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NUMBER 25

26 October 1959

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151. Replacement of Soviet Ambassador to Communist China

On October 14 Soviet Ambassador to the CPR Pavel Yudin was transferred to "other work". His replacement is Stepan V. Chervonenko. Yudin has been ambassador to Peking for almost six years. During the past two years he frequently has been absent from his post, and rumors have circulated that he has been ill. By virtue of his long tenure in China, he probably is the most experienced expert on the CPR in the Soviet hierarchy. Presumably, he has worked more closely with Chinese leaders than any other Soviet official. Yudin is a renowned Marxist ideologist with Stalinist leanings. While editor of the Cominform newspaper "For Lasting Peace, For People's Democracy", he led the early attack on Yugoslav revisionism. Yudin was recalled as Ambassador to East Germany just before the 1953 uprisings. While he was Ambassador to Peking, the Chinese Communists staged a propaganda attack on Yugoslavia which presumably accorded with Yudin's views, but which was at variance with those of Khrushchev. Yudin has participated in many Soviet-Chicom negotiations at which the CPR won concessions at the expense of the USSR. He may have been instrumental in assisting Peking in this. Late last year Yudin published an attack on Indian policies, and by extension, on Nehru. His actions conceivably have helped provide ammunition for the Stalinist opposition to Khrushchev in the Kremlin. Chervonenko is a party apparatchik from the Ukraine. As a Secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukraine CP, he held a post once filled by Khrushchev. He has risen rapidly in the party under Khrushchev, and therefore probably will follow Khrushchev's orders faithfully. There is no information that he has ever held a major post outside of the Ukraine, or that he has had any diplomatic or Chinese experience. The real motive for the transfer is undetermined. It could be a major policy decision, or merely a matter of Yudin's health. By continuing its hard line toward India, Laos, and the UAR, Peking has resisted supporting Khrushchev's peace drive. The Chicoms showed a lack of enthusiasm for the Ike-Khrushchev visit and were markedly cool during Khrushchev's latest trip to the CPR. Khrushchev's efforts to put a peaceful face on the USSR will necessarily cause his policies to differ from the harder Chicom position. Getting the Chinese to acquiesce in this peaceful policy may be difficult and reportedly already has caused some tension between the two powers. Although there may be no ulterior motive behind the transfer, the new Ambassador will have to be tougher with the Chinese than his predecessor because he will be the vehicle through which Khrushchev tries to impose his ideas on Peking.

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152. U. S. Policy on Latin American Land Reforms

In view of worldwide interest in land reform, and more especially in view of intense interest in Cuba's reforms and the charges that the US is unsympathetic even antagonistic to them, the US has just sent to all American diplomatic posts and numerous others a new information policy statement, U. S. Policy Towards Latin American Agrarian Reforms. (State, CA 2814, Sept. 29, 1959) The fundamental purpose of the paper is to correct any existing impression that the US is unsympathetic to sound land reform, and to establish that the US has consistently supported agrarian programs where such programs strengthen the national economy and where adequate consideration has been given to the rights of those directly affected. Within this context, and with the understanding that the complexities involved require that each national program be judged on its own merits, the information policy statement stresses that US interest in land reform derives from two basic concepts: the economic one that increased production must follow land reform; and the social one that those who work the soil must gain new dignity and well-being. The mere breaking up of large estates cannot accomplish this, but it may be done by resolving such problems as tenancy inequities, excessive rents, burdensome taxation and interest charges, inefficient marketing systems, etc. The agricultural prosperity that the US has traditionally enjoyed is largely attributable to the resolution of such problems. And it has been the sympathetic counselling by the US on such matters that has strengthened numerous agrarian reform movements abroad, such as those in Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Italy, Nationalist China, Japan and others. In these and in other ways the US stands ready to assist any Latin American or other country that desires sound agrarian reforms. Other fundamental US positions additional to those mentioned are that there must be observance of international restraints upon confiscation; the base used in establishing just compensation must be fair, i. e. approximate the real value of the property, not the tax value; the right to judicial review is essential; compensation should be in an "effectively realizable form" and in a "prompt manner".

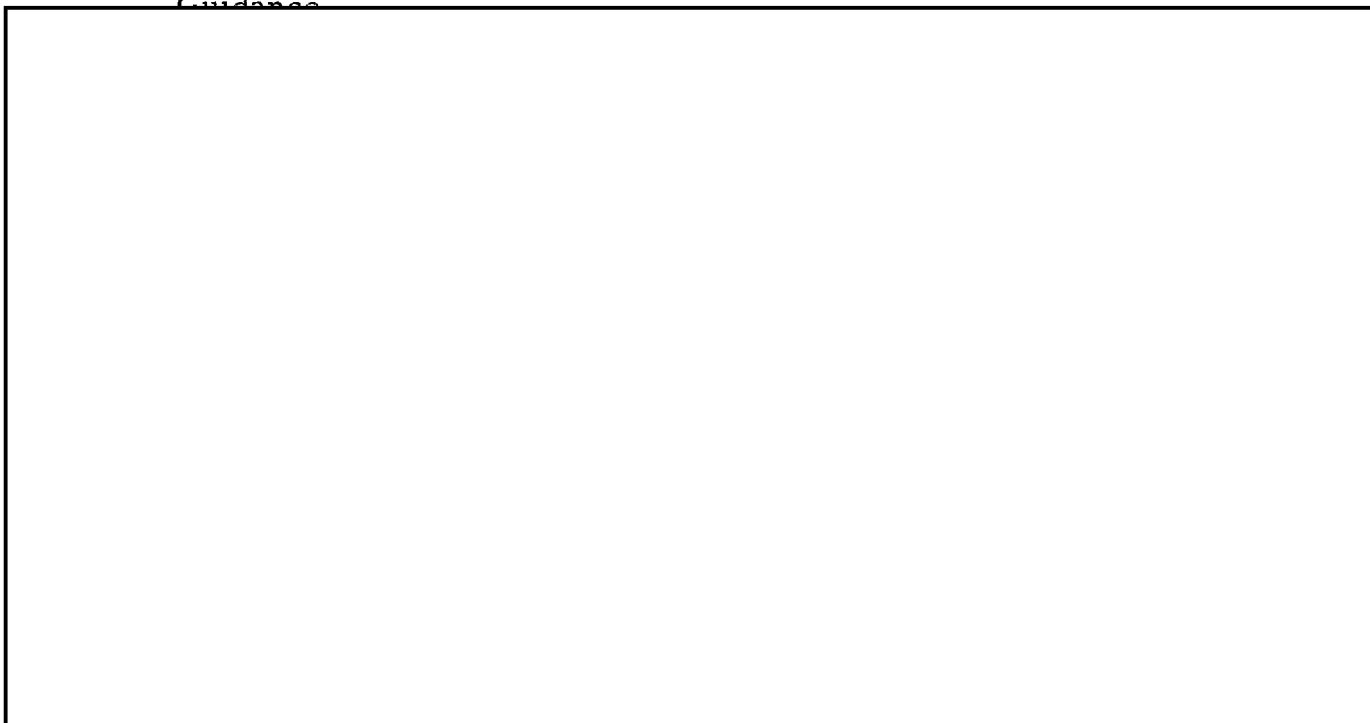


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153: African Nationalism

The emergence of African nationalism is one of the major events of the post World War II era, and because of the explosive tensions latent on the African scene, the inevitable economic poverty of most of the new nations, and the well nigh immiscible combination of the traditional and the modern, its consequences promise to confront the West with its greatest single problem in the free world. Under the sometimes unwilling and often unmindful tutelage of Western Europe, the African absorbed the Western concept of nationalism and applied it to his own country. Originally, and to some extent today, the group orientation of the African was tribal. The colonial powers chopped up the continent setting boundaries that were arbitrary, which now, however, have taken on a certain reality arising from common language and economic organization. The African remaining with his tribe was not really exposed to the pressures of modern urban life. It was those Africans who were pulled into the economic life of the new European cities and exposed to Western political thought and actions who accepted a concept of the nation. Yet the African was and is acutely aware of the arbitrary boundaries that colonialism had fixed. This led to two aspirations: the achievement of national independence and a pan-African unity cutting across national boundaries. The leadership of African nationalist movements has always placed independence from the mother country as the initial goal, to be followed by further moves to fuse together independent countries. In East Africa independence is complicated by the existence of large groups of European settlers who are at best hesitant towards granting the African political power. In West Africa climatic factors have held down the number of European settlers and progress towards independence has been much swifter. There are two major problems which each emerging state must deal with and upon which the intellectually alert African must take a position. These are the nature of Africa's political institutions and the techniques for achieving sustained economic growth. Each African nation must choose a point on the spectrum between a pure democracy and a totalitarian dictatorship, and also between laissez-faire capitalism and a centrally planned economy.

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154. The Nuclear Test Ban Conference

On October 28th, more than one year after the beginning of negotiations, the three nuclear powers will resume attempts to reach agreement on a nuclear test ban. The Western position has rested upon the need for an inspection system with sufficiently well-defined modes of operation to insure a high probability of detecting a violator. The Korean experience, when the neutral inspection teams were effectively prevented by the Communists from carrying out their tasks, is the outstanding example demonstrating the need for sound pre-arranged procedures. World opinion has long clamored for a ban on testing nuclear weapons. This feeling has originated from a wide spread fear by many scientists and national leaders over the fall-out effects resulting from continued testing. In June 1958, teams of experts from the US, UK and the USSR met to study the feasibility of an inspection system. Such a system was devised. Two additional technical problems have arisen since. First, the need for a detection system for outer space, now largely resolved by a second panel of experts. Second, the discovery that the data on underground testing available at the time of the first experts conference was incorrect, and that actual detection of such tests was much more difficult than supposed. To date the Soviets have refused to recognize the new US data. This has been partially resolved by improvements in the design of detection systems. Apart from the technical issues of inspection there are difficulties over the details of operation. First, the Soviets have demanded a veto power over certain aspects of the inspection system. Second, the problem of the number of foreigners to be stationed at an inspection post is unresolved. Thirdly, there is the problem of the number of inspections. The Western position is that this number should be related to the scientific data. The Soviets feel the establishment of the number is a political question. The US is pledged voluntarily to refrain from testing until January 1. The USSR is pledged to cease testing so long as the West does. This gives the USSR a de facto test ban without inspection with the onus of worldwide moral retribution on whoever first resumes testing. The West is considering test resumption if the test ban negotiations fail.

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An attempt to assassinate Premier Qasim of Iraq, was made on October 7 in Baghdad and failed. There has been no definite identification of the assassins (there were apparently five of them) but Qasim, who was hospitalized and is now evidently almost ready to return to work, has spoken of "imperialists" while the Communist-controlled press and radio has quite openly directed accusations at both Cairo and the West generally. The Military Governor of Baghdad, General Abdi, who seems to be exercising considerable control of the situation in Qasim's absence, has imposed a curfew and forbidden groupings of more than a few persons. There has been no uprising, military or otherwise, and no demonstrations have taken place, other than a gathering of sympathetic crowds at a safe distance from where Qasim is hospitalized. The attempt took place shortly after thirteen army officers, of whom Brigadier General Nadhim Tabakchali was the most prominent, and four civilian leaders of the old regime were executed in Baghdad. They had been convicted and sentenced by the People's Court under the notorious pro-Communist judge, al-Mahdawi, for alleged complicity in the Mosul uprising of March 8. On the day of the executions, September 20, al-Mahdawi left Baghdad with a small group to attend the Tenth Anniversary Celebrations of Communist China at Peking and for a proposed two-month tour of mainland China and the USSR. However, since the attempted assassination of Qasim, al-Mahdawi has returned to Baghdad. Other Arab press and radio outlets have accused the Communists of the attempt, asserting that the Communists stood most to gain from the assassination of Qasim in these circumstances. It is noteworthy that demonstrations against the execution of Tabakchali and the 16 men who were put to death at the same time had taken place in Iraq before the abortive attempt to assassinate Qasim.

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157. Cacareco's Landslide in Sao Paulo

In Sao Paulo's Municipal Council elections on October 5 the candidate receiving the highest individual plurality, more than twice that of the nearest opponent, was one Cacareco, listed as a representative of the "Independent Party". Cacareco is a half ton, two year old female rhinoceros of an African species of the two-(as opposed to one)-horned variety. Her victory was greeted with jubilation by the population of Sao Paulo where spontaneous rallies and victory dances to the tune of bongo drums celebrated the event. Official reaction in political circles in Brazil was less enthusiastic. One candidate defeated by Cacareco shot himself. In the Brazilian Congress a Leftist Nationalist Deputy charges that Cacareco was a "plot of foreign trusts who want to demoralize the regime". Many politicians believed the victory was a profound protest against corruption and ineptness in the Sao Paulo administration and against the high cost of living and acute shortages of some of Brazil's staples such as black bean and meat. A prominent sociologist, Guerreiro Ramos, described the event as a "phenomenon of the greatest sociological importance", and added "We are on the threshold of a revolt". Cacareco, whose name roughly translated means "loud-mouth", represents the people's impatience with wordy politicians, and her alternative nickname, Skinny, probably symbolizes rejection of their over-fed and grasping politicians. Just prior to her victory, Cacareco, subject of an ownership dispute, was returned to the zoo in Rio de Janeiro, where she is reported to be resting comfortably in the mud of her den recuperating from the ordeal of her campaign. Reports indicate that she is undisturbed by the official cancellation of the ballots cast in her favor, possibly even relieved. But the pro-Cacareco movement goes forward in Porto Alegre where her candidacy has been registered in absentia for the November 8 city elections, this time with two equally popular running mates, a black bull and a small goat. Political analysts there have predicted a landslide victory for the appealing trio.

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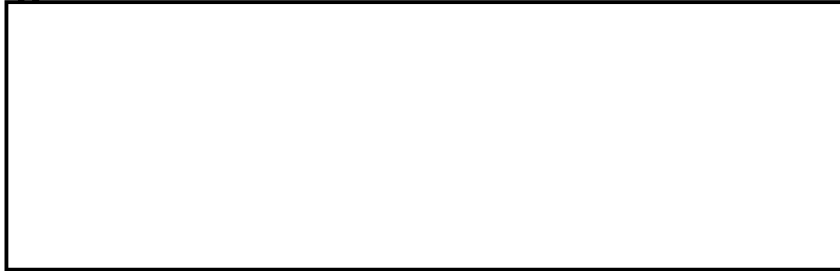
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NUMBER 25

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