coolly denied in a 10 September 1966 broadcast by "Peyk-e Iran" which declared:

"TEHRAN MOSAVVAR wonders why, despite the improvement of relations

* The full text of the article is attached. The magazine has linked, incorrectly, a clandestine broadcast emanating from another country in the Middle East with the two Communist ones; it also has not kept abreast of the change in transmitter location site of "Peyk-e Iran."

between Iran and the Soviet Union, no official action has been taken to close down 'Peyk-e Iran.' The publisher of TEHRAN MOSAVVAR knows very well that there cannot be any connection between 'Peyk-e Iran' and the Soviet Government. We have repeatedly said the 'Peyk-e Iran' belongs to the Iranian Tudeh Party and reflects to voice of all the Iranian people."

"Peyk-e Iran's" listeners are supposed to believe, then, that the opinions of the Iranian people change every time Moscow's policy changes.

Another recent reference to activities of Communist clandestine broadcasts to Iran was contained in the CYPRUS MAIL of 27 September 1966. The Nicosia paper noted that the "National Voice," which it described as "operating from the Soviet Caucasus," had given further evidence of the political character of trade with Communist countries when it claimed that by expanding trade with Communist countries (in this case the strange proposal of sending Iranian oil to oil-rich Rumania) Iran could further its industrial development and win "independence from imperialist capital."

Another broadcast on the "National Voice," subsequent to the one noted by the Cypriot paper, was also devoted to furthering the World Communist Movement's scheme of fostering international relations which primarily benefit the Soviet Union and its Satellites. On 21 September 1966 the radio hailed offers of economic "cooperation" made by Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Poland, and then warned:

"The Iranian landlords, who are in the service of Britain and the United States and who are the farmers' enemies, do not want Iran's relations to expand with the socialist countries since this would favor the farmers. That is why all national and patriotic elements in Iran today endeavor to repulse the opposition of the British and U.S. imperialists and the landlords."

A broadcast on 24 November 1966 of "Peyk-e Iran" was considerably more explicit in outlining the methods the Tudeh Party has considered in bringing about a change in the structure of Iran:

"As to how this revolution can be staged, this can be done peacefully or violently, depending on the situation and the presence or absence of democracy. If these conditions are present but at the same time the way is closed to democratic struggle and development, as it is now, the revolutionary forces have to resort to the violent method of revolution."

A message to the Central Committee of the Iranian Tudeh Party from the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party (broadcast by the "Voice of the Iraqi People" over the same Bulgarian transmitter which carries "Peyk-e Iran") on 12 October 1966 hailed the 25th

anniversary of the founding of the Iranian Communist group. It quite clearly exposed the close relationships which exist in this "network" of propaganda outlets when it declared:

"Our party, dear comrades, closely and with great interest follows the valiant struggle of the Iranian masses against the clique of the Shah, who is the mercenary of the imperialists, for the accomplishment of their full national liberation, democracy, and social progress.... Our party appreciates your efforts to revive the unity of the World Communist Movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the international proletariat. Our party also appreciates your attitude of bolstering solidarity with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the common struggle against the forces of imperialism, aggression and war, and particularly in support of the heroic people of Vietnam."

Broadcasts to Iraq

In February 1963, according to Victor Zorza of the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, the clandestine station which had been carrying programs beamed to Iran began a new service in Arabic calling on the people in Iraq to overthrow the new regime there. The broadcast coincided, Zorza remarked, with a Moscow Radio denial that any calls for a rising against the Baghdad Government had been made on its Arabic services. The official Radio Moscow broadcast in Arabic on 18 February 1963 had carried this quite unusual denial of incitement by a Soviet source:

"REUTERS, the British news agency, has again reverted to fabrication of news. Its correspondent in Baghdad alleges that the Moscow Radio is interfering in the internal affairs of Iraq, and that it is even calling on the Kurds to rise against the new government. What is the purpose of these REUTERS reports? The news agency, it appears, wants to fish in troubled waters. Certain circles in Britain and the United States still obstinately talk about schemes for exploiting events in Iraq in order to consolidate the positions of the imperialists in the Near and Middle East. The provocative allegations about what is called 'incitement' by the Moscow radio are nothing but fabricated, false reports which will not mislead anyone."

The Zorza report, published on the same day as the Moscow Radio broadcast, went on to give these details of the "Voice of the Iraqi People" -- which is now (1966) transmitted from Bulgaria for a total of 8 hours and 10 minutes each week:

"The denial was factually correct, for the secret station in East Germany is not administratively a part of the Soviet radio network. It is operated by Middle Eastern Communists mostly as a propaganda

vehicle for the Tudeh Party of Persia. But of late the station has devoted itself increasingly to Iraqi affairs in its broadcasts directed to the Kurdish tribes. Last Friday, clearly in response to the February 8 revolt in Iraq, it instituted a service in Arabic to repeat directly to the Iraqi people the calls it had been making in the Kurdish language for a Kurdish rebellion against the new regime.

"The radio quoted from an Iraq Communist Party statement announcing that 'in the past few days the Communist Party has itself resorted to an armed rebellion' and called on the people to do likewise in a united front with the Communists. It claimed that the new regime, which has instituted a crackdown on Communists, 'was confronted with the armed rebellion of the Iraq people from the very beginning.'"

Today's "Voice of Iraq" has not changed much since 1963. A comment broadcast on 24 October 1966, for example, denounced the meeting held by Premier Arif the preceding week in these inciting terms:

"Arif's national conference will fail because differences in the ruling class are increasing and the people's campaign against the regime is widening. The people must eliminate the existing crisis in the regime for their own sake. For this they have to topple this dictatorial regime and replace it with a nationalist government with the participation of all patriotic and anticolonial forces."

In addition to programs concerning the need for "strengthening the unity of Kurdish forces" in Iraq, a theme also used on both the clandestine radios beamed to Turkey and Iran, the "Voice of the Iraqi People" also lends its broadcast facilities to other Communist Parties in the Middle East to rail on this topic. On 4 October 1966 it broadcast the text of an article published in NIDAL ASH-SHAB, organ of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party, attacking a solution to the Kurdish problem proposed by the Baath Party. On 22 November the program was devoted to quoting an interview in Cairo's AKHBAR AL-YAWM with Secretary General of the Syrian Communist Party Khalid Bakdash who proposed a "united front" of all Arabs to work toward a goal of "scientific socialism" -- alluding in this connection to the proven capabilities of his party to lead a struggle against "imperialist" forces in the Middle East.

A regular program on the "Voice of the Iraqi People" is devoted to "Students and Youth" in the Arab World. The 17 October 1966 broadcast discussed the situation in Yemen and concluded with this prescription for ending the problems of the area by joining in with the efforts of well-known World Communist Movement fronts:

"The Yemeni Democratic Youth Federation expresses its strong support for cooperation and solidarity with the youth of the great socialist camp, which extends to Yemen all human brotherly help. The Federation's manifesto expresses close alliance with the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students. While greeting the establishment of the Yemeni Democratic Youth Federation we wish it steady progress in serving the causes of the Yemeni people and youth and in struggling against imperialism and reaction both on the local and international levels."

One answer to all this propaganda broadcast to Iraq from Bulgaria -- in terms which are equally applicable to the other countries which are the targets of similar Communist clandestine radio propaganda -- was given in the 2 February 1966 issue of the Iraqi newspaper AL-JUMHURIYAH and quoted that day on Radio Baghdad. Commenting on the discovery of arms on board a Bulgarian ship in a Lebanese port, the paper said:

"Strong friendship, good relations, and many economic and trade ties exist between most Arab countries and Bulgaria. The Arab countries have been eager not to let anything harm or disturb these friendly relations. They expected Bulgaria to realize its duty and act similarly, at least, and not to permit its country to be used for plotting and for attacking any Arab country if it really respected Arab friendship and sincerely wished to perpetuate and develop it.

"The Arab countries have never interfered in Bulgaria's domestic affairs despite the many events that took place in it during the past few years and despite the differences in their social systems. Why then does Bulgaria depart from convention and permit the spreading of lies and rumors in its country against Arab countries, including Iraq? The odd voice emanating from Bulgaria has been defending insurgents hired by Western imperialism to serve its interests and revive its dead influence. Does this action conform with Bulgaria's social and political system or with relations of friendship? If Bulgaria prefers a group of opportunist renegades to its relations with many Arab states, it is then our opinion that diplomatic courtesy toward such a state is out of place.

"The sons of Iraq pay no attention to what is being broadcast from Bulgaria against their homeland. None of them heed the blusterings of that faction broadcasting from Bulgaria, but what provokes their feelings is the discovery of large quantities of Bulgarian automatic weapons in Beirut, because this constitutes an intentional encroachment against the security and peace of this area and an open adoption of imperialist plans. It is inconceivable that Bulgaria is not aware of the dispatch of these arms or their intended receivers, why this particular time has been chosen for their dispatch, and who is to be the target.

"It can only be said that the Bulgarian weapons were intended for criminals and that Bulgaria cooperated with imperialism and entered a race sponsoring joint crime, fully aware that this arms shipment -- there could be other shipments as well -- will render the Arabs very cautious in their relations with Bulgaria. If Bulgaria had been sincere and really harbored goodwill and friendship, it would not have permitted this poisonous broadcasting station to continue functioning in its country and would not have permitted the dispatch of these weapons while being aware of their intended purpose and destination. We have the right to ask: What of communist principles, ideologies, and theories in the light of such cooperation with imperialism? We assure Bulgaria that pretenses and inconstancy cannot change the logic of facts and proofs which reveal hidden intentions and objects."

CPYRGHT

NEW YORK TIMES
5 November 1966

CPYRGHT

CPYRGHT **Criticism of Party Rule Led to Pole's Ouster**

By HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times
WARSAW, Nov. 4—The speech

Philosophy Professor Is Said to Have Found the Regime Wanting in Last Decade

that led to the expulsion from the Communist party last week of Leszek Kolakowski, the philosopher, was a profound criticism of how the party is governing Poland, reliable sources have reported.

It was delivered at a meeting at the University of Warsaw during which a number of students gave voice to political discontent, presumably emboldened by Professor Kolakowski's opening speech, the sources said.

Party authorities are said to have demanded university disciplinary action against 14 students, six on charges that might lead to their expulsion.

The dean of the history faculty is reported to have declined to take such measures against the six students under his jurisdiction who were involved.

Professor Kolakowski's ouster from the party, which he joined as a youth, has not been announced, and he has remained unavailable for comment. Reached by telephone tonight, his wife said she thought her husband did not wish to discuss the matter.

Marked Anniversary

The occasion for the meeting which took place on Oct. 21 was the 10th anniversary of the "little revolution" of October 1956, when some political freedoms were gained.

According to the accounts Professor Kolakowski told the students and faculty members who jammed the lecture hall that there was not reason to celebrate the anniversary, despite the gains made 10 years earlier. There is still no genuine democratic freedom in Poland, he is reported to have declared.

Advances were made in 1956, Professor Kolakowski conceded, but the political liberty of Poles remains severely restricted. There has been no change

in the way Poland selects her leaders, he said, and the right to free assembly and public criticism are greatly circumscribed.

The consequences are grave, the 39-year-old philosopher is said to have declared, since such conditions make for a ruling group that is inefficient and devoid of a sense of responsibility to the people.

Those who have the responsibility for making things work in Poland are frustrated by those who provide political leadership, he said. The lack of a real relationship between the experts and administrators and the party leaders is destructive for the country. Professor Kolakowski is said to have told his quiet and attentive audience.

Notes Rise in Education

He said that the Communist Government had achieved a major success in assuring universal public education. But he criticized conditions that he said hampered creative work in the humanities.

Some progress has been made in literary freedom, he is reported to have said, but in literary criticism, sociology and modern history the situation has worsened. The theater, too, he said, is hampered by restrictions. A recent play of his is said to have been kept from the stage.

The constitution and criminal law of Poland still leave room for harsh and arbitrary application, Professor Kolakowski said, although he conceded that such cases occurred far less frequently than before 1956.

According to the informants, Professor Kolakowski's half-

hour talk brought a wave of applause and was followed by speeches by a number of students that were far less philosophical and measured.

Faculty officials who authorized the meeting were reported to have been embarrassed by debate on an unscheduled resolution demanding the release from prison of two Communists from the university jailed last year for circulating papers critical of conditions in Poland.

They are Karol Modzelewski, an instructor, and Jacek Korwin, a graduate student. They are serving terms of three and a half and three years, respectively.

Resolution Proposed

Another student was said to have proposed that the audience adopt as a resolution quotation from 1956 speeches by Wladyslaw Gomulka, first secretary of the United Workers (Communist) party, pledging political and cultural freedom. Still another student was reportedly to have called on older men to step down from leadership of the country.

The meeting ended after three and a half hours. Cooler heads prevented votes from being taken on the critical resolutions.

But a meeting at the university last night indicated that the issues raised at the Oct. 21 meeting continue to excite a number of students.

A lecture on the problems of the world Communist movement by a prominent Communist editor was turned into a debate on a question period that followed.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski, editor of the weekly Polityka and alternate member of the party's Central Committee, found himself in the unexpected position of having to reply to critical political speeches in the form of questions.

5 December 1966

IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AT HUMBOLDT UNIVERSITY

In reporting a 18 October meeting of the party organization, the 31 October issue of the Humboldt University party newspaper clearly indicates the continued existence of ideological problems at the East Berlin university. It says: "Class education of students must be strengthened and high academic results attained. Although progress has been made in the political-ideological education of students, the basic analysis has clearly shown that a real basic change in political education at our university has not yet been carried out. As Horst Schumann said at the 13th Central Committee plenum: the thinking and action of all students must be based upon the following four theses; namely, that the GDR is my state, that the SED is my party, that West German imperialism...is my enemy, and that the Soviet Union is my best friend. When we reflect upon these four questions as the important ideological-political criteria of class education, then we can see that an actual change has certainly not been attained in regard to this. The university party secretary during the meeting, outlined the causes for defects existing in political-ideological education and said that party members must set the example in progress in this regard, that greater personal support of the party must be developed among party members, and that faculty organizations must promote political training of its members." He also made clear that "complex socialist rationalization" at the university clearly included improvement in political education and persuasion. The concluding speaker at the meeting said that "the 13th plenum set the task precisely before the party organization of Humboldt University, to attain a visible change especially in the class education of students by the Seventh Party Congress. These changes can only be attained if the fighting force of the party organization is essentially increased and if every individual party member completely fulfills his responsibility. All signs of petit-bourgeois thinking and ways of living must be decisively opposed in basic party organizations and groups."

Similar criticism was leveled against the FDJ (Free German Youth) at Leipzig University in the 20 October issue of this university's party newspaper which said that the FDJ group in the social science faculty had given only cursory attention to the statements at the 13th plenum, that party members were not taking the lead in FDJ groups and did not have the knowledge necessary for attaining political-ideological influence among the students.

5 December 1966

EDITORIAL CITES YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM -- Warsaw, Zycie Warszawy

Estimates show that each year there are about 200,000 youths from small towns and settlements who are not in school and are not employed. This phenomenon occurs for the most part in the economically underdeveloped wojewodytwos. It is also worth adding that of this group a large portion are youths who have not completed their primary school education, as well as a portion who have already been in trouble with the law.

There are various reasons why these young people find themselves in such a situation. Outside of subjective reasons, such as personal frivolity and disregard for educational importance, one can mention such factors as, for example, shortage of space in secondary schools and basic vocational schools, the flight from congested rural farms, the reluctance of factories to train and employ girls, and finally the lack of skill in adapting to a specified norm of social coexistence. To fill these needs of youth groups, the Volunteer Work Groups (Ochotnicze Hufce Pracy) were formed to offer opportunities of gaining employment and a profession.

Presently, nearly 200 of these work groups are in operation throughout the country, training about 6,000 young people for professions. At the beginning of 1966, more than 10,000 youths had already obtained basic vocational qualifications in this manner. The most significant development of such work groups is being demonstrated in the following wojewodytwos: Krakow, Warsaw, Zielona Gora, Lodz and Wroclaw. The most numerous group of young participants in these groups work in enterprises subject to the ministries of heavy industry and construction. Interest in youth who are out of school and are unemployed is not adequately great everywhere. In contradistinction to the wojewodytwo ZMS directorates operating in the above-mentioned areas, the Olstyn and the Gdansk directorates do not show proper concern for these affairs.

The work groups for the youths are divided into "boarding" groups, that is groups comprised of youths who take up their residence in the locality in which the work group is in operation, and into permanent groups with quarters. In both divisions, an increase in the salary rates in the Volunteer Work Groups to 600 zloty per month has increased the attractiveness of the program.

The principal aim of the work groups is educational activity. These work groups look upon their task as not only the formation of a proper ratio of education and work, but also the formation of definite patterns for organizing free time, developing self-control, and formulating definite attitudes.

The development of the work groups for young people still faces many difficulties. Businesses and associations which rely on rather vague recommendations by a ministry often do not perceive the economic and social benefits arising from activities of these work groups. A particularly unfavorable situation is found in enterprises subject to the Committee for Small-Scale Industry and the Central Union of Work Cooperatives. Moreover, a tendency to use employees entirely for production purposes, without assuring them a chance to obtain even minimum qualifications, is being observed in construction enterprises.

5 December 1966

YOUTH SEEKS A HERO ; A POLL OF POLISH YOUTH

Following is a translation of an article by Jozef Lipiec in the Polish-language publication Zycie Literackie (Literary Life), Krakow, No 45, 6 November 1966, pages 1,2./

The poll I am reading does not aim at depicting a full system of youth attitudes. The survey was made during the past academic year among students of almost all departments providing day programs at the Mining and Metallurgy Academy. Questions were mainly asked of first year and fifth year students who were either beginning or completing a new course: "Fundamentals of Political Sciences."

In the wealth of presented data, I shall select answers related to the question: "Who is your hero?" I have confidence in such broadly formulated questions. Although drawing correct conclusions from a list of literary or movie heroes is much more difficult than deriving generalizations from pre-set patterns by which the investigator carefully circumscribes the range of an answer.

The question "Who is your real life hero?" was answered by the overwhelming majority of students with: John Fitzgerald Kennedy! Next came, in descending order: Gagarin and de Gaulle (!), John XXIII and Karl Marx. Many saw their "real life heroes" among their closest relations: parents, brothers; a few girls mentioned their boy-friends. Others answered Stalin, Khrushchev, "unknown partisans," Army engineers, and the fighting Vietnamese. But that is the end of the list.

Let us realize what it means: Young Polish students studying at a difficult university in 1966, i.e., those who in a few or a dozen years will hold key positions in State economy, i.e., the future technocrats who seem so alarming to our lofty esthetes, acclaim as their ideal an intellectual President who was not afraid of undermining the holy dogmas of his own society and paid for his courage with his life; an old General for whom the greatness of his own nation is the highest value; the first man who overcame the fear of space; the first Pope for whom the words: "Love Thy neighbor"

really meant a policy of love for the fellow-man; the first thinker who derived the essence of man from his action, and who, by his own action, started the vast process of world metamorphosis. I must frankly confess: it is an imposing group by the sheer weight of the names; but why were these names chosen, and not others. Is it good, or bad ?

Let us continue our investigation. The "literary" hero is...Kmicic, followed, especially among girls, by Dr. Judy (boys obviously like him less). Not much behind come: Robert Jordan, Martin Eden, Rafal Olbromski and "pan" Wolodyjowski. The main movies and television heroes are: Templer, Kildare, Captain Klos, Jean Marais, and John Wayne. When we add the preferred authors: Hemingway, Sienkiewicz, Zeromski, and Steinbeck, in that order -- the picture becomes rather clear. According to this poll, youth like and admire straightforward young men, with powerful muscles and a high spirit, but also men who want to do something, who do something, and who accomplish something. Incidentally, we may note here that the young readers' demand for high-spirited literature and modern heroes obviously is not met by the fare offered by the Polish present writers. A few of them, in a rather haphazard way, appear at the bottom of statistical tables. Does this mean that these students do not read our post-war literature, or that they do not like it ? Each of their answers, apparently directed to an anonymous question, actually bears on our responsibility.

When we compare these imaginary heroes with the real life heroes we reach the conclusion that actually they have something in common, based on the needs of youth (and therefore "common" to all): All these heroes are doers. It is true that a comparison between Kmicic and Kennedy, or Marx and Martin Eden, is rather nonsensical, but if we replace them in their appropriate fields, adjust the right proportions, and take into account the immaturity of the subjects, we shall obtain a similar character of sustained activity, for which youth are looking with such a determination. In addition, we notice that "life" constitutes for them a richer and more direct source of ideals (already popularized by the mass media information) than literature and, in more general terms, art. Concrete evidence prevails over literary fiction. Obviously a consciously experienced reality today can sometimes replace art in one of its major functions: idealization and creation of ideals.

Extraordinary results were obtained in the part of the survey asking the students (those who did not yet take "political courses") to demonstrate a certain familiarity with political matters. Out of the 734 first year students, i.e., those who had just completed their secondary education (65 % coming from regular high schools), only 45 % were able to give correct answers about Polish regime, Constitution, organization of the State, etc. For example, 273 said that the "Chief of the State" is the Sejm, others named the CC of PZPR or Wladyslaw Gomulka. To the question: "What is the function of..." - a) Wladyslaw Gomulka -- there were 18 blanks and 2 wrong answers; b) Edward Ochab -- 43 blanks and 24 wrong; c) I. Loga Sowinski -- 109 blanks and 80 wrong.

Equally significant is a comparison between various answers given to questions probing the knowledge of international political problems. It appears indeed that Polish students know much better the party situation and politics in the USA and Great Britain than in...West Germany. When asked about the main political parties and the party in power, about 80 % gave correct answers for the USA, about 78 % for Great Britain, but only 55 % for West Germany, including the low 15 % who gave complete answers (also highest percentage of unanswered questions). Among the wrong answers, some claimed that a "fascist party" or, surprisingly, the "NSDAP" was the ruling party in West Germany; but they were rather rare. The question: "Why does Poland not have diplomatic relations with West Germany?" was answered exactly only by 82 students, 330 knew the answer "more or less," 120 did not answer, and 450 gave wrong answers.

The conclusions are thought provoking. To state them in the mildest form: our students (i.e., our future intellectuals) do not know enough about their own country and its neighbors. Actually, they cannot be suspected of lacking interest in political matters since they are relatively well informed about the situation in overseas countries. And this is an important problem because it is basically related to the capital issue of our society: How to form conscious patriots and citizens of a State involved in building socialism.

We launched a powerful ideological offensive in that direction, unfortunately only in some universities because of a lack of personnel. The first results are very encouraging. After taking the semester course "Fundamentals of Political Sciences," even girls (even those who, like a large city high school graduate, answered: "Paris Commune" to the question: "Who issued the 1944 July Manifesto?") are able logically and intelligently to make a fruitful synthesis out of the heterogeneous elements of modern political science, and carry out value judgments. The Mining and Metallurgy Academy, one of the leading universities involved in this experiment, will provide its students during the current academic year with the following related courses: first year -- "Fundamentals of Marxist Philosophy," second and partly third year -- "Political Economy," third year -- "Organization and Sociology of Labor," and fourth year -- "Fundamentals of Political Sciences." And when we are asked: "Why do they need all that?" -- we answer: It is our wish and a matter of necessity that knowledge of man and the world, the so-called mature and universal social consciousness, be spread out among the population as a whole, so as to deprive esoteric sects or academic and literary clans from the monopoly on "political wisdom." Cultural revolutions take place among people and not on banners.

In politics, the great sin is the belief in mechanism, and plain stupidity causes submission to a mechanism. Since educational concepts and their implementation add up to a policy, it is high time to begin discussing their effectiveness. Indeed, if the ethical and civic theoretical content of the new subject "Civics" introduced in the terminal classes of elementary schools is not concretely embodied in a real and honest educational process,

there is little doubt that our schools will train a large percent of cynical youth who are provided with knowledge but not with the desire to accomplish anything. Decent citizens are formed in households and schools which know how to create and sustain a positive attitude toward one's own and other people's labor. Which obviously by no means implies that social habits should not be systematically raised up to the level of social consciousness, nor that all sorts of ideological subjects taught on all levels of school education do not play an important role. Nevertheless, we must not equate the words, however well intentioned, with the concrete education.

Therefore we cannot and we must not believe in the mechanical educational effectiveness of ideological courses which exist or develop in our universities and polytechnical institutions. A few days ago I listened to the fascinating story of successive chairmen of the Polish Students Association in a certain university. This story of embattled factions using all available means in their fighting, attractive vacation spots preempted by the leaders and their girl-friends, a shameless cutting of classes (for the sake of "action"), examinations postponed for several (!) years -- could serve as an amusing background for some witty farce, if it only were not true. And if its occurrence in certain microcosms did not teach our youth to show the same attitude in the real society. Besides, who can measure the total social damage resulting from a permanent demoralization caused by the "action" of irresponsible people? I spoke to an assistant at one of our universities, and he said: "I was told that comrade N. will manage both his studies and his social work, and if he is not up to the standards, well, he will learn with time." Similar news have reached me from other institutions and from other sources. Here and there we still believe in the idea, inherited from the times when only survival counted, that it is more important to know how to push ahead than to show true character. It is easy to forget that we destroy our educational goals when we underestimate (or run down) the value of work. A contradiction between the words and the deeds cannot be camouflaged.

The political stereotypes prevailing among students cover the whole range of ideas accessible to youth. Awakening the mind and the humanistic outlook during, say, philosophy lectures, and teaching the knowledge of the world during classes in political sciences, contribute in an essential way to the formation of the youth's worldview.

December 1968

CPYRGHT

November 1965

CPYRGHT

Diary of North Vietnam Soldier Is a Story of Suffering in Laos

By Richard Halloran
Washington Post Staff Writer

Nguyen Khanh was a Soldier Class II in the 168th Mortar Regiment of the North Vietnamese army until he was captured in a battle near Paksane, Laos, in September, 1964.

His diary is part of the record compiled by the International Control Commission to document the presence of North Vietnamese troops in Laos in violation of the 1962 Geneva agreements. The report was made available by the Canadian Embassy here yesterday.

Nguyen Khanh's notebook, simply written, tells what it is like to be a 19-year-old farm kid away from home and fighting a war he does not understand.

Nguyen comes from Phu Tho Province, up the Red River from Hanoi, where he lived with his father and younger sister. His mother is dead and three other sisters are married.

Nguyen, who has a seventh grade education, was conscripted on Feb. 29, 1964. But he was only partly trained before he and 100 soldiers were sent to Laos. He told an ICC interrogator that he had not been given an army serial number because "I was ordered to move out quickly without completion of training and allotment of army number."

The army sent Nguyen and the others to the Laotian border in Russian-built trucks early in July, 1964. There, they changed into Pathet Lao uniforms and climbed into Pathet Lao trucks for the bumpy ride to Khang Khay, a Pathet Lao stronghold.

In Khang Khay, the 100 men were split into three groups and sent as units to join Pathet Lao units in battle. Nguyen's group moved toward the village of Phou Song Noi.

Excerpts from his notebook, as he wrote it, tell his story:

July 7—Spent the night in forest. Collection of arms at 11 o'clock as well as grenades and ammunition. Raining heavily—very difficult to prepare rice—eating uncooked rice. Continuous rain day and night—highly flooded road—everywhere there is water—traffic difficult. Plane . . .

July 11—Departure in the morning, through bombed place—difficult—tiresome—tired . . .

July 12—Arrived at the river. Rest. Took bath—washing of clothing. Eating rice with hand—unboiled water and dry fish are the main food of the fighting man in Laos.

July 13—Twenty days have passed without having a little vegetable or soup, always eating tinned food and dry fish.

July 16—Evening surprise attack—pushing back the enemy, friend without loss—sad—enjoying alone.

July 18—Return to defensive position. Very tired—pain in leg—impossible to eat—thinking of family.

July 25—Arrival in village. Rest, cooking rice. Completely tired—the Laotian girl is having consideration for Vietnamese troops—they are sentimental.

By the first week in August, Nguyen had moved to a new position. He wrote:

Aug. 9—In camp, on defensive peak B, sitting the whole day—sad while thinking of the native village, of

the family. Heart trouble. Above, sky cloudy.

Aug. 15—Ambush the whole day, raining continuously—cold—everything is damp—mosquitoes are biting, very unhappy—surroundings covered by cloud waves resembling the ice of the North Pole. Heart very much disturbed because thinking too much of the nice native village.

Late in August, Nguyen moved again and in early September the battle in which he was captured began to take shape. He wrote:

Sept. 8—The whole day it rained. fighters arrive, many planes. Enemy has intention to launch attack on us. Whole day digging trenches, hunger, tired, thirst. Had to swallow salt to forget hunger, thirst. Bay (another soldier) has got some rice, a small ball, rice cooked for a long time, stinking like cat's excrement.

Sept. 2—Very much hungry, legs and hands shaky. Enemy attacks in four directions, no way to withdraw. Our troops subjected to continuous hunger without possibility of sleeping, sick, body shaking. Where is my fate before this danger, what will be my destiny.

Sept. 14—Today 16th day of the fight on Moun Soui front. We have already suffered from hunger for five days. Nobody can get up, move. The whole day, we had to eat and guzzle enemy artillery shells. Encircling from all directions. Mosquitoes bite and drink blood.

Sept. 15—Enemy encircling continues. Friend fell back but our plan of withdrawal discovered by enemy. Enemy pursues us at time of withdrawal.

That was the last entry: Nguyen Khanh was cap-

tured by Royal Lao Forces about 11 o'clock that night. In the back of his notebook were a few military training notes and a poem: "At last, young girl, be away from me, I am still young—girls are not lacking in the world. I am a fighter, I have a strong heart."

International Team Frustrated In Policing of Accords on Laos

By PETER BRAESTRUP
Special to The New York Times

VIENTIANE, Laos, July 23—

With Polish members abstaining, the Indian and Canadian members of the three-nation International Control Commission set up to assure Laotian neutrality are preparing a 700-page report on North Vietnamese troop movements into this war-divided Asian kingdom.

The latest investigation focuses, as did two earlier ones, on specific North Vietnamese violations of the 14-nation accord on Laos worked out in Geneva in 1962. A point involved is an attack last December by a North Vietnamese battalion on Thakhek, on the Mekong River 250 miles southeast of Vientiane.

A dozen North Vietnamese infantrymen captured by the Royal Laotian Army were interrogated by Indian and Canadian investigators at the Vientiane Government's request. So were scores of civilian witnesses in the battle zone.

Free Movement Stressed

Once more, according to informed sources, the commission majority plinned down in exhaustive detail an example of Hanoi's dispatching of troops to bolster the pro-Communist Pathet Lao guerrillas and shield the Ho Chi Minh Trail in eastern Laos, used by the North Vietnamese to infiltrate the South. But the latest report is unlikely to have much practical effect.

"If nothing else," said a Western diplomat, "the peace-keeping effort in Laos since 1962 should teach everybody what is needed to enforce an eventual peace agreement in South Vietnam. The main technical thing is unrestricted freedom of movement for the investigating teams."

Such freedom of movement has not come to the I.C.C. in Laos. The Pathet Lao radio was reported today to have called for an end of all commission activities. The Communists, including the Polish representatives on the commission, have opposed full investigations, especially since break-up in 1963 of the short-lived Laotian coalition of neutralists, rightists and Communist. The Communist argument has since been that, unless all three factions request it, no investigating by the commission should occur.

Meetings Go On

Ironically, Indian and Canadian members have been refused access to Pathet Lao territory

to investigate more than 300 separate Communist allegations of United States air raids and other infractions of the Geneva ban on foreign military intervention in Laos. The Pathet Lao sends complaints not to the commission here but to Britain and the Soviet Union, co-chairmen of 1962 conference as they were of the 1954 Geneva conference on Indochina. In its complaints, the Pathet Lao does not demand investigation.

Karol M. Wajda of Poland, Keith W. MacLellan of Canada, and Giridhari Lal Puri of India, the commission's new chairman, continue to meet every Tuesday. The commission just adds one more set of flavors to the piquant French, Thai, American, Lao and Vietnamese cultural salad in this French-built river town.

The commission's 140 Indian signalmen, drivers and clerks occupy a dingy apartment house on the bank of the Mekong. The 30 Canadians have a tidy little compound in a former construction camp across from a Lao Army depot, where they ducked stray bullets during past political strife. The Senior Polish diplomats boast a luxurious villa and garden overlooking the Mekong.

Out at the busy Vientiane airport sit the commission's three white H-34 helicopters, provided by the United States and manned by French pilots. Because of a shortage of contributions to meet the commission's annual \$2.2-million costs, a fourth helicopter has been chartered by the commission to Air America, the airline operating here under contract to various United States Government agencies notably the Central Intelligence

Since 1963, Communist China and North Vietnam have failed to pay their allotted shares of the commission's expenses. The Soviet Union and Poland continue to pay their shares.

Last night the commissioners joined the rest of the diplomatic colony at a Polish National Day lawn party at the villa on the Mekong.

Looking weary and lonely, Soy Petrasz, the Pathet Lao representative here, talked with a French diplomat. Not far from the bar, an Indian and a Canadian discussed their next leave.

"I shall go to Cambodia," said the Indian. "The beach at Kep is first-rate, they say."

BRITISH SAY HANOI HAS UNITS IN LAOS

Foreign Office Publishes
Indian-Canadian Report

LONDON, Aug. 22 (Reuters)

Britain published today a report that it said provided convincing evidence that North Vietnamese troops had been operating in Laos.

The report, prepared by the Indian and Canadian members of the International Control Commission for Laos, investigated the presence of North Vietnamese soldiers in Laos in 1965.

Informed British sources said they had reason to believe that there were several thousand North Vietnamese troops operating in northeast Laos and in eastern Laos guarding the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

This trail is used to carry supplies to the Vietcong guerrillas in South Vietnam.

Both North Vietnam and the pro-Communist Pathet Lao earlier this year rejected as groundless a report that about 20,000 North Vietnamese troops were fighting in Laos.

The Foreign Office announced that the Soviet Union had rejected a British proposal that they jointly circulate the report published today.

The Soviet Union refused to send the report to the member governments of the 1962 Geneva conference, which made Laos neutral, because the Polish member of the commission would not take part in the investigation.

Britain went ahead and circulated the report Aug. 12 to the conference members, which include the United States, France, Communist China and North Vietnam.

The British Foreign Office said: "The report provides convincing evidence of operations of North Vietnamese troops in Laos contrary to the 1962 Geneva agreement."

The report was based mainly on the evidence of nine prisoners who were taken during an attack on the Laotian Army officer cadet school at Dong Hene in southern Laos on March 8 and 9 last year.

The Foreign Office said the investigation team had found that all the prisoners were nationals of North Vietnam and all were conscripts in North Vietnam's armed forces.

The investigation team's findings were based on statements taken from the prisoners, according to the report. These

some of the prisoners had been issued arms and ammunition in North Vietnam and some of them had carried these arms into the area of Dong Hene.

The statements also showed that the officers' training school at Dong Hene was attacked by troops of the North Vietnamese armed forces and that there was a strong possibility that troops of the Pathet Lao had participated in the attack.

New York Times
3 August 1966

December 1966

Compilation of Communist Breaches
of the Geneva Accords on Laos

In the 1962 Accords (the US was NOT a signatory to the 1954 accords) it was agreed that all foreign military personnel and equipment not specifically needed for defense or requested by the Lao Government should be withdrawn from Laos.

Western military advisors and technicians completed their orderly withdrawal from Laos in advance of the conference-established deadline. HOWEVER,

1. less than 50 of several thousand North Vietnamese left Laos through the official checkpoint;
2. some North Vietnamese fighting units were reportedly dispersed to different locations in Laos and not back to Vietnam;
3. an estimated 6-7,000 North Vietnamese soldiers were still in Pathet Lao-controlled areas three years later;
4. supported by Communist China and North Vietnam, the Pathet Lao broke the cease-fire agreement in March 1963 and attacked government defense forces in the Plaine des Jarres in north central Laos;
5. The International Control Commission (set up under the 1962 Accords and composed of a Pole, a Canadian and an Indian representative) documented charges in 1965 that Hanoi had violated the Geneva Accords by sending military personnel and equipment into Laos to join with their Pathet Lao comrades in aggression against the nation's legally constituted government;
6. at least 10,000 North Vietnamese regulars were estimated to be in Laos in mid-1965;
7. captured North Vietnamese soldiers have admitted entering Laos between February and September 1964 in units varying in size from 50-650 men each; the captured soldiers also admitted carrying Communist-made weapons and ammunition and of fighting on Laotian Government defense forces;
8. a cave, located northeast of the Plaine des Jarres, was captured by Laotian Government Forces on 24 October 1965. The cave contained 10 tons of ammunition, a number of Soviet-made machine guns, a radio made in Communist China and 50 North Vietnamese army uniforms.

9. by the end of 1965, the Lao government had within its own boundaries captured 29 North Vietnamese troops, killing upwards of 180 and capturing nine North Vietnamese regulars;
10. ICC report No. 35, released by the United Kingdom on 6 December 1965, revealed clear evidence of North Vietnamese violations of the 1962 Geneva Agreements by introducing foreign troops into Laos;
11. in commenting on the ICC report (investigating the North Vietnamese presence in Laos) released by the United Kingdom on 22 August 1966, the British Foreign Office stated: "The report provides convincing evidence of operations of North Vietnamese troops in Laos contrary to the 1962 Geneva Agreement";
12. in September 1966 the Laotian government issued a 230-page White Paper on North Vietnamese violations of the Geneva Accords; the document contained hard evidence of North Vietnamese infringements of Laotian territory including interrogations of PAVN troops captured in Laos;
13. on 18 October 1966 Laotian Premier Souvanna Phouma addressed the United Nations and informed the world at large about the White Paper on North Vietnamese aggression against Laos;
14. in late November 1966, it was estimated that as the monsoon season drew to a close North Vietnamese troop infiltration through Laos into South Vietnam had risen to 7,000 for the previous month;

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL COMMISSION REPORT No. 35:
AGGRESSION AGAINST LAOS

North Vietnamese regular army soldiers have entered Laos with weapons and ammunition to wage war against the Laotian people and government in violation of international accords adopted at the Geneva conferences of 1954 and 1962.

This is the conclusion reached by the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos (ICC) in a voluminous official report issued in late 1965. The Commission had made a detailed investigation of reported violations of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements -- designed to bring peace to Southeast Asia and formally agreed to by North Vietnam.

The 1965 report was signed by ICC Chairman Ashok B. Bhadkamkar of India and approved by the Canadian member. The Polish member of the three-nation Commission abstained from the investigation and the writing of the report.

An ICC investigating team questioned North Vietnamese army prisoners and their Laotian captors, then reported its findings. These included the following statements:

"Nationality of prisoners: According to the statements of the prisoners themselves --

"(1) all three prisoners are of North Vietnamese nationality;

"(2) they speak the Vietnamese language and claim to have no knowledge of the Lao language.

"Military status of prisoners: According to the statements of the prisoners themselves, they were members of the regular armed forces of North Vietnam and were dispatched across the North Vietnam-Laos frontier into Laos to fight along with Pathet Lao troops and at the time of capture were found to be wearing uniforms similar to those worn by the Pathet Lao forces into which they had changed just before or immediately after entering Laos.

"Military operations undertaken by the prisoners: According to the statements of the three prisoners --

"(1) they claim to have entered Laos as regulars of the North Vietnamese Armed Forces and as members of complete North Vietnamese Army units;

"(2) they entered Laos between February 1964 and September 1964;

"(3) they entered Laos in groups varying in size from 50 to about 650 soldiers;

"(4) they brought their personal weapons and ammunition with them;

"(5) they, together with other men of their groups, fought on Laotian territory against the Royal Laotian Armed Forces until their capture."

The report also states:

"An important observation made by the (investigating) Team is that the prisoners appeared to give their evidence freely and without hesitation and that they did not seem to be under duress."

In its report, the ICC repeated a comment made in a January 1965 report:

"Because the Neo Lao Haksat* refuses to extend the appropriate facilities to the Commission under the (Geneva) Protocol, the Commission finds it difficult to avoid the inference that the Neo Lao Haksat is unwilling to permit investigations, because any such investigation might bring to light evidence that the Protocol has indeed been violated."

Each of the captured North Vietnamese soldiers told of being trained in weapons firing and other military techniques in a camp at Moc Chau, North Vietnam. They then moved south in different truck convoys through the North Vietnamese towns of Ton Cuong and Muong Sen to the Laotian border, a distance of more than 300 miles (480 kilometers).

All the soldiers took the same basic routes within Laos, on different dates, proceeding from Nong Et through Khang Khay to Ta Vieng -- another 100 miles (160 kilometers), for a total journey of 400 miles (640 kilometers).

From Ta Vieng, in Laos, the North Vietnamese soldiers took different routes in a southeasterly direction until they were captured in late 1964, after their units were defeated by the Royal Laotian Army.

When they were captured, each of the North Vietnamese soldiers was carrying weapons and ammunition brought from North Vietnam.

One soldier had a movement diary describing his travels from Moc Chau in June until the day of his capture in Laos, September 15, 1964. He also carried documents, letters, receipts, and photographs from North Vietnam.

The second soldier was made prisoner September 16 and the third on September 19.

* Political arm of the left-wing Laotian rebels known as Pathet Lao

5 December 1966

The following is a copy of a letter prepared by the ICC Chairman for Laos, Girdhari Lal Puri, for the British and Soviet Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conferences.

CHAIRMAN
INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SUPERVISION
AND CONTROL IN LAOS
VIENTIANE

No. CD/1/65-66

14 June, 1966

Subject: DONG HENE INCIDENT

Excellency,

I have the honour to report to Your Excellency that, in mid-March 1965, the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos received two communications from His Highness Prince Souvanna Phouma, the Prime Minister of the Royal Laotian Government.... The first letter informed the Commission that the Officers' School of the Royal Army situated at Dong Hene in the Province of Savannakhet had been attacked on the night of 8/9 March, 1965 by strong Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese elements. The letter added that a Vietnamese soldier had been made prisoner by the troops who were defending the School and the Commission was requested to consider the possibility of having an investigation carried out urgently by the International Control Commission....

2. The second letter from His Highness the Prime Minister informed the Commission that seven other 'Vietminh' prisoners had been taken by the defenders of the Military School, thereby bringing to eight the total number of prisoners of that nationality. The letter requested a thorough investigation of the matter. The letter stated that it would be desirable for the investigation to embrace the following aspects in particular:

- (a) the armaments of the attackers;
- (b) an examination of the corpses of the attackers and documents found on them;
- (c) the interrogation of all 'Vietminh' prisoners and others;
- (d) the evidence of civilians and military personnel who were involved, either directly or indirectly, in this action.

The letter also observed that this attack had been perpetrated in a zone controlled by the Royal Laotian Government.

. . .

6. After...discussions concerning the specific articles of the Geneva Protocol...the (International Control) Commission held...that reasonable grounds existed for considering that violations of...the Protocol might have occurred; the Commission, therefore, decided that...it would initiate...investigations into all matters arising out of (these) allegations....

. . .

8. Pursuant to the resolution adopted at the Commission meeting on 19 March, a Note Verbale was sent on the same day to the Royal Laotian Government indicating that the Commission was prepared to proceed immediately with the task of conducting the investigation as soon as the Government was in a position to provide the necessary facilities. In its reply, dated 24 March, the Royal Laotian Government affirmed that the alleged North Vietnamese prisoners were available for interrogation and the Government gave its full approval to any investigation which the Commission might deem necessary to be conducted....

9. Meanwhile, the Commission had constituted a Military Investigation Team and had directed it to proceed to Savannakhet for the purpose of taking photographs, if possible, of the bodies of soldiers who were alleged to have been killed while attacking Dong Hene on 8/9 March, 1965. The Team went to Dong Hene on 20 March and was informed that after the battle approximately 150 bodies had been lying in the open for two to three days, subject to the ravages of nature and animals, and as these corpses were endangering public health, they had been buried communally. One gravesite chosen at random was opened for inspection by the Team, but decomposition was so advanced that it was only possible to identify the cadaver as that of a human being, wearing a uniform and having a military type water bottle buried alongside. Owing to the health hazard, no further bodies were exhumed but, from the condition of the ground and the fetid odours, the Team was of the opinion that many burials had recently taken place in that area....

10. The Team started investigations on 31 March, 1965. The interrogation of prisoners and witnesses was carried out in the Conference Room of the International Secretariat, Vientiane, from 31 March to 22 May, 1965. One prisoner was in the hospital and his statement was recorded on 25 and 26 May in Mahosot Hospital in Vientiane. On-the-spot interrogation of the prisoners was also conducted at Dong Hene and at the alleged places of their capture from 9 to 18 June, 1965. Evidence of additional witnesses of the Royal Laotian Government was recorded at Savannakhet, Seno and Dong Hene....

11. During the course of the investigation, the Team interrogated 27 witnesses, including nine prisoners. It also held an identification parade of witnesses and a display of arms and ammunition. The Commission understands that a document found on the battlefield and alleged to be an operation order was shown to the Team but the Government Liaison Officer failed to deliver to the Team either the original or a photostat copy....

12. In accordance with the usual practice of the Commission, the Team Investigation Report was duly examined by the Political Committee which drafted a formal Commission Report (Message) to the Co-Chairmen for circulation to the three Delegations. However, when the draft Message to the Co-Chairmen was submitted to the Commission for consideration at the 286th Formal Meeting held on 28 March, 1966, the Polish Commissioner took the view that having previously opposed the...investigation request of the Royal Laotian Government and not having participated in the work of the Investigation Team, the Polish Delegation ... opposed the preparation and forwarding of a Commission Message on the investigation to the Co-Chairmen;....

13. ... The Polish Commissioner...expressed the view that while a majority decision is permissible under the 1962 Geneva Protocol for the initiating and carrying out of investigations all the three members of the Commission must agree on any Report which may subsequently have to be addressed to the Co-Chairmen. Without accepting the view of the Polish Commissioner that an agreed report was not appropriate the Canadian Commissioner urged that there was a clear obligation on the Commission to submit the Team Investigation Report and the other documents referred to above as important information which may assist the Co-Chairmen in carrying out their functions.

14. Under the circumstances, it has become necessary to address Your Excellency under Article 8 of the Protocol to the Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos, informing you of the steps which the Commission has taken and seeking your help and guidance in this matter.

. . .

16. Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Girdhari Lal Puri
CHAIRMAN

1. The Rt. Hon'ble Michael Stewart
Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary
of State for Foreign Affairs
LONDON
2. His Excellency Mr. Andrei A. Gromyko
Minister for Foreign Affairs
Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
MOSCOW

The following is Appendix J only from
the Laos Government White Paper on North
Vietnamese Troop Attacks Against a Laos
Installation on Laos Territory:

C-O-P-Y

APPENDIX.....J.....
PAGE.....2.....

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SUPERVISION AND
CONTROL IN
LAOS

INVESTIGATION/278 MEETING
REPORT /PAGE NO. 1

REPORT ON INVESTIGATION
CONDUCTED PER COMMISSION DECISION OF THE 278TH MEETING
(INCIDENTS AT DONG HENE, SAVANNAKHET PROVINCE, LAOS)

INTRODUCTION

This report covers the investigation into allegations of violations of certain provisions of the Geneva Protocol of 1962 as detailed in the Royal Laotian Government letters No. 385/PC of 15 March, 1965 and 408/PC of 17 March, 1965. Copies of these letters are attached as Sub-Appendices 'A' and 'B' respectively to this report. The Royal Laotian Government alleged that a strong Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese force had attacked a military school at DONG HENE in a zone controlled by the Royal Laotian Government, and that prisoners had been captured. The Royal Laotian Government requested a thorough investigation of the alleged attack, including evidence available in the form of armaments, corpses, prisoners, documents and local witnesses.

AUTHORITY

2. The investigation was authorized vide proposals adopted at the 278th meeting of the Commission held on 19th March, 1965. Special Team Instructions were approved at the 281st meeting held on 30th March, 1965.

CONDUCT OF INVESTIGATION

3. The Investigation Team assembled on the 20th of March, 1965 and proceeded to SAVANNAKHET - DONG HENE area the same day for the purpose of taking photographs, if possible, of dead bodies of soldiers who were alleged to have attacked DONG HENE on 8/9th of March, 1965.

4. On arrival at DONG HENE, the Investigation Team was informed by the authorities that the bodies had been lying in the open for two to three days - subjected to the ravages of nature and animals - and were creating

serious hazards to public health. These were, therefore, buried. The Investigation Team was also informed that the approximate number of bodies so buried was 150. A burial site, chosen at random, was partially uncovered and photographed in the presence of the Team. From the decomposed state of the exhumed body it was only possible positively to identify the cadaver as that of a human being, wearing a uniform and having a military type water bottle buried alongside. The Team agreed with the local authorities that the stench and health hazards created by the buried bodies made it unwise to exhume other bodies allegedly buried in the area. The Investigation Team nevertheless walked over the area of the alleged burial ground. The condition of the ground and the stench indicated that a few days prior to the visit of the Team many burials had taken place in that area.

SUBSEQUENT ENQUIRY

5. The interrogation of prisoners and of the witnesses produced by the Royal Laotian Government in VIENTIANE was carried out in the Conference Room of the International Secretariat, VIENTIANE, from the 31st March, 1965 to 22nd May, 1965. Evidence of one prisoner-named NGUYEN VAN NAM- was recorded in MAHOSOT Hospital in VIENTIANE on 25th and 26th May, 1965. All the evidence thus recorded is included in Parts II-X of this report.
6. On-the-spot interrogation of the prisoners was also carried out at DONG HENE and at the alleged places of their capture from 9th to 18th June, 1965, to ascertain if the prisoners could identify any place, at or near DONG HENE, as the place where they were said to have been injured or captured. This evidence is also included in Parts II-X of this report.
7. During the period 9th June to 18th June, evidence of additional witnesses produced by the Royal Laotian Government was also recorded at SAVANNAKHET, SENO and DONG HENE. This is included in Parts I-X of this report.
8. Some of the Arms and ammunition alleged to have been captured in the area of DONG HENE and/or recovered from the prisoners after the DONG HENE incident by the Royal Laotian authorities was displayed to the prisoners at SAVANNAKHET to ascertain whether the prisoners could identify any of the weapons so displayed as one/ones which was/were recovered from them or which were similar to the weapons carried by them or by others of their section/group prior to 9th March, 1965. This evidence is also included in Parts II-X.
9. Identification/recognition of prisoners vis-a-vis witnesses produced by the Royal Laotian Government was carried out at an identification parade in the Conference Room of the International Secretariat, VIENTIANE. Evidence of such identification is included in the parts referred to above.

10. The prisoners were recalled and additional evidence was recorded in the Conference Room of the International Secretariat in VIENTIANE from 19th August to 30th August, 1965. This evidence is included earlier in the evidence tendered by the prisoners.

COMPOSITION OF THE REPORT

11. This report consists of ten parts. Part I is GENERAL, and deals with the statements of various witnesses produced by the Royal Laotian Government and interrogated at SAVANNAKHET, SENO and DONG HENE. The evidence of these witnesses deals with the alleged incident at DONG HENE on or about the 9th of March, 1965.

12. Parts II-X each include the testimony of an individual prisoner and the testimony of witnesses concerned in the capture of each prisoner.

13. In each part, witnesses are serially numbered commencing with Witness No. I. Thus, in each of the Parts from II-X, the prisoner is Witness No. I.

TERMINATION OF INVESTIGATION

14. The original, or photostat copies, of an Operation Order alleged to have been found on the battlefield of DONG HENE were not produced by the Royal Laotian Government.

15. In the opinion of the Team, all the essential witnesses had been interviewed. The Team, therefore, decided to conclude the investigation on 5th October, 1965, without waiting for the photostat copies of the Operation Order referred to in para 14. above.

CONSIDERATION OF EVIDENCE

16. In the opinion of the Team, all the prisoners tendered their evidence freely and voluntarily before the Team.

Nationality of the prisoners

17. All the prisoners have stated that they are nationals of NORTH VIETNAM.

18. All the prisoners spoke the North Vietnamese language and all of them denied knowledge of the Laotian language. The evidence of the captors is that none of the prisoners understood the Laotian language at the time of capture.

19. All the prisoners gave detailed descriptions of their places of residence in NORTH VIETNAM prior to their conscription into the Armed Forces of North Vietnam. Sufficient evidence in this regard has been recorded to enable verification of these statements.

Military status of prisoners

20. On their own admission, all the prisoners are conscripts in the Armed Forces of NORTH VIETNAM. All of them have stated their group or section numbers, and many of them have given out the names of their officers and/or non-commissioned officers.
21. All the prisoners were able to describe in detail the journey from their home in NORTH VIETNAM to the place where they were trained in that country.
22. All the prisoners were able to give descriptions of the military camps in which they received their training.
23. One of the prisoners identified one of the other prisoners as having been known to him as a member of the Armed Forces of NORTH VIETNAM prior to his leaving NORTH VIETNAM.
24. At the time of their capture all the prisoners were in uniforms which, as per their statements, were issued to them in NORTH VIETNAM.
25. Some of the prisoners were captured with their arms and ammunition which, as per their testimony, were issued to them in NORTH VIETNAM.

Presence in Laos

26. All the prisoners, except prisoner no. 3 - DUONG VAN MINH, have stated that they arrived at the places, where they were injured, as a part of an armed organised body of troops of the Armed Forces of NORTH VIETNAM.
27. Most of the prisoners have stated that they were ordered to proceed to SOUTH VIETNAM and to do this they had to pass through Laotian territory.
28. All the prisoners stated that the trip which terminated in their capture in LAOS by the members of the Royal Laotian Armed Forces, or the members of the Royal Laotian Police assisted by Laotian civilians, commenced at a point in NORTH VIETNAM.
29. Concerned captors recognise the prisoners captured and so do the prisoners recognise their captors.
30. Such prisoners as could be taken to the area of their capture recognised the exact spot where they were at the time of their capture and also recognised the area of their capture. The remaining prisoners recognised the place or places where they were operating at, or around, DONG HENE, in the province of SAVANNAKHET, on or about the 9th March, 1965.

31. The statements of the prisoners and their captors agree in sufficient detail to corroborate each other's statements in the matter of the place of capture, the time of capture and the lay-out of the area of capture.

32. The prisoners were produced for interrogation by the Royal Laotian Government.

33. In one case, three prisoners - prisoner no. 2, NGUYEN VAN THI, prisoner no. 3, DUONG VAN MINH, and prisoner no. 6, PHAM VAN DAT, were captured together at the same time and at the same place. The statement of each of the three prisoners corroborates the evidence of the other two prisoners, and also corroborates the evidence of the witnesses regarding the details of their capture.

Military Operations

34. Some of the prisoners stated that they knew that DONG HENE was to be attacked, while some others knew beforehand only that a "post" was to be attacked.

35. Statements of both the military and civil residents of DONG HENE, as well as those of some of the prisoners, bring out that the Reserve Officers' Training School at DONG HENE, in the province of SAVANNAKHET, LAOS, was attacked in the early hours of the morning of the 9th March, 1965. The above statements, besides, agree in considerable detail about this attack. Some of the prisoners showed to the Investigation Team their exact locations on the morning of the day of attack and throughout the 9th March, 1965. One prisoner-DUONG VAN MINH-who indicated his position on the day of attack as being barely one metre from the outer barbed wire of the Reserve Officers' Training School at DONG HENE, clearly identified some prominent landmarks in the Reserve Officers' Training School as being the ones he saw in the light of the parachute flares, during the morning of the day of attack. He stated that he had seen DONG HENE and had taken part in the attack on it. Two other prisoners also gave details of landmarks seen by them in the area of the Reserve Officers' Training School in the light of parachute flares during the attack.

36. Most of the prisoners stated that at the time of attack on DONG HENE, or at the time when they were injured, they had their arms and ammunition with them.

37. Some of the prisoners have categorically stated that the arms and ammunition which were in their possession, either during the attack on DONG HENE or when they were injured/captured, were issued to them in NORTH VIETNAM.

38. All the prisoners were captured within a radius of approximately 12 kms from DONG HENE, in SAVANNAKHET Province, between the period 10-15 March, 1965.

39. Some of the prisoners stated that they were wounded at and around DONG HENE..

40. All wounded prisoners were injured on or about the 9th of March, 1965.

41. All prisoners, as well as some of the other witnesses, mentioned air activity over, and in the vicinity of, DONG HENE on the 9th and 10th March, 1965.

42. Some of the witnesses interviewed in DONG HENE stated that they had either seen, or had taken part, in the burial of approximately 150 dead enemy soldiers. The Team was shown the location of the graves and one of the graves was even opened, but the de-composition was so advanced that in the opinion of the Team it was impossible to identify the individual buried.

Arms and ammunition

43. Six of the prisoners admit to having carried arms and ammunition from NORTH VIETNAM up to the place of attack or up to the time they were injured. One prisoner was a medical orderly and carried no arms. The remaining two prisoners were porters and admit having carried rations and ammunition just before they were injured.

44. In an identification parade of arms and ammunition, none of the prisoners could identify any of the weapons as his own.

45. In a comparative check made by the Team, some of the displayed weapons bore the same serial numbers as the ones reported by various individuals as having been found around DONG HENE on or after the 9th of March, 1965.

46. The prisoners identified specific weapons and ammunition as being of the same type as were carried by them up to the time of their injury, or similar to those carried by others in their units up to the time of injury.

47. Prisoner DUONG VAN MINH identified a wheeled medium machine-gun as being exactly similar to the one he saw on the battlefield in DONG HENE on the 9th of March, 1965 and further stated that at that time - on the 9th of March - when he saw it, the actual gun was missing from the carriage and mounting. In the list of arms alleged to have been captured from the area of DONG HENE after 9th of March, a similar weapon minus the gun has been listed as having been captured.

48. Another prisoner identified a medium machine-gun as being of the same type as the three brought by his sub-Unit from NORTH VIETNAM.

Participation of Pathet Lao

49. The residents of DONG HENE, whose statements have been recorded by the Team, have stated that some of the troops present in the village during their attack on the Reserve Officers' Training School at DONG HENE were Pathet Lao troops. They base their differentiation between a North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao on the following: --

- (a) Difference in language spoken;
- (b) Difference in appearance, such as, Pathet Lao being darker than a North Vietnamese;
- (c) Statement during the propaganda speech in the pagoda of DONG HENE village on the morning of 9th March that the troops were Pathet Lao.

THE ECONOMIST

12 November 1966

No Laughing Matter

Indian democracy is in danger -- really, this time. And that warning does not emerge merely from this week's rioting about the slaughter of sacred cows.

"A perfectly sound country," wrote Field-Marshal Ayub Khan, justifying his overthrow of Pakistan's parliamentary government, had been made "the laughing stock of the whole world." He was right, and, whatever they may think today, few Pakistanis in 1958 denied it. It is a quotation that India's politicians might care to remember now.

And at this point the balloon, no doubt, goes up. Patriotic Indians all over the world (anyone who doubts that India is a nation should try casting aspersions on it) will protest fiercely that the analogy is monstrously unjust. India is a far perfectly sounder country than Pakistan ever was, they will say. Undisciplined its politicians may be, dilatory its administrators, but they are not half as undisciplined and dilatory as those who brought the Pakistan of 1958 to its laughable state. Faction-ridden or not, Congress is a nation-wide party such as Pakistan never had after 1954, and one with an organization down to the grass roots such as the Muslim League never had at all. Had Pakistan held three orderly general elections? There is India's Ayub Khan, and, given the dispersion of India's armed forces, could he succeed even if he existed?

True, very true; and, before anyone adds it as the final crushing afterthought, let us admit that nobody in Mr. Wilson's glasshouse is well placed just now to throw stones. And yet, as we were saying before we dived for cover: if India's politicians care to look forward rather than back; if they care to extrapolate for another couple of years the shambles that is India today; can they be quite so sure? There has been barely a day in the last six weeks that Indian newspapers have not recorded rioting, and often police firing on rioters, with the inevitable tale of deaths. There have been riots to have a steelworks that cannot conceivably be built for years in one state rather than another; riots to save cows; riots to annex part of one state to another state; riots to resist any such idea; student riots in favour of this university vice-chancellor, and against that one; student riots for and against heaven knows what, the only common factors being a resentment of authority and a hydra-headed sense of being done down that engenders two more grievances the moment one is satisfied. The hideous spectacle of two million Chinese Red Guards all baying the same slogan, in this perspective, almost begins to look attractive.

This is, of course, an unfair picture of India, a headline picture: what makes news is bad news, and at any one moment when ten thousand Indians are rioting, 500 million Indians, unreported, are not.

(Cont.)

But the headlines are what the world sees, and one day, if it goes on seeing headlines like this, it will stop taking India seriously; India, a land of 500 million people, of ancient and splendid civilization, of boundless possibilities if there are men -- it is men, not money, that will count -- to take them.

That might not matter so much if it were just the opinion of foreigners. The Indian government is not responsible to the electors of Britain, or, for that matter, to the rulers of the Soviet Union. Nor need it care about foreigners' silly jibes about the absence of non-violence or the prevalence of cows. No sensible person for years has imagined that non-violence is any more conspicuous in Indian life than loving one's neighbour is in British. As for the cows, if religious people respect them, then the preserving of cows is no less rational, in itself, than subsidizing ballet dancers or using St. Paul's as a cathedral rather than as a broiler factory; and if every surplus cow were slaughtered tomorrow, how rich would India become? As rich as Pakistan, presumably.

But it would not be only a matter of foreign opinion. In countries ranging from France to Pakistan, what evokes the gloomy cynicism of foreigners has evoked a matching anger at home. The educated or organized Indian public sees these headlines too. It also experiences at first hand the selfish tricks of politicians, the corruption of officials, the taps that do not run, the rise in consumer prices that has driven the living standards of the urban Indian sharply down in the last five years. And it is the educated and the organized, not the unreported masses, that make politics. It is many years since "Congress" and "politican" were words of respect in India. If things are allowed to go on sliding as they have done this year, how much longer will these words be in use at all? These are not just the fears voiced by those foreigners who for years have made a freelance living forecasting India's imminent collapse. It was neither a crusted old divide-and-ruler nor a jet-speeded visiting journalist who called this "the grimmest situation in nineteen years"; it was the editor of the Hindustan Times. It was Mr. Nanda, India's home minister until that day, who spoke on Tuesday of "the great danger of violence to the fabric of orderly society."

India's present leaders can fairly ask what they are expected to do. It is hardly their fault that the approach of general elections is inciting the opposition parties to grab any grievance as an excuse for a demonstration that almost inevitably leads to violence. If the authorities simply sat back, they would be accused of yielding to anarchy; when they do not, they give the opposition just the martyrs and the headlines about death and disorder that it seeks. If they continue to maintain the "state of emergency," as they have since the Chinese war of 1962, they are accused of undermining democracy; yet they may well need these emergency powers. If they locked up every possible trouble-maker (as they have not), again they would be accused of suppressing opposition; when they do not, troubles erupt. If they give way to the cow-protectors, as they have, they are undermining secularism; if they do not, they are

offering the Hindu enemies of secularism the very propaganda they need. Linguistic nationalism faces the Congress leaders in every state with the same dilemma. When the British ruled India, they had it easier in this respect than democratic politicians can expect to have it.

That said, Mrs. Gandhi's government and party can hardly be considered blameless. What they have to do to meet the real grievances that the grievance-mongers exploit is, simply, to succeed: they need a mixture of luck (two good monsoons would end most of Mrs. Gandhi's present troubles), decision, and action. The decision has been lacking recently; having gone the half-hog of devaluation in response to the Americans' urging, they stopped short of the follow-up that might have justified the whole hog. Except for an arguable interval in the Shastri era, action has been on the short side for years. It is questionable, on the form of the last ten months, whether the present leadership can be expected to do better. Mrs. Gandhi, as the Calcutta Statesman has argued, needs a new team. Given that this is no time for another struggle over the succession, it could as well be argued that India, after the elections, will need a new prime minister.

NATIONAL OBSERVER
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The Hungry Giant of Asia

INDIA: DRIFTING FROM CRISIS TO CRISIS

Wracked by riots, twisted with hunger, and wallowing in frustration, India stood last week at the brink of catastrophe. Drought has ruined crops in several states, and the suffering was painful for man and beast alike. Incredibly, many worried more about beasts than men.

"There is hunger and distress in millions of homes throughout India tonight," Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the premier, told her constituents one day last week. "The condition of cattle and other livestock is pitiable. Both man and beast have begun to migrate in search of food and water."

Bad as the situation was, though, it was a situation all too familiar to the 450,000,000 citizens of the second most populous nation in the world. India's cities are the wretched homes for the world's poorest, and one of the world's highest birth rates reproduces this poverty at alarming speed.

Riots Are Commonplace

Worst of all, India's enemies are its own people. Or so it sometimes seems to the Western world. Riots are commonplace, but only a few are set off by such matters as hunger or political abuse.

Last week's riots in New Delhi, the capital, started when students converged from outlying cities to protest overcrowding in their colleges. These riots followed other demonstrations against the slaughter of cows, which Indian Hindus revere as sacred.

Not long ago, 162 Indians were killed when Hindus and Moslems fought in the streets of a provincial capital because someone entered a temple and took a single hair that had once, according to local legend, been plucked from the head of the prophet Mohammed. More recently, Indians in Calcutta rioted because the government tried (and later gave up the attempt) to fulfill a pledge to replace English with Hindi as the official state language.

Rioting Over Holy Cows

Then, early this month, came the cow riots. "God is our father," shrieked one banner, "and the holy cow is our mother." When unbelievers went about their business of making meat from the filthy gray cows that wander freely about the country, living off of the land, the Hindus rioted.

If these causes, which Indians seem eager enough to die in defense of, seem incomprehensible to Western minds, the trouble that wracks India today is, sadly, comprehensible.

The drought alone would be bad enough. The 1965 grain harvest (rice, mostly) was down 20 per cent from the 1964 harvest. This year's prospects are even worse. The only country with enough grain to fill the Indian begging bowl is the United States, but the United States is sending its grain on a month-to-month basis, trying to persuade the Indians to make simple, but crucial, reforms in its farm system.

"One of the great needs of Indian agriculture," says a U.S. official familiar with Indian farm problems, "is the use of fertilizer. The Indians don't produce enough, import enough, or use enough."

Hope for Fertilizer Plants

India has applications this year for about \$30,000,000 in U.S. loans, and American planners hope that much of this money will be used to build fertilizer plants. "That way," says one of the Americans, "they won't have to use scarce foreign money exchange to buy fertilizer abroad." The Indians so far have been unable to use improved seed, and pesticides and insecticides are unknown to millions of farmers. American technical assistance is aimed this year at improving agriculture schools; these schools would encourage the use of better seed and introduce pesticides and insecticides to more farmers.

Most American aid to India is administered through an 11-nation consortium; the United States, so the Indians hope, will contribute \$380,000,000 for specific projects, such as fertilizer plants and farm-credit funds. Another \$10,000,000 will be contributed to technical assistance programs; some of this money will finance the educations of bright Indian youngsters in the United States.

Birth Control Need

American officials want most of all to persuade India to encourage vast birth-control programs; this, clearly, is the reform on which all other reforms will succeed or founder. Population-growth experts say India's population will reach 1 billion by the year 2000, and each generation would be doomed to more grinding poverty than the one before it.

An effective program of birth control is much easier said than done. The Pill, which has become widely used in Europe and the United States, is often too complicated for Indian peasants, to whom the simplest kind of mathematical computation is impossible. Further, the Pill has to be taken every day.

Other methods have been tried on a small scale, including the uterine coil. But even the simplest and most effective birth-control program goes against the religious beliefs of many devout Hindus, who

believe they are under a moral and religious obligation to procreate. This obviously goes beyond the Roman Catholic belief that it is morally wrong to artificially interfere with procreation; these Hindus, who are among those who can least afford children, believe they must procreate or perish.

Generations of high birth rates have inevitably led to high unemployment rates; indeed, the frustration of the rioting students in New Delhi last week was rooted in the fact that most students face bleak job-hunting prospects.

"What they want when they get out of the university," said one Indian official last week, "is a desk job in a government agency. To settle for less is to be cheated. It would be beneath them to take less."

Last week's riots in New Delhi, led by students and aimed at the circular Parliament building, provided a stern test for the new home minister, Y. B. Chavan, who was one of four top Cabinet ministers named by Mrs. Gandhi in the uproar over the cow riots.

He tried to mollify the students, but warned that law and order would be upheld. Mrs. Gandhi agreed. He banned marches in New Delhi, and his cops set about to make the ban stick. They seized several trucks in the streets, pressing them into service as police riot vans. Students on their way to New Delhi to lead the riots were plucked from trains and buses in outlying towns and cities and clapped into jail.

"The students may have genuine difficulties and they may have grievances of one kind or another but it is of the utmost importance ... that the methods they adopt for achieving their objective are right," Mr. Chavan said.

An Overcrowding Issue

The immediate student protest is against overcrowding; the real cause may be student frustration over the future, or the lack of a bright one. Students have rioted in the past over dissatisfaction with certain professors, the quality of teaching, even the questions asked on examinations.

If he can prevent further rioting, or even hold it to tolerable levels, Mr Chavan will become a powerful Indian indeed. As home minister, he is No. 2 to Mrs. Gandhi, and his stature among Indian politicians has grown since he shaped up the bedraggled Indian army after its disastrous failure against Chinese soldiers in the brief China-India war in 1962.

If he fails this time, the costs may be high indeed for himself, for his boss, Mrs. Gandhi, and their ruling Congress Party. National

elections are only three months away, and some observers note that some of the recent disturbances have been led by members of opposing smaller political parties.

It was election-year politics as much as real worry over the cow riots, perhaps, that led Mrs. Gandhi to shuffle her cabinet. The cow riots gave her the opportunity she needed. Mr. Chavan, whom she moved into the No. 2 spot, is a tough, able administrator, and by shuffling, rather than dropping some men and adding others, she maintained the ethnic and religious make-up of a cabinet that is something of a model of balance between regions, religions, and races.

First Test at Polls

The election will be Mrs. Gandhi's first as premier. She ascended to the top job last winter on the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri, who died unexpectedly in the Russian resort of Tashkent, where he had gone to settle his country's war with arch-enemy Pakistan.

She has done about as well as anyone could have. She was all but born to leadership, the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, who was India's first premier. He served from 1947, when Britain granted India its independence, until his death in 1964. On the death of Shastri the ruling Congress Party took but four hours to elect her by a vote of 355 to 169 for the nearest rival. But before the party bosses voted, the party's most powerful had carefully gone over the field. Mrs. Gandhi, they learned, had the fewest enemies.

The idea of a woman heading India's government seemed incredible to many in the West. But by Indian ideas, it wasn't incredible at all. The late Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian independence hero, who is revered almost as a saint by Indians, urged Indian women of all castes to forget the conventional Asian ideas of womanly subservience to fight by the side of their men for independence. Thousands did.

Places for Women

Today women in India work at all levels of business and government. A woman is the chief officer of one of the nation's largest states. Another has served in the cabinet. Fifty-nine serve in the Parliament (against 12 in the 89th U.S. Congress).

Beyond that, Indira Gandhi is no mere woman. As Nehru's daughter, she learned Indian politics and intrigue from a first-row seat with a front-rank teacher. Her mother was a Congress Party functionary in the city where Indira was born. Her grandfather, a wealthy lawyer, was an early leader in the party.

She has deliberately and skillfully evoked the memory of her father, who is revered by Indian masses. She always wears a red rosebud on her shawl, just as Nehru always wore a red rosebud on the lapel

of his long frock coat. She is, it sometimes seems, a lonely touch of gracefulness in a graceless land.

She has proved to be a tough leader, when toughness is required. But toughness clearly will not be enough. She and her country will need luck as well, and even miracles. Unless India checks its population growth, the day will come when even the United States, with its fertile farms and its technological skills, can't feed the hungry billion.

When she became her nation's leader, a New Delhi newspaper put her job in painful perspective: "Mrs. Gandhi is putting on a crown more of thorns than roses." That was almost a year ago. Little has changed since then, and the prospect is that little will.

INDIA: A HUGE COUNTRY ON THE VERGE OF COLLAPSE

After nearly two decades of independence, the vast subcontinent of India is sliding even deeper into chaos. Tempers are at the explosion point. What's wrong? Sol W. Sanders of the International Staff of "U. S. News & World Report" takes you beyond the day's news for a penetrating look at India's woes.

NEW DELHI polls has raised speculation that the elections may not be held. The many-sided crisis in India now is at a point where most foreign observers here predict a plunge into chaos unless present trends can be reversed. Violence that has erupted in city after city is just one element of the crisis. That violence—which has cost scores of lives and caused many millions of dollars in property damage in recent months—spotlights a general breakdown of law and order at a time of worsening economic trouble for this nation of nearly half a billion people. The massive disorders, too, show the bizarre range of India's seething problems of religious fanaticism, language barriers, regional feuds. **The "cow" riot.** Here in New Delhi early in November a huge mob of Hindu fanatics—numbering more than 100,000—rioted savagely in a demonstration against slaughter of cows. In the Hindu religion, the cow is sacred. The rioters were led by "holy men," whose naked bodies were smeared with ashes. Days earlier, when rioters went on a rampage in Hyderabad, the spark was regional, not religious, rage. The rioters were protesting plans to locate a new Government-owned steel plant outside their State. Railway stations were wrecked, railway cars were burned, telephone and telegraph lines were cut, Government radio transmitter was put out of operation. **Violence over language.** Before that in the city of Madras, an orgy of destruction was launched by rioters testing the proposed imposition of Hindi, a North Indian language, as the national language in the South. The mob outbreaks have confronted the Government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her ruling Congress Party with a calamitous situation. India's general elections, due every five years, are scheduled for next February, but the threat of violence at the

Unrest and agitation in India is seen not only in riots but in the *bundhs*—general strikes—that have been hitting city after city. Often these strikes are organized by Communists. During one recent work stoppage in Calcutta, a city of 8 million, imported food grains, desperately needed, rotted on board 132 idled ships. Soaring prices are one reason for the unrest. Over the country, prices rose 40 per cent during India's Third Five-Year Plan, completed April 1, 1966. Food prices have risen 27 per cent since March, 1965. Deficit financing by the central Government and the States feeds the inflation. The six-week war with Pakistan last year also added to inflationary pressures. Hunger is an ever-present specter. A calamitously poor harvest last year was a blow to the whole country. The monsoon rains in 1965 were the scantiest in 50 years. As a result of the drought, production of food grains dropped from a level of around 85 million tons to 72 million tons. The national income fell 5 per cent below that of the previous year.

Many critics believe that the present economic crisis has not been brought on by recent developments, but that it results from a long period of mismanagement of India's economy. Since 1955, huge sums have been poured into Government-owned industrial enterprises. Many of these projects required equipment that had to be imported at great expense. And many have been white elephants. The over-all return from invested capital in the so-called "public sector" is less than 3 per cent—in a country where private loan capital brings not less than 20 per cent. Many economic theories have failed to work out. Planners, for example, expected steel to be produced more cheaply in India than anywhere else in the world except Australia. Actually, the cost has been exorbitant, despite vast deposits of iron ore, coal and limestone. Unexpectedly high costs of plant construction and inefficient management are blamed. Notwithstanding high production costs, steel is sold at artificially low prices. In a country that supposedly is short of metal, steel is used lavishly for railings, furniture and ornamental construction. In order to show high use of tonnage capacity, Government-owned plants produce easily manufactured types of steel. India has to dip into its foreign-exchange reserves to import the kinds of steel that are more difficult to make. **Why food is short.** In spite of the food problem, investment in the rural economy has declined as India has expanded its Government-owned industries. As a result, food production has been neglected. In the early 1950s, agricultural production was increasing by about 3½ per cent a year, but by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan in 1961, production of food grains had leveled off. Last year's drought, therefore, was so disastrous that only by importing 9 million tons of grain from the United States

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was the country able to avert widespread famine.

The population increase—which has added 125 million mouths to feed since India achieved independence 18 years ago—puts constant new pressure on the food supply. No effective method of birth control has taken hold.

Viewing the food crisis, a Western agricultural economist with long experience in India commented:

"The food-growing potential of this country is enormous. Fertilizer, more irrigation and pesticides would work miracles. But increased food production cannot be bought cheaply. I am worried about the right political decisions being made to get it."

Foreign observers are asking whether India's leaders, surveying their many problems, are at last convinced that agriculture should have No. 1 priority; or, if they are convinced, whether they are ready to withstand charges by Communists and ultranationalists that a change in economic policy would be a "sell-out to the American imperialists."

Many of the people here—Indians as well as foreigners—contend that there is, at least temporarily, a vacuum of leadership.

The death of Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri last December is widely viewed as a real disaster. Shastri, born a poor villager, had won great popularity. He appeared ready to abandon policies that failed to get India moving during the 17-year rule of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and take a more realistic approach to India's problems.

Indira Gandhi, Nehru's daughter, took office as Prime Minister in January. She was the compromise choice of the Congress Party bosses.

Last June, Mrs. Gandhi made the difficult decision to devalue the Indian rupee—something most Western economists had thought to be long overdue.

Devaluation was extremely unpopular. Congress Party President Kumaraswami Kamaraj Nadar opposed it. Communists and ultranationalists denounced it as a "sell-out" to pressure from the West, mainly the U. S.

Mrs. Gandhi had counted on massive, immediate support from the World Bank, the United States and other Western countries to cushion the shock of devaluation. But aid to India suddenly was proving to be unpopular in the West and massive help was not forthcoming.

Decisions postponed. Lack of the hoped-for support, plus ferment caused by the oncoming elections—and agitation of the kind that has kept exploding in riots over everything from sacred cows to steel mills—has given the lady Prime Minister what some of her associates are calling a "bad case of jitters."

A wide variety of Parliament bills have been introduced with charges of corruption against some members of the Government, has not been helpful. The Government now seems to be almost on dead center, with major decisions postponed until after the elections.

If the elections are held as scheduled, it appears probable that the Congress Party will emerge still in control of the Parliament, but with a reduced majority.

In itself, the majority is no guarantee of constructive action. The Congress Party embraces everything from Communists to Hindu racists, from socialist theorists on economics to rich and powerful industrialists. Continued strife within the party, thus, is regarded as inevitable.

Army take-over? If the rising tide of violence cannot be curbed, some people suggest that the breakdown of law and order will be so complete that the Army will take power, as happened in neighboring Pakistan and Burma.

The Indian Army, however, is widely dispersed—and at present without cohesive leadership. Political promotions and political dismissals of officers have weakened the Army, foreign observers say.

Most knowledgeable foreign diplomats and businessmen here tend to believe that, rather than a military take-over or a coup of any kind, there will be a general descent into chaotic conditions affecting the whole Indian society.

This belief is reinforced by the disheartening array of unsolved problems. Here are some examples—

In Calcutta, overcrowding has reached incredible proportions.

In an area described as "the world's biggest slum," authorities estimate that 40,000 new family housing units a year are needed just to take care of the population increase. Only 6,000 are being built.

Bombay's northern suburbs are being swollen by an influx of from 200 to 300 penniless people a day. These are migrants from poverty-stricken villages. They have no housing, no sanitary facilities, no jobs.

A Cabinet official says that the Government "has not yet touched the fringe of the problem of illiteracy" despite the school-construction program that has been pressed since independence. There are an estimated 300 million illiterates in India. This is nearly three fifths of the population.

Russia as a model? One important factor in India's growing crisis is the role played by Russia. Nehru saw the Soviet Union as the exponent of "economic democracy," a model for all developing nations of rapid growth. Indian planners, from the beginning of freedom, have

ship, forced development through reliance on heavy industry—as models.

Trade with Russia and its satellites has tripled since 1961. The trade has been extremely disadvantageous for India.

N. Vakil, one of India's most respected economists, estimates that the Soviet bloc goods India buys cost her up to 20 per cent more than world prices. Much of the hide, jute, tea, cashew nuts, and textiles the Communists buy from India

under the trade deal are sold by the Reds in Western markets for hard currency.

This year, India negotiated a billion-dollar arms deal with Russia. The Soviets are supplying tanks, planes, submarines and small arms.

As India has moved closer and closer to the Soviet Union, her relations with the United States have deteriorated. One big irritant in U. S.-Indian relations is India's official attitude that negotiations to end the war in Vietnam cannot begin until the U. S. stops bombing targets in North Vietnam.

Criticism of U. S. Here in New Delhi, more and more criticism is heard about operations of the U. S. aid program, which in two decades has poured some 7 billion dollars into India in loans and grants.

Much of this capital has gone indirectly into financing forced industrialization. A large amount went into the so-called Community Development program—now admitted to be a flop because it ignored agricultural production.

Even such projects as hydroelectric and irrigation developments financed with U. S. funds are described as having been badly planned.

"We don't need American do-gooders out here," said an Indian editor who is an outspoken friend of the U. S. "What we need are hard-headed Texas businessmen who would see that their money is properly spent."

Over the past decade, the U. S. has sold India, for dollars or rupees—in the main turned back to India for development capital—3.6 billion dollars' worth of surplus food.

This food has saved many lives—and it has given the Government more stability. But it has also encouraged the planners to ignore development of a better agriculture.

Now, American food surpluses are virtually exhausted. If the threat of starvation is to be blunted, India must have a crash program for food production, with heavy and costly imports of fertilizer.

At a time approaching national calamity—with massive riots, a surge toward inflation, debacles in many areas of economic planning—it seems ironic to West-

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erners here that India has just about everything needed for progress.

There is a gigantic, though creaking, industrial machine. The "private" industrial sector is potentially dynamic, though now under a crushing tax burden. There are huge reserves of iron ore, coal and probably yet-undiscovered nonferrous metals. The country has a great agricultural potential—for example, the Gangetic Plain in the North has enormous reservoirs of underground water that could supply projects such as those developed in recent years in the U. S. The Indian business community is large—and it includes some of the most resourceful and aggressive traders in the world.

Aside from some way of putting a lid on religious, racist and regional violence, what is needed, according to most Westerners in India, is economic "liberalization"—an end to Government hostility toward free enterprise, a relaxation of economic regulations and controls, new and more-realistic land policies.

The major needs. Tough decisions would be needed to bring all this about. Industrial output would have to slacken, for one thing, if India tackled her food problem by importing fertilizer and insecticide instead of importing raw materials for industry.

An accommodation with Pakistan

would be needed so that India could call off the arms race.

India now spends 1.4 billion dollars a year on defense. For the past few years, more than 250 millions of this has been in foreign exchange.

Big schemes such as the purchase of another steel mill from Russia for 1.3 billion dollars would have to be shelved.

If the hard decisions are not made, what then?

"Perhaps we have to go through a bloody period," one discouraged Indian journalist said.

"Maybe we should let the Communists have a go at it and see if they can do something with this country," said one of India's well-known figures.

A grim situation. A right-wing dictatorship based on Hindu racist philosophy is proposed by some political groups here. But there is no national base for such a dictatorship.

Most observers say that if the situation continues to degenerate, it is impossible to predict what may replace India's experiment in representative government.

Collapse of the present regime would add a grim new element to the job the U. S. has taken on in Vietnam—the effort to assure political stability and economic strength in Asia.

India's Cabinet-Shift Critics Look to Elections

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By Warren Unna
Washington Post Foreign Service
NEW DELHI—The Times

of India cartoon portrayed a frantic Prime Minister Indira Gandhi running around her Cabinet table, alternately asking her ministers to change places, not get out of the room, or please, please sit down where you were.

The cartoon reflects the comment of all India's major newspapers here on what went on last week following the sacred cow march

News Analysis

on Parliament, the riots which followed and the subsequent ouster of Home Minister Gulzarilal Nanda.

Now Mrs. Gandhi has announced four shifts of existing Cabinet ministers into different portfolios. The changes neither represent new faces in a cabinet which has come under increasing public criticism, nor the younger blood which the Prime Minister herself repeatedly has said she wants to bring in.

The Hindustan Times editorialized Tuesday, "Mrs. Gandhi's team looks more bedraggled than before the reshuffle and it is some consolation that the elections are not very far away." Opposition members of parliament were less charitable.

New Cabinet

The new Cambinet shifts are:

• Defense Minister Yashwantrao Balwantrao Chavan, 53 to be Home Minister, replacing Nanda. Chavan now will be in charge of maintaining the nation's peace and order as well as supervising general elections next February. As Home Minister, he will be having intimate relations with state governments and have a far better chance to build up the national image that is neces-

sary if he is to have a chance to become Prime Minister.

• External Affairs Minister Sardar Swaran Singh, 58, to be Defense Minister. In the past, Mrs. Gandhi had made it clear she wanted to replace Singh after the February elections anyway and foreign diplomats here long have been complaining over what they consider to be "inconclusive" relations with him. Now, as Defense Minister, Singh is expected to be welcomed by many of the armed forces posts as well as by his militant Sikh constituents in his native Punjab.

• Education Minister Mahomedali Currim Chagla, 63, to be External Affairs Minister. Chagla, a former Ambassador to the United States, High Commissioner in Britain and chief exponent of India's Kashmir cause in the United Nations debates with Pakistan, reportedly has wanted to be his country's top diplomat since the job became available at the time of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's death. He long has been identified as the Cabinet's hardest liner on India's relations with Pakistan and this is causing some dismay among those in the Indian capital who are anxious for easier Indo-Pakistani relations.

• Minister of Irrigation and Power Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, 61, to be Education Minister. Ahmed, is known as a part of Mrs. Gandhi's "inner few," along with Food and Agriculture Minister Chidambaram Subramaniam and Planning Minister Asoka Mehta. Last week the Prime Minister indicated she wanted to give Ahmed the far juicier plum of Finance Minister but she was forced to change her mind.

Powerful Objection

Objection came from Atulya Ghosh, the powerful

Congress Party boss of West Bengal, who resented Mrs. Gandhi's intention to oust his West Bengali supporter, Sachindra Chaudhuri, from the post. Now Chaudhuri reportedly feels so embarrassed he wants out anyway in order to return to Calcutta where he was one of the nation's top lawyers.

Another objection to Mrs. Gandhi's original Cabinet shifts came from a second powerful politician, Railway Minister S.K. Patil, the Congress Party boss of Bombay. He objected to seeing his political rival Chavan moving ahead of him to the Home Ministry. Patil's objection was strong enough to delay Chavan's appointment for six days.

Drops Ouster Attempt

The Prime Minister also made an attempt earlier in the week to oust her Commerce Minister, Manubhai Shah. But she changed her mind after political pressure on Shah's behalf.

No one here is expressing any regrets over the original move which precipitated all this, the ouster of Home Minister Nanda. The Prime Minister had never wanted to include him in her Cabinet when she took office in January.

But Nanda came and fainted in her living room and she relented.

The obvious choice to replace Nanda was former Finance Minister Morarji Desai, the one man who challenged Mrs. Gandhi for the Prime Ministership in January. He is the Congress Party's strongest man for the Cabinet's strong man post of Home Minister.

Desai told friends he was more than willing—provided he be named Deputy Prime Minister, be regarded as No. 2 in Cabinet ranking and

not have to forswear any Prime Ministerial ambitions he might have for himself after next February's elections.

Mrs. Gandhi did not buy. Now that the shifting is over there is much speculation over the conspicuous silence of Congress Party President Kumaraswami Kamaraj. Kamaraj has let it be known that he is wedded to no candidate including Mrs. Gandhi — when it comes to deciding about the Prime Ministership after next February's elections. Everybody is wondering what the ambitious Kamaraj might have in mind of himself.