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Approved For Release 2000/08/27 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000100050005-2

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EDITORIAL PAGE

The stresses which have been developing in the International Communist movement, associated for some time with the Sino-Soviet conflict, came to a new head at the 22nd CPSU Congress in October in Moscow with an open show of defiance by Albania. The Sino-Soviet-Albanian disputes created a chain reaction which has raised serious doctrinal problems affecting intra- and inter-party relations. If a few words were to be selected to describe the nature of the problems raised in the International Communist complex, they would be: nationalism; polycentrism (pluralism); and fractionalism. The authority of the CPSU has been challenged in the international movement; the authority of the top leaders in Communist Parties has been challenged. Serious questions have been asked as to the validity of one road to communism and of democratic centralism (more freedom of speech, discussion and right to question decisions have been demanded). The structure of authority throughout the Communist movement has been challenged, as have basic theories as to the nature of communism itself.

Documents and articles from Bloc and non-Bloc Communist Party officials and leaders tell the story more vividly than any second hand comment on the struggles now being waged. The dissemination of statements from each Communist Party to others around the world is the best means of exploiting the internal problems of International Communism.

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BRIEFLY NOTED

Soviet Military Budget Increased: We may expect that during the coming year, tension between the United States and the USSR will continue to prevail. One sure sign of this is the 1962 Soviet budget, announced in early December. The original 1961 budget allowed for a defense expenditure of 9,250,000,000 rubles. In July, during the opening stages of the Berlin crisis, this was suddenly increased to 12,400,000,000 rubles. Now the 1962 budget contains a further increase to 13,410,000,000 rubles. These published budget figures are by no means an accurate index to actual Soviet military expenditure, many parts of which are hidden under other budget categories. (Actually, increased Soviet military expenditures probably began before July, in connection with secret preparations for the resumption of large-scale atmospheric testing; Khrushchev, however, portrayed the jump in expenditure as a reply to President Kennedy's call for increased American arms expenditures, which had arisen from Khrushchev's Berlin crisis.) Nevertheless, they are political barometers, intended to show both the Soviet public and the rest of the world that, in foreign affairs, the USSR proposes to follow a firm line. In discussing any Western military preparations, or the continuing American underground nuclear test program, we should be careful to focus attention on the Soviet military preparations and diplomatic moves which have obliged the West to make counter-moves. Khrushchev set off the Berlin crisis at Vienna, and Khrushchev was first to resume nuclear testing, in the atmosphere, after long secret preparations.

Iraqi Teachers Union Withdraws From the Communist-Front International Federation of Teachers' Unions (FISE): The Iraqi Teachers Union (until recently a member of FISE) has been known to be so penetrated by Communists as to be regarded generally as a Communist-front organization. However, on 11 September 1961, the Baghdad daily Al-Fajr Al Jadid published a very damning letter to the Secretary of FISE in Prague over the signature of Dr. Mohammed Nasser, President of the Iraqi Teachers Union. He says in this letter that because of the actions in Iraq of agents of FISE, which he describes as "a federation... controlled by the Teachers Association in the Communist States," the Iraqi Teachers Union feels compelled to withdraw from FISE. Since FISE is recognized as being Communist controlled, it can naturally be expected to "support the principles of international proletarianism." However, Dr. Nasser points out, "we cannot share your opinion in supporting the principles of international proletarianism, i. e., Marxist Communism," for "the Iraqi Republic and its Teachers Association are not Communist." He strongly condemns the agents of FISE in Iraq for their actions, which were "very antagonistic to our nationality, our religion, our high principles, our ethical values," during the period after the revolution of July, 1958, when the agents imagined they were in control of (or would be in control of) tyranny and brutal acts the like of which Iraq has never experienced in its long history." This sharp reversal should be played wherever there is (or may be) Communist penetration of any unions, emphasizing the case of Iraq, where there has been so notable a change in a Teachers Union after bitter experience with Communist attempts to use the union for their own purposes. This, of course, applies particularly to any media which directly or indirectly may reach Arab audiences.

Background: In East Europe, the most immediately interesting reactions to Khrushchev's repudiation of Stalin have occurred in Poland, where the regime appears to be considering the inauguration of more liberal policies. At the 21-23 November plenum of the Central Committee, Gomulka indicated the party's concern that the renewed de-Stalinization campaign would have serious repercussions in Poland leading on the one hand to public pressure for greater freedom and on the other to a reinvigoration of revisionist sentiments within the party itself. First Secretary Gomulka told the plenum the correct policy of every party should be "formed by creative, undistorted Marxism-Leninism, which takes into consideration conditions in each country." This statement typifies Gomulka's policies which are based on a desire for freedom to handle internal problems in a flexible manner while stressing the need to adhere to over-all bloc policies. The Polish Communist leader attacked the idea of establishing central or regional organizations to direct the activities of all parties and defended interparty conferences such as were held in Bucharest and Moscow during 1960 as necessary for the clear elaboration of the principles and policies of Communist countries. He further urged that the decisions of these meetings be binding upon the participants (an obvious allusion to the Chinese and Albanians).

Gomulka's concern over the effect of the de-Stalinization campaign in Poland is apparently well founded. Since the Soviet Congress, authoritative articles by well-known party and non-party figures have called for liberalization and increased freedoms within Poland and the bloc in general. The December issue of Nowe Drogi, the theoretical organ of the Polish Central Committee, stated that it is "not sufficient" to avoid the more embarrassing errors of the Stalinist era, but that the "entire system" must be condemned and liquidated and the "whole truth" stated. Oskar Lange, a leading Polish economist and Central Committee member who has been an advocate of more liberal forms of Polish communism, was among those speakers at the plenum to suggest a new framework. He emphasized that the policies Khrushchev enunciated at the 22nd CPSU Congress involve basic changes of method and called for a rejection of conservative practices and traditionalism. Tadeusz Daniszewski, Chief of the Institute for Party History, stated in Polityka of 2 December that it was time to document Stalin's liquidation of the pre-war Polish Communist Party and, in order to make a fresh start, to study and condemn on a world-wide basis all such "tragic chapters" in the Communist movement:

"The dissolution of the Polish Communist Party, with all its well-known consequences, took place at a moment when the Party was going through a period of ideological triumph, when it offered an example of appropriate implementation of the resolutions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, when it had begun to be a real Party of the workers and the nation. The greater therefore was the tragedy of the Polish communists... we owe to the present leaders of the CPSU... the complete rehabilitation of

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up the struggle against the remnants of the personality cult, dissociating itself from the apologists of Stalinism, bringing back the Leninist principle of equality among the fraternal parties, the CPSU brought a fresh breath of socialist humanism into political life not only in the USSR and the socialist countries but far beyond the camp's boundaries."

On 10 December, Comrade Sokorski, Chief of the Polish radio and a candidate member of the Central Committee, said over the state radio that radical changes must be made in Poland's political, economic, cultural and moral life. Implying that rehabilitation of those condemned unjustly is not enough, he called for a vigorous program calculated to restore confidence and to instill vigor into the Polish nation.

Demands for liberalization were expressed even more forcefully by Polish intellectuals. Such statements were carried by both party and non-party journals as well as by the official radio. For example, in a thinly veiled allegorical dissertation on freedom of scientific expression published on 26 October, Tadeusz Kotarbinski, President of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Chairman of the Polish Philosophical Society and member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and Bulgaria, maintained that freedom of speech should "be a matter of course, while its limitation should be supported by special justification." The 23 November issue of Przegląd Kulturalny, one of the leading cultural weeklies, published an article on the subject of "Freedom and Scientific Rigors" in which Leopold Infeld, internationally known Polish physicist and disciple of Albert Einstein stated:

"The present situation is not as important as the direction in which we are going, as important as the increase or further restriction of freedoms. I agree to the present state of affairs on the condition that our children's freedom will be increased, not decreased. We talk about competition with the West. This competition cannot be purely economic. It must also be apparent in the field of freedom.... Only through a simultaneous raising of the standard of living and the extension of freedom will our socialist system gain more and more followers and will win in the competition with capitalist countries."

The 30 November issue of the same journal, carried an article entitled "A Few Words on Fruitful Discussions" by Roman Ingarden (Senior) an eminent esthetician, in which the latter addresses his readers in the following terms:

"Freedom of discussion? Of course. It is a necessary condition to all progress in science and an equally essential factor in any cultural and social development. But if such a discussion is to be truly fruitful, its freedom must not be purely formal. It must above all stem from an honest inner desire of all participants and it must be conducted with complete safeguarding of their inner freedom."

On 9 December, Zycie Warszawy, published an article by Stanislaw Ehrlich Professor of Law at Warsaw University and party member, entitled "My Three Pennies' Worth on the Freedom of Scientific Expression." The following are pertinent excerpts from Professor Ehrlich's article:

"It appears that the intellectual climate created by the 22nd Congress favors a discussion and--let us make this clear--a regeneration of freedom of scientific discussion.... What strikes me in our scientific life is the painful shortage--I am speaking about the social sciences--of an exchange of ideas among the various branches.... Freedom of scientific research is also hampered by conformity, traditionalism and conservatism.... If we do not establish for scientific creation at least an appropriate climate--I would not say institutional guarantees--the conditions for fruitful research will be missing. We should not expect that the cult of personality will automatically have positive effects in the realm of science.... Actually the cult of personality cannot be identified with just one person, nor with the imposition of stiff regulations from above. It also grows from below; it is created by eager beavers who offered their services to politicians.... Under such conditions there appeared sometimes in the scientific milieu self-appointed guardians of entire scientific branches who even today, under changed political conditions, still attempt to exert their harmful supervision."

It is also noteworthy that the newspaper Trybuna Ludu of 17 November carried extensive excerpts from Palmiro Togliatti's 10 November speech to the Italian Central Committee, in which the Italian Secretary General stressed the need for a detailed investigation into the history of Stalinist transgressions and measures necessary to guard against their recurrence, the desirability of debate and discussion within the Italian Communist Party, and the need for equality among all Communist parties. On 21 November Zycie Warszawy carried a dispatch from its Rome correspondent Ignacy Krasicki entitled "The Immediate and Future Prospects," in which the latter discussed the 10-11 November plenum of the Italian Communist Party. Krasicki stressed those aspects of the Italian plenum which helped to illustrate the Italian communist's desire to take into account the specific conditions and traditions of Italy, quoting Togliatti as saying that the Italian road to communism is not bound to be a faithful copy of the Soviet model. He also quotes one of the plenum speakers who said that the Italian communists must find a *modus vivendi* between the new forms of direct democracy and the institutions of bourgeois democracy, institutions which "we want to retain."

The intense longing for freedom to which the above statements of Polish party members and intellectuals testify, are an indication of how the problems involved in de-Stalinization affect the Polish Communist Party. In what measure Gomulka, like Togliatti in Italy, is purposely taking the lead in "liberalization," in the hope of getting the jump on the revisionist elements within the party and thus controlling the degree and extent of the reaction, is not yet clear. However, it is evident even at this date that the Polish party once again has taken the lead in East Europe in the search for new "indigenous" forms with which to fill the void left by the repudiation of Stalin and his era.


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476. AFRICA: President Toure of Guinea Attacks Communists



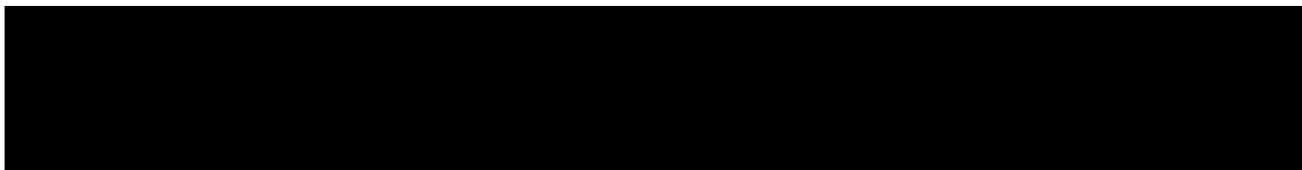
Background: On 11 December President Sekou Toure of Guinea, a Lenin Peace Prize winner, created a sensation in Guinea (which was given independence by France three years ago) by publicly asserting that Communists had been foiled in a plot against his government. Toure's attack upon the Communists was a particular surprise because of his personal association with the Communist bloc, because of his relaxed attitude, at least, in allowing Guinean organizations to associate with various Communist fronts, and because of the Guinean practice in the UN of associating with the USSR. In the speech referred to, Toure disclosed that there had been complicity in the plot by an "Eastern Bloc Embassy. He did not state which Embassy this was but, shortly after the speech, Ambassador of the USSR Solod was forced to leave Conakry, the Guinean capital. The Communists apparently had overplayed their hand in Guinea. Widespread discontent with the government in Guinea for not improving living conditions had centered several months before on the Guinean Teachers Union, which had its own grievances over such matters as the loss of alleged benefits in housing allowances and overtime pay enjoyed under the French regime. Rumors of inefficiency, corruption and high living by ranking officials had been exploited by the Communists and left-wing elements, who spread the thesis (and probably still are) that the workers succeeded in making the Guinean revolution and they continue to be its vanguard. The Guinean Union of Teachers is a member of FEAN (Federation of Teachers of Black Africa), the leftist and extremist teachers' arm of UGTAN (General Workers Union of Black Africa). In November the Executive Board of the Guinean Teachers Union was dissolved and its 12 members were jailed. Five were sentenced for a term of 5 to 10 years and the rest were acquitted. The 12 were headed by Koumandian Keita (not to be confused with his namesake, the President of Mali) and Ray Autra, both well-known as Communists, both old CP militants, and both anti-West. Keita is Secretary General of the Guinean Teachers Union and the FEAN and also an official of the larger Communist Front union FISE (International Federation of Teachers Unions). He and Autra were charged with "subversive and anti-revolution activities." The anti-Communist accusations by Toure, who is well aware of the Communist affiliations of Keita, Autra (and other Guineans), do not necessarily represent a sudden change of attitude and policy on his part. He may simply be using these attacks upon the subversive activities of Communists (there are hundreds of Communist Bloc nationals in Guinea) to divert attention from the steady deterioration of Guinea's economy.

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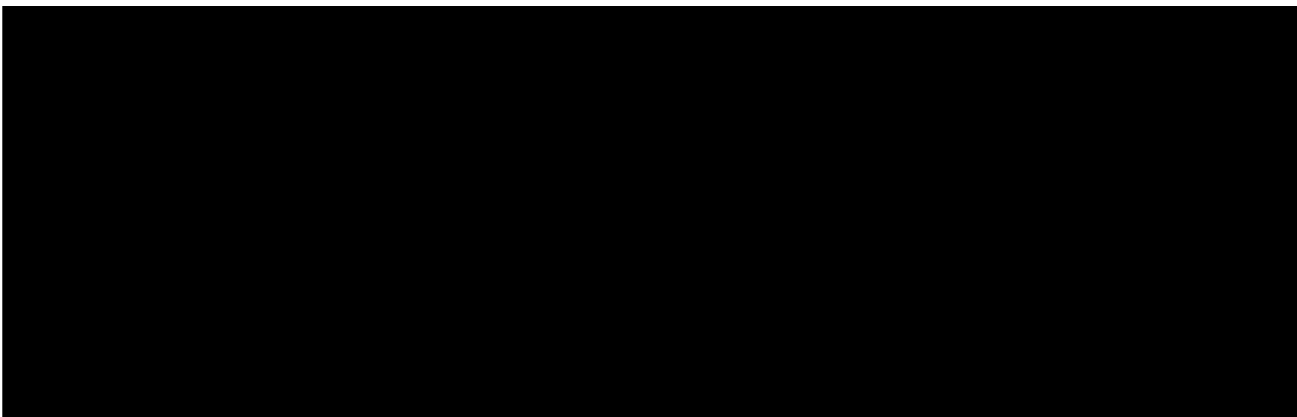
Background: The UN General Assembly on 15 December rejected a Soviet sponsored resolution which called for the immediate removal of "the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek clique" and the seating of the Chinese Communist government in the UN. The vote was 48 against the resolution, 37 for it and 19 abstentions. This was the first direct test of the China representation question. During the current session, the United States abandoned its ten-year moratorium against General Assembly debate in favor of declaring the topic "an important question." Thus, prior to the General Assembly vote on the Soviet resolution, the United States together with Australia, Colombia, Italy, and Japan introduced a resolution (adopted by a vote of 61 to 34, with 7 abstentions) making any measure on Chinese membership subject to the two-thirds majority required for an "important question." The Soviet resolution failed to get even a simple majority, but the adoption of the U.S. five-power resolution sets a valuable precedent for the future.

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A larger percentage of member nations registered their disapproval of the Peking regime this year than last. Forty-eight nations, or 46 per cent, voted against the Soviet resolution compared to 42 per cent of membership which last year supported the US-sponsored moratorium resolution against debate of the question. With regard to the US-sponsored five-power resolution, 61 nations, or 58 per cent of the Assembly supported the American view that the China question was "important." (FYI ONLY: Prior to the opening of the current Assembly it was understood that if Nationalist China vetoed the admission of Outer Mongolia to the UN, the Soviets would veto the admission of Mauritania to which French African countries (Brazzaville Group) were committed. The anticipated reaction of the Brazzaville Group to Nationalist action was as follows: if Nationalist China vetoed Outer Mongolia, the Group would support any resolution to give Communist China the Nationalist seat in the UN; if Nationalist China did not veto Outer Mongolia's application, the Group would oppose seating Communist China. Under U.S. pressure Nationalist China abstained from voting on the admission of Outer Mongolia and both Outer Mongolia and Mauritania were admitted as new members. None of the Brazzaville Group voted for the Soviet resolution. Five of its members voted against it and the other eight abstained.

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478. Stalinist Survivals

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Background: The name of Joseph Stalin is linked in the world's mind with the use of such totalitarian techniques of rule as secret security police, assassination, slave labor camps, and rigid censorship of the written and spoken word. Khrushchev attacked Stalin in a secret speech in 1956, and led the way in making public attacks on the former leader during the recent 22nd CPSU Congress. There has also been much discussion of the trend to liberalization in the Soviet Union. It is quite true that the Soviet regime is today much less repressive than it was; nevertheless, the change is a relative one, and present conditions would appear less attractive if they were not always compared with the extraordinary violence and terror of the Stalin era. If other comparisons were made, for example with Czarist Russia or with Fascist Italy, Khrushchev's regime would show well in some respects but poorly in others, on balance rating at about the same level.

Most of the changes which Khrushchev has brought about are related to the facts that his background is that of a professional party official, and that his power has been based on the party organization, particularly his own group of personal supporters in the organization. Thus he has consistently acted to diminish the independence of potentially rival sources of power, such as the military, the state machinery in Moscow, and the police. While Stalin was also basically a party man, and while the party was always omnipresent, he had used these various other power centers to pursue a policy of divide and rule; Khrushchev acts to ensure their complete subordination to the party, thus precluding any possible threat to his position. While ending the political role of state organs, Khrushchev does not intend to weaken their ability to control the public, or to let them wither away within any definite future period. In his 18 October 1961 speech, Khrushchev pointed out that, as the Hungarian "counterrevolutionary rebellion" had shown in 1956, "the working class needs power capable of suppressing the resistance of exploiters, consolidating the victory of the revolution, preventing in time the attempts at restoration of power of the bourgeoisie, and insuring a defense against aggressive moves by international reaction." Therefore, dictatorship was still needed, though now in the name of "all the people," rather than in that of the proletariat. Khrushchev stated: "the tasks which society can carry out only with the help of the state have not been exhausted... The state will remain long after the victory of the first phase of communism. /I.e., after the end of the 20 year program/. The process of the withering away of the state will be a very long one. It will embrace a whole historical era and will be completed when society is fully ripe for self-government." In other words, don't hold your breath, comrades.

When Soviet leaders speak of state power in a domestic context, they are thinking of an official repressive apparatus, such as the Prussian state was in Karl Marx's mind, or the Czarist state in Lenin's. In the Soviet Union, the state is directed by Communists and is thought to serve the popular interest, but it treats its enemies as Marx believed capitalist states treated their enemies. In concrete terms, this means that Moscow

(Continued)

must maintain a large uniformed police force and an all-pervasive secret police force. While the MVD (Ministry of Interior--regular police) and KGB (Committee for State Security--secret police) have been reduced somewhat in number (The MVD has now been abolished on the all-Union level) and have been more thoroughly subjected to party control than in the past, their efficiency has been carefully guarded. All residents of Soviet towns and frontier areas who are 16 years of age or over are still required to have passports. If a person is visiting for over 72 hours or making a permanent change of address, he must register with the police within 24 hours of arrival. In the case of a permanent move, he must be deregistered from his place of former residence. Many collective farmers have no passports, and must apply for special documentation when they leave their farms; this provides an additional check on their movements, but no prudent citizen will travel without some evidence that his travel is officially sanctioned. Every worker still has a labor book, in which black marks may be recorded.

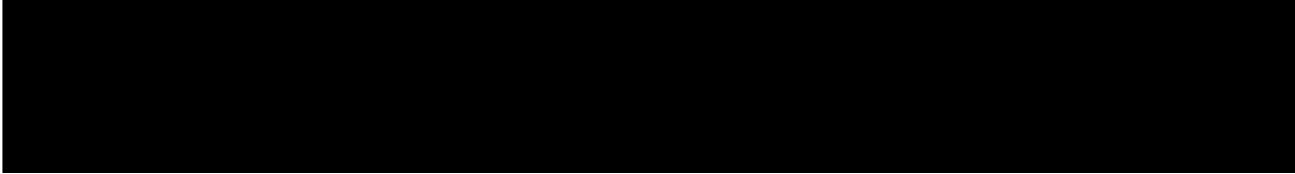
Pasternak was not executed as an "enemy of the people" but, after his death, his woman-friend Madame Ivinskaya was sentenced to eight years for "illegal currency transactions." It is not necessary to give penal sentences in many cases--a writer (as in Pasternak's case) can be expelled from the Writers' Union, a student can be dismissed from the university, or an official can be dropped from the party rolls or "reassigned" to the Virgin Lands. Corresponding with the revived cult of Lenin, there is a new veneration for Felix Czerzhinsky, the fanatical organizer of the Cheka under Lenin: his statue has been put up in the square named after him in front of the Lubyanka; biographies have been written about him; and his collected writings have been published. Khrushchev's readiness to deal forcefully with real trouble was proved after the Hungarian revolt: 105 executions were reported in the Hungarian press up to July 1957, but private estimates were that 2,000 had been executed and 20,000 imprisoned. Assassination has cropped up again in the cases of Lev Rebet and Stefan Bandera, whom KGB-man Bogdan Stashinsky, by his own confession, executed in 1959 with a poison pistol. The fact that these victims were Ukrainian exile politicians and that Khrushchev has always taken an intense interest in the affairs of the Ukraine suggests that the Soviet leader may have taken a personal interest in these executions; certainly, he knew of the plans to carry them out, for Stashinsky was awarded a high medal for his "services." Since Stalin's death, the Soviet government has extended the death penalty to apply to new crimes: in 1954, to murder; in 1958, to "terrorism and banditry;" and in 1961 to embezzlement of public property, counterfeiting of money or documents, and to criminals who disrupt prison discipline or attack the prison administration. The latter reflects the continuing problems of the prison camps, now disguised as "colonies" (see Attachment).

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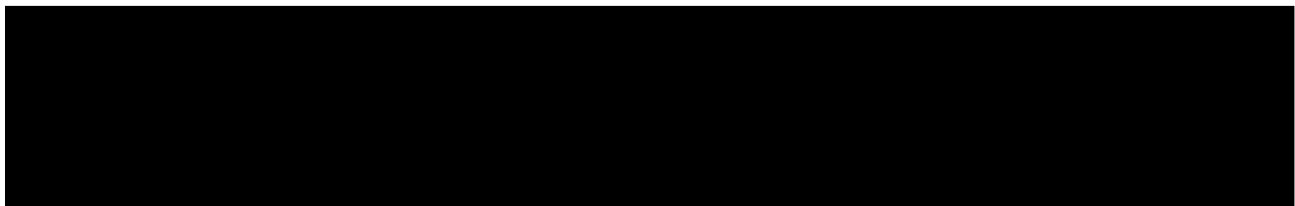
Background: During his trip to Colombia, President Kennedy stated in Bogota that whereas the United States had made many mistakes in its relations with the other American republics, the leaders of Latin America must also be ready to admit past mistakes and accept new responsibilities. He went on to say that unless these leaders are willing to contribute the resources of Latin America to national development, to initiate basic land and tax reforms, to take the lead in improving the welfare of the people, the leadership will be taken from them and "the heritage of centuries of Western civilization will be consumed in a few months of violence."

There are welcome indications that some steps have already been taken by the Latin American countries to initiate reforms. In Venezuela, a major agrarian reform program is being implemented. In Colombia, new tax laws have been passed which in effect provide for a more equitable distribution of the wealth; a major agrarian reform law has been passed; and, as a result of the initiative of various private organizations, a study for community development has been started and steps taken to establish credit unions to provide low interest loans. In addition, a program for building low-cost housing is well under way.

The government of Brazil, through the Sudene program, has introduced public work projects on the community level to solve some of the major problems for the impoverished peoples of North-Eastern Brazil. A new wind of hope is blowing in El Salvador where the government reform party on 17 December won a sweeping election victory over the wealthy Salvadoran oligarchy which, heretofore, has managed to prevent changes which might threaten their dominant control over all the wealth of the country. The winning Conciliation Party is preparing to introduce a long list of economic and social reforms.

In Mexico, new steps have been taken to carry out a widespread program for land redistribution. This, however, is nothing new in Mexico where great social progress has been achieved steadily over the past years.

In every instance where the government has taken steps to initiate reforms, whether in Brazil, Salvador, Colombia or Venezuela, the Communists have attempted to sabotage these reforms. President Lleras of Colombia and President Betancourt of Venezuela, the outstanding leaders in the field of reform today, have been particular targets of the Communists, who fear economic and social reforms which meet the needs of the people and eliminate those dissatisfactions used by Communists to exploit and enslave the people.



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