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Briefly Noted ✓

27 September 1965

Western Unity In Whose Interest?

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The reaction to Gen. de Gaulle's 9 September press conference among his EEC and NATO partners ranged from silence to restrained disappointment when he confirmed a determination to cripple the existing machinery of Western solidarity and strength. His allies apparently saw little point in reiterating what had been said so often - that NATO and the EEC embodied the collective politico-economic strength without which the West would be impotent vis-a-vis Communist threats. And no matter how noble the Western vision or its intent toward the East might be, as Brzezinski pointed out in "Peaceful Engagement" [REDACTED] "no Western policy of conciliation is possible in a context which allows the other side opportunities for effective military blackmail."

However, the outpouring of Communist comment from Moscow, Pankow and Warsaw (with others yet to be heard from) made clear that they recognized Western solidarity as the primary obstacle to Communist designs in Europe.

On 11 Sept, Radio Moscow quoted de Gaulle's statement that, "France attributes much importance to the new trend in its relations with Russia. It rejoices over the result of the visit of the head of the Rumanian Government, G. Maurer, and prepares with great satisfaction to welcome the head of the Polish Government, J. Cyrankiewicz" ... "France's (statement) of relations with the socialist countries

of Eastern Europe reveals the realistic approach of French diplomacy to this problem." On 12 Sept, Radio Moscow broadcast the text of a "commentator's roundtable" amongst whom were the editor of Pravda, Valentin Zorin, and others. In an effort to exacerbate U.S.-French relations, these Kremlin spokesmen asserted that the U.S. had forced agreements upon France in the past, and was now characterizing de Gaulle as a major enemy of the U.S. Communist hopes were clear in their statement that, "France's actual withdrawal from NATO would mean an almost mortal blow to the organization, if not a mortal one ... it is beyond doubt that these actions of Gen. de Gaulle against the American dictate, against the imposition of NATO plans upon Europe, and of Common Market plans, objectively represent a positive factor in the political life of today."

On 10 Sept, East Berlin Radio applauded de Gaulle's press conference statements, especially his reference to the EEC commission in Brussels as "an embryo of technocracy," and the European Parliament as "a figurative legislature." The French attitude toward the visiting Rumanian and Polish delegations was hailed, as was the French attitude toward the Oder-Neisse line (there is no evidence that de Gaulle actually did discuss the Oder-Neisse issue with Cyrankiewicz).

On 11 Sept, Warsaw Radio and the CP organ, Trybuna Ludu, spoke favorably of the press conference: "de Gaulle's statements were like a

lecture on the policy of a state that is building its independence on the strong basis of a realistic view

of the world ... de Gaulle demonstrated a consistent foreign policy - a consistence also proved by his other declarations."

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S O V I E T B L U E P R I N T

Lin Piao's statement of the Chicom blueprint for world war has captured wide attention; it may tend to obscure the fact that Soviet strategy -- even if more cautious and realistic than Peking's aggressiveness -- aims ultimately at the same goal of world domination.

BUT, the USSR is faced with two diametrically opposed tasks, which help to expose its real intent, namely: to press its peaceful coexistence strategy against the Free World while maintaining its position among Communist countries and parties against the CCP's accusation that it is no longer a revolutionary party, society or power.

SOVIET PROPAGANDA DEFENSIVE ON TWO FRONTS is a case study which shows [redacted] this dilemma [redacted] [redacted] This commentary on speeches made at a conference of Soviet agit-prop officials in Moscow in 1963 is as pertinent today as it was when Khrushchev was in power, following the same strategies.

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This unclassified 77 page booklet, containing an index for quick reference, can be obtained upon request to headquarters.

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Significant Dates ▶

OCT.

- 10 International Meeting for Opposing Foreign Military Bases (Kiapma), Djakarta, 10-15 October, sponsored by Chicom oriented Indonesia Peace Committee (Communist).
- 15 Brezhnev and Kosygin announce secret meeting decision to oust Khrushchev as Party/Govt head. 1964.
- 17 22nd Congress of CPSU. Khrushchev and Chou En-lai clash on Stalinism and Albania. 17-31 Oct 1961.
- 20 Chicom troops begin advance into India, escalating border war. Withdrawal announced 21 November. 1962.
- 21 III Annual Organization of African Unity (OAU) Summit, Accra, originally scheduled for early Sept.
- 21 UN condemns Chicom suppression of Tibet. 1959.
- 22 President Kennedy calls for OAS and UN Security Council meetings over offensive missile sites build up in Cuba. Soviets agree to withdraw missiles 28 October. 1962.
- 23 Orderly student demonstration in Hungary becomes national anti-Soviet uprising when Soviet tanks fire. (See 1 Nov). 1956.
- 26 Chinese Communist "volunteers" intervene against UN forces sweeping through North Korea. 1950.
- 29 KOMSOMOL (Communist Union of Youth) established. 1918.

NOV.

- 1 Hungarian Revolt 1-4 (see 23 Oct above). 1956.
- 4 Greek Civil War ends with Communist acknowledgment of defeat. 1949.
- 5 Afro-Asian Bandung II still scheduled for Algeria.
- 6 U.S. grants billion dollar Lend-Lease credit to USSR. 1941.
- 7 UN Emergency Force established, ending Suez Crisis. 1956.
- 7 Bolsheviks seize power in October Revolution (Julian calendar date is 25 Oct). 1917.
- 10 World Youth Day (Communist). To celebrate 20th anniversary of founding of the WFDY (1945).
- 11 International Student Week, concluding with an International Student day on the 17th (celebrated by communist IUS).
- 12 Trotsky expelled from the CPSU. 1926.

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CHRONOLOGY --- COMMUNIST DISSENSIONS

#62

1-14 September 1965

September: La Verite, Paris-published "monthly" organ of the French section of the London-based "International Committee," the smallest of the three factions contending for recognition as the Trotskyist "Fourth International," prints a 256-page special issue devoted entirely to a Stephan Just article entitled "Défense du Trotskysme" which deals mainly with (a) 'revisionism, the liquidating factor of the Fourth International,' and (b) "the struggle for reconstruction of the Fourth International."

September 1: Moscow weekly New Times carries an article by President Ho Chi Minh on the "20th anniversary of the DRV," -- which carefully and neutrally handles policy as "Marxism-Leninism creatively applied to the specific conditions of one's country," with absolute loyalty to proletarian internationalism.

TASS announces that Suslov and Ponomarev met with top Spanish Communists Ibarruri and Carrillo "vacationing in the USSR." An "exchange of opinions and information" took place "in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship typical of the relationship between the CPSU and the PCE."

September 2-3: The Chinese Communists mark the 20th anniversary of V-J day with a People's Daily editorial on the 2nd and a greatly expanded (30,000-word), bellicosely arrogant article by Vice Premier and Defense Minister Lin Piao, entitled "Long Live the Victory of the People's War," published in all papers on the 3rd and in multilingual pamphlet form. The massive Lin article, intended to "review the historical experience of the great victory of the people's war in China and to recapitulate Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war ('diametrically opposed' to Soviet views)," repeats previous Chinese denunciations of the Soviet leadership in a 3,000-word final section, entitled "The Khrushchev Revisionists Are Betrayers of People's War," and in numerous references earlier in the text.

"... Working hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists, they are doing their utmost spread all kinds of arguments against people's war and, wherever they can, they are scheming to undermine it by overt or covert means....

... They have no faith in the masses and are afraid of U.S. imperialism, of war, and of revolution.

The propaganda of the K revisionists against people's war and the publicity they give to defeatism and capitulationism tend to demoralize and spiritually disarm revolutionary people everywhere. These revisionists are doing what the U.S. imperialists are unable to do themselves and are rendering them great service They have completely betrayed the M-L revolutionary theory of war and have become betrayers of people's war.

(Chronology Cont.)

... The revolutionary people of the world will sweep away everything that stands in the way of their advance ... Khrushchev is finished. And the successors to K revisionism will fare no better ..., will be swept like dust from the stage of history by the mighty broom of the revolutionary people"

September 3: Pravda announces a top-level delegation of the Bolivian CP had visited the USSR in July-August: talks with Ponomarev "in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship" "showed that both parties' views coincided on questions of the World Communist and National Liberation Movements."

September 3-6: Radio Moscow announces that Premier Kosygin received a high-level, Rodriguez-led Cuban delegation on the 3rd: they "had a friendly talk on matters of mutual interest." Brezhnev received Rodriguez on the 6th, "in a friendly, cordial atmosphere."

September 3-11: A top-level Rumanian party-state delegation, led by Party First Secy Ceausescu and Premier Maurer are given ostentatious reception and treatment during a week-long visit to the USSR, climaxed by a Kremlin rally and the signing of a joint communique on the 10th. Brezhnev's rally speech ingratiatingly lauded Rumanian successes and repeatedly emphasized the need for unity and cohesion of all Communists and revolutionary forces in the face of such dangers as U.S. aggression in Vietnam, pressure for nuclear arms for the West German revenge-seekers, and the India-Pak conflict, indirectly striking at the Chinese, in connection with the latter, as "third forces" which "might appear" and which "will be gladdened and will try to make capital out of the aggravation of I-P relations, and sometimes add oil to the fires It is not difficult to predict that the dragging of these two states into a devastating internecine conflict and their mutual weakening could suit only those who dream of subjugating these two large Asian powers to their influence" Ceausescu's reply goes along in supporting the duty to "exert every effort to promote the uninterrupted strengthening of unity and cohesion," -- but he devotes most of his time to strong insistence on "the principles of independence, equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs, respect of the right for each party to make its own decisions," etc. His only reference to China is his call for "the reinstatement of the lawful rights of the CPR in the UN." The unusually long (5,000-word) communiqué, which, inter alia, announces their decision to form a mixed intergovernmental economic commission and the signing of a 5-year protocol on coordination of development plans and economic cooperation, begins with a bow to their "strict observance" of equality, mutual respect, etc., and stresses their "unbending resolve" to struggle to strengthen unity. It endorses "the holding of a Second Conference of the Afro-Asian countries" -- without mentioning Soviet participation -- and "the lawful rights" of the CPR in the UN. It confirms the right of every party to express its opinions on questions of the ICM,

but says that "differences arising ... ought not to affect comradely international relations among countries of the socialist system." It endorses "tours for delegations," "official and unofficial visits" by party leaders, and "broader use of such forms of interparty cooperation as the holding of consultations," -- but says nothing about multiparty meetings.

September 5: The first Chinese comment on Indo-Pak warfare, by People's Daily Observer, strongly supports Pakistan and denounces the "Indian reactionaries," U.S. imperialism, and the "K revisionists," who "have vied with the U.S. in granting money and arms to India."

September 6-15: A top-level, Czech Party-State delegation, led by President Novotny, is given a red-carpet reception in Moscow on the 6th, departs on a tour on the 8th (the Rumanian delegation departed on tour just before the Czech arrival on the 6th, returned to Moscow on the 9th, and went home on the 11th), returns to Moscow on the 13th and meets again with top Soviet leadership on the 14th before going home on the 15th. After the first round of talks on the 7th, TASS reports that "a complete identity of views was recorded on all the questions discussed." Brezhnev and Novotny speeches at a Kremlin rally on the 14th are replete with mutual praise and affirmations of solidarity and identity of views, with Novotny adding that "all of us must strive toward the holding of an international conference of CPs at an appropriate time." (Text of communique not yet available.)

September 6: Peking People's Daily Commentator, denouncing the "imposing" of the "act of reconciliation" on the Dominican people, declares that "Johnson and the modern revisionists have rejoiced too soon."

September 7: East German Party daily Neues Deutschland criticizes Indonesian CP Chairman Aidit's 16 August press conference remarks in favor of continuing public polemics (#61). "It is essential to avoid public polemics. Comrade Aidit himself has repeatedly voiced this view, e.g., two years ago when he suggested to the CPSU and the CCP that they discontinue public polemics."

An Albanian Zeri I Popullit editorial denouncing "Indian aggression against Pakistan" also strikes at "the ever closer cooperation between the K revisionists and the Indian reactionaries to the detriment of the independence of other Asian countries and international security. In this way both the K revisionists and U.S. imperialism seek to make India a pawn in the anti-Chinese crusade."

September 8: A TASS statement in Pravda calling for a cease-fire between India and Pakistan and offering Soviet good offices includes the assertion that the conflict only benefits "external forces" who are "encouraging further Indo-Pak bloodshed "for their own purposes."

September 9: A Soviet Life Abroad article on the 2nd Afro-Asian Conference scheduled for 5 November in Algiers promotes Soviet participation:

"Now that the imperialist pressure on Afro-Asian countries is increasing, the opinion of UAR President Nasir that the Soviet Union should take part in the Algiers conference becomes all the more significant. This opinion is shared by all those who remember the great contribution of the Soviet Union to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism in Asia and Africa"

In a speech at the North Korean Embassy in Peking Chou En-lai continues the Chinese attack on "the modern revisionists" for "open encouragement of the Indian reactionaries."

East German service ADN announces that SED boss Ulbricht will go to the USSR on an official visit during the second half of September.

September 10: NCNA accuses TASS of biased reporting of the India-Pak conflict: it also reports that "the Soviet attitude of keeping step with the U.S. on India's aggression against Pakistan has won U.S. appreciation."

September 11: An Observer article in North Vietnamese Party daily Nhan Dan on the Indo-Pak conflict tries to balance between the Chinese and Soviet lines: it is slightly weighted on the Pak side but tries to duck the issue by placing the blame heavily on the U.S. and U.K.

September 11-12: CPSU boss Brezhnev visits Poland "as guest of" Polish Party boss Gomulka and they "held friendly talks," according to TASS on the 13th.

September 12: Peking distributes text of an interview granted 8 September by Premier Chou En-lai to Kamal Amir, chief editor of the UAR's Middle East News Agency. One question asked his views on Soviet participation in the Algiers 2nd Afro-Asian Conference. Answer:

"The A-A Conference is a conference of Asian and African states. The Soviet Union is not an Asian state, nor is it an African state. Therefore, it is not qualified to take part in the A-A conference. The reason is quite simple. ... The question of Soviet participation should no longer exist.

But the actions of the Soviet Government belie its words. In recent months, it suddenly went back on its declared position . . . asking some A-A countries to bring up again the question of Soviet participation.... This is actually an attempt to stir up differences anew among the A-A countries, to disrupt A-A solidarity, and to confront the 2nd A-A Conference with a serious crisis or even with the danger of failing to convene.

The Chinese Government sternly condemns the Soviet Government for its sabotaging activities. It is a question of principle that the Soviet Union should not participate The Chinese Government will carry the struggle to the end in upholding this principle."

In Tirana, the 3 principal Albanian papers carry articles condemning "Indian aggression against Pakistan" and denouncing the "Khrushchev revisionists" for joining the "American imperialists" in "sending the Indian reactionaries and encouraging their aggression."

September 13: TASS issues an "instructed" statement of the Soviet Government's alarm at developments in the India-Pak conflict and its call for measures to end the military actions. It includes a pointed reference to "forces which seek to profit by worsened I-P relations." "By their incendiary statements they push them toward further aggravation of the military conflict." It returns to this theme in its conclusion: "The whole world, all states, should warn those who facilitate the fanning of the conflict by their incendiary statements and by their policy that they thereby assume grave responsibility for such actions. No government has any right to add fuel to the flames. One should stop the dangerous development of events."

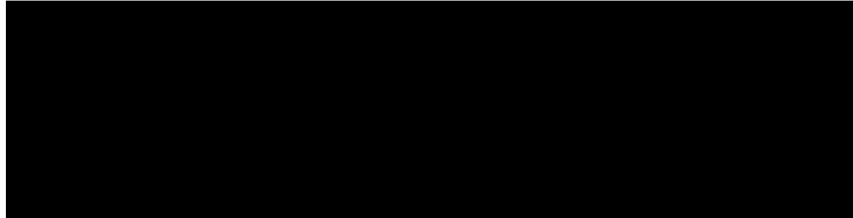
Bucharest Radio announces that a top-level Party-State delegation, including Ceausescu, Maurer and Draghici (who had just returned from Moscow on the 11th), departed for Sofia on an "official visit."

September 14: NCNA issues 3 releases related to the India-Pak conflict critical of Soviet actions. One criticizes the 13 September TASS authorized statement, "with its sham impartiality and its siding with India" -- "in exactly the same tone of official U.S. propaganda" -- which "arrogantly called on all states to follow the Soviet leaders." Another criticizes "recent" Kosygin messages offering "good offices" to Ayub Khan and Shastri, "showing obvious partiality toward India," and "taking care not to mention the fact that it was India which committed aggression." The third reports that "U.S. Government officials have more than once praised the Soviet leaders for their position of pretending to be unbiased but really siding with India," citing comments by Rusk, Ball and Mansfield.

27 September 1965

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25X1C10b CHINA ADVOCATES WORLD-WIDE WARS



a. countering ComChina's attempts to stir up wars and armed insurrections (or to profit from existing conflicts) in all parts of the "third world";

b. exposing ComChina's true intentions in all Afro-Asian organizations and international fronts, particularly in the context of Bandung II (November 5, Algiers?) and of Sukarno's plans for a "Conefo" ("Conference of the New Emerging Forces");

c. opposing ComChina's admission to the UN and other international bodies and protesting diplomatic relations with Peking.

* * * * *

SITUATION: ComChina has proclaimed the "inevitability of wars in the age of imperialism" ever since it first appeared on the international scene. In the Sino-Soviet conflict, Peking's peremptory demand to stage wars "of liberation" everywhere and Mao's contemptuous dictum that "all imperialists are paper tigers," were major bones of contention. Chicom support for insurrections in Laos, Vietnam, the Congo, Zanzibar and elsewhere also dates back several years.

During the last year, Peking vetoed peremptorily any negotiations to end the escalating war of Communist aggression in Vietnam, exploded its first two nuclear devices, expanded its diplomatic contacts in Africa and Asia preparatory to the Bandung II Afro-Asian Summit Conference (postponed at the last minute because of the fall of Ben Bella), while intensifying its world-wide campaigns of subversive propaganda. ComChina is encouraging Indonesia's aggression against Malaysia and champions Pakistan in her conflict with India, while denouncing Moscow's attempts to conciliate the Indo-Pakistani fighting.

Under these circumstances, an authoritative article "Long Live the Victory of the People's War," ostensibly pegged to the 20th anniversary of the defeat of Japan at the end of World War II (but actually concerned with entirely different and more timely issues) and attributed to

Marshal LIN Piao, Chicom Defense Minister, Vice Chairman of the Politbureau of the Chinese CP and one of Mao Tse Tung's oldest associates, has the significance of a major declaration of Chicom foreign policy.

Extensive excerpts from the text of Lin Piao's article, in the English translation furnished by NCNA, the Chicom news agency, and reprinted in The New York Times, are to be found in an unclassified attachment. The text is accompanied by detailed notes, explanations and critical comments. The following h i g h l i g h t s from the lengthy document should be especially noted (underlinings added):

1. "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issues by war, is ... the highest form of revolution" (p. 1 of attachment)
2. "The establishment of rural revolutionary base areas and the encirclement of cities from the countryside is of outstanding and universal practical importance ..." (p. 3)
3. "Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has stepped into the shoes of German, Japanese and Italian F a s c i s m It is the most rabid aggressor in human history and the most ferocious common enemy of the people of the world." (p. 7)
4. "When the U.S. aggressors are hard pressed in one place, they have no alternative but to loosen their grip on others.... Everything is divisible. And so is this colossus of U.S. imperialism. It can be split up and d e f e a t e d." (p. 9)
5. "U.S. imperialism relies solely on its nuclear weapons.... Even if (it) brazenly uses nuclear weapons, it cannot conquer the people who are indomitable." (p. 9)
6. "The spiritual atom bomb that the revolutionary people possess is a far more powerful and useful weapon than the physical atom bomb." (p. 10)
7. "As for revolutionary wars waged by the oppressed nations and peoples, so far from opposing them, we invariably give them firm support and active aid." (p. 15)
8. "Imperialism is w e a k e r than ever and U.S. imperialism, the chieftain of world imperialism, is suffering one defeat after another.... the people's wars can be won and U.S. imperialism can be d e f e a t e d in all countries." (p. 17)

9. "Since the Chinese people were able to destroy the Japanese aggressors 20 years ago, they are certainly still more capable of finishing off the U.S. aggressors today." (p. 18)

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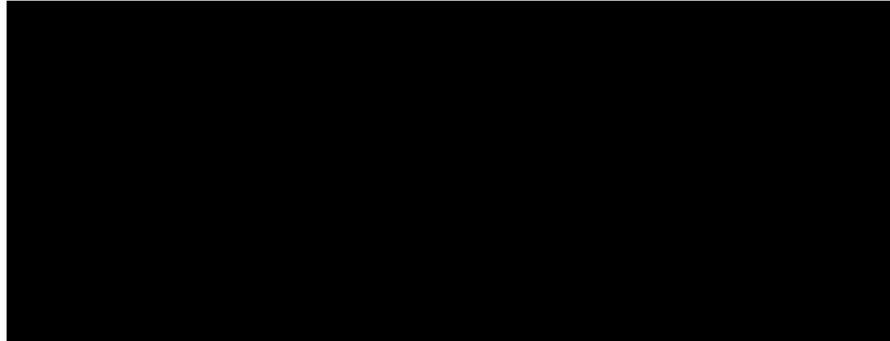
27 September 1965

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ITALIAN CP (PCI) CONDEMNS

CZECHOSLOVAK PERFORMANCE, INDICTING COMMUNISM AT LARGE

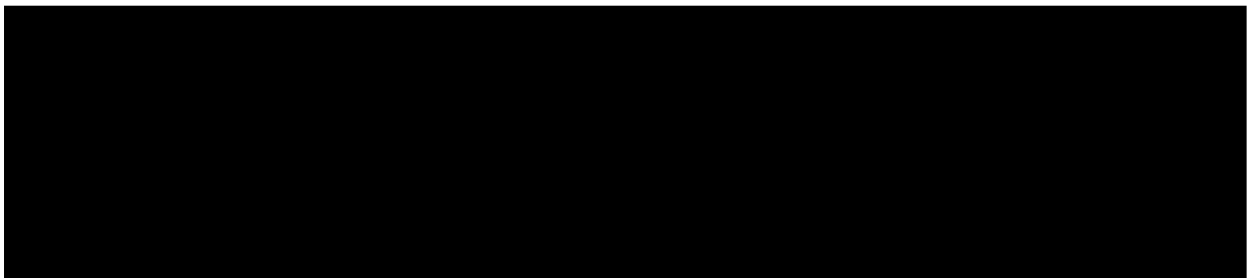
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SITUATION: Giuseppe Boffa is a leading Italian Communist journalist and author of the book, After Khrushchev. He has spent the last twelve years in Moscow, Prague and other Communist capitals as permanent correspondent of Unita, the PCI's daily newspaper. In August 1965 Unita published a series of four articles by Boffa, datelined Prague. English translations of these articles are appended to this BPG (unclassified). Boffa proclaims at the outset that the Czechoslovak economy "suffered incalculable losses as a consequence of rejecting the Marshall Plan aid offered by the U.S. after the war, restricting trade with the West, and directing nearly all of its industrial exports to the socialist countries." He analyzes critically the deplorable results of the subordination of the economy of Czechoslovakia and of Moscow's other satellites - since 1947 - to the interests of the Soviets. He reviews how Moscow forced upon them its own economic and political models and forced them to implement the unrealistic plans of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid ("CEMA" or "COMECON"). In this typical Communist attempt to tie the inherent evils of their system to the dead past or deceased comrades, Boffa does not challenge whether the Novotny regime is seriously doing anything now toward the much-heralded domestic "reforms" or lessening of its massive "trade-aid" penetration of developing countries.

The postwar plundering of satellites by the Soviets, and the satellites' descent into the morass of Communist mismanagement is scarcely news, to wit:

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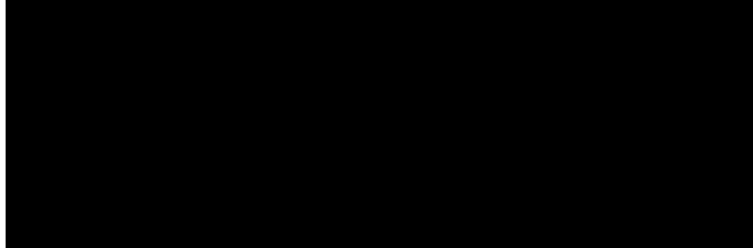
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27 September 1965

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BRITISH GUIANA

25X1C10b MOVES TOWARD INDEPENDENCE



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SITUATION: The British Government has called a conference in London for 2 November 1965 to establish, with the chief political leaders of British Guiana, procedures and date for granting final independence to that land. It is expected that this important event will be fixed for some time in the Spring or Summer of 1966. It is equally expected that there will be strong opposition to granting independence under the present circumstances by the largest political party in British Guiana, the People's Progressive Party (PPP), led and dominated by Communists, most notably by Cheddi Jagan and his wife Janet. (It must be noted that, while the leadership of the PPP is entirely Communist, the rank & file is certainly not. It supports the leadership for strictly racial reasons.)

Thanks to Jagan's policies during the past twenty years, the PPP has gained the almost exclusive support of the East Indian part of the nation's population, which comprises 48% of the total. The PPP has thus managed to set the East Indians against the Negro -- or African as they are called there -- part of the population which comprises 34% of the total. This unfortunate racial division led to constant and bitter strife during the many years in which Cheddi Jagan was Premier under the tutelage of the British Colonial Office.

In the wake of elections held in December 1964, a coalition government came to power, headed by Forbes Burnham, leader of the predominantly African People's National Congress (PNC). The third ranking party, the United Front (UF), received 3 out of the 13 cabinet posts with its leader, Peter D'Aguiar, named Minister of Finance. This new government has already made significant progress in assuaging the wounds of racial strife which were the legacy of Jagan's tenure. Equally important, the nation's economy is rapidly recovering from Jagan's misguided and bungled management -- which has become almost the hallmark of crypto-Communist as well as avowedly Communist governments.

Jagan recognizes the great disadvantages of having Independence arrive while his opposition is in office and he may be expected to try his worst to disrupt the peace of the nation badly enough to force the postponement of that event. And if Independence is attained in spite of him, then his opposition tactics will be redoubled.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1965.

Excerpts From Peking Declaration Urging World 'People's War' to Destroy U.S.

COMMENTATOR'S NOTES :

1. Passages citing Mao Tse Tung are marked with an asterisk (*) ;
2. Passages attacking the Soviets are marked with a vertical black line |

CPYRGHT

PEKING, Sept. 3 (Reuters)—
Following are excerpts from an
article by the Chinese Communist
Defense Minister, Marshal
Lin Piao, published in all major
Chinese newspapers today and
made available in English by
Hsinhua, the official press
agency:

Marshal LIN Piao is Vice Chairman of the Politburo and of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Minister of National Defense and Vice Chairman of the National Defense Council. Lin Piao was born in Hupeh in 1908, son of a factory owner. He went from a Middle School in Wuchang to the Military Academy and graduated 1925. In the same year, he joined the CCP. In 1932, he was appointed commander of the First Red Army and made the "Long March" with Mao to the North. Wounded when fighting the Japanese, he spent four years, 1938 - 1942, in the Soviet Union for medical treatment. He has been a member of the Central Committee, CCP, since 1945.

It was on the basis of the lessons derived from the people's wars in China that Comrade Mao Tse-tung, using the simplest and the most vivid language, advanced the famous thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

He clearly pointed out:

The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issues by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other

*

War is the product of imperialism and the system of exploitation of man by man. Lenin said that "war is always and everywhere begun by the exploiters themselves, by the ruling and oppressing classes."

So long as imperialism and the system of exploitation of man by man exist, the imperialists and reactionaries will invariably rely on armed force to maintain their reactionary rule and impose war on the oppressed nations and peoples. This is an objective law independent of man's will.

Readiness to Go to War Is Marxist 'Touchstone'

In the last analysis, whether one dares to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against armed aggression and suppression by the imperialists and their lackeys, whether one dares to fight a people's war against them means whether one dares to embark on revolution. This is the most effective touchstone for distinguishing genuine from fake revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists.

In view of the fact that some people were afflicted with the fear of the imperialists and reactionaries, Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward his famous thesis that "the imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers."

In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.

The history of the people's war in China and other countries provides conclusive evidence that the growth of the people's revolutionary forces from weak and small beginnings into strong and large forces is a universal law of development of the class struggle, a universal law of development of the people's war. A people's war inevitably meets with many difficulties, with ups and downs and setbacks in the course of its development, but no force can alter its general trend toward inevitable triumph.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out that we must despise the enemy strategically and take full account of him tactically.

To despise the enemy strategically is an elementary requirement for a revolutionary. Without the courage to despise the enemy and without daring to win, it will be simply impossible to make a revolution and wage a people's war, let alone to achieve

CPYRGHT

This allegation that war is absolutely inevitable is even more categorical than the formula to which the CCP leaders agreed a few years earlier, when they voted for the STATEMENT of the leaders of 81 Communist Parties, convened in Moscow, November 1960 (hereafter referred to as the Statement) which declared :

" The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. But real forces have appeared that are capable of foiling its plans of aggression. War is not fatally inevitable. "

(Underlining added)

* MAO never faced a major power in war : the Japanese, soon after invading the Chinese mainland, waged also wars against the U.S. and Britain. Moreover, the Japanese forces in China had to fight not only the Communists but also the Nationalists.

* There is no such "universal law". Many revolutionary uprisings in history failed (German Peasant War 1525, Paris Commune 1871, Hungarian uprising 1956), either because the opposition was too strong or the revolutionaries were ill prepared and lacked unity. Other uprisings succeeded temporarily but ended ultimately in a tyranny as bad as (if not worse than) the regime they had overthrown : the French revolution of 1789 led to Napoleon I, their revolution of 1848 to Napoleon III, the Russian revolution of 1917 to Stalin. Hardly encouraging for anybody contemplating another "people's war".

**Thesis of 'Paper Tiger'
Calld Light of Truth**

The imperialists are extremely afraid of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis that "imperialism and the reactionaries are paper tigers" and the revisionists are extremely hostile to it. They all oppose and attack this thesis and the Philistines follow suit by ridiculing it. But all this cannot in the least diminish its importance. The light of truth cannot be dimmed by anybody.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the peoples' war solves not only the problem of daring to fight a people's war, but also that of how to wage it.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is a great statesman and military scientist, proficient at directing war in accordance with its laws. By the line and policies, the strategy and tactics he formulated for the people's war, he led the Chinese people in steering the ship of the people's war past all hidden reefs to the shores of victory in most complicated and difficult conditions.

It must be emphasized that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas and the encirclement of cities from the countryside is of outstanding and universal practical importance for the present revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed nations and peoples, and particularly for the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and its lackeys.

Many countries and peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America are now being subjected to aggression and enslavement on a serious scale by the imperialists headed by the United States and their lackeys. The basic political and economic conditions in many of these countries have many similarities to those that prevailed in old China. As in China, the peasant question is extremely important in these regions. The peasants constitute the main force of the national-democratic revolution against the imperialists and their lackeys. In conducting aggression

Mao's " PAPER TIGER " doctrine has never been put to the acid test. Of course, the mere possession of bigger and better military "hardware" alone has never insured victory. The morale of the armed forces, the political stability of the country, political and military leadership etc. are also determining factors. Some times regimes have collapsed or lost wars because of such non-military shortcomings : this experience, however, applies by no means only to "imperialists" but to all kinds of political systems, including Communist ones. Mao's slogan attempts to cause the same type of dangerous delusion which made Hitler and his Axis partners contemptuously describe the Western powers as "decadent democracies" -- whereupon they lost World War Two.

" Establishment of rural revolutionary base areas and the encirclement of cities from the countryside " contributed unquestionably to Mao's seizure of power in China and is now standard doctrine for all Communist guerrilla movements and insurrections, whether or not directed by pupils of Peking. However, Mao might have never won if the Japanese had not been defeated outside China and if the Chinese Nationalists had received from the free world the kind of material and political support Mao received from his "big brother" Stalin. Moreover, it remains to be seen whether rural bases remain safe and whether cities can be effectively encircled if the guerrillas have to face modern (non-nuclear) weapons and a really determined foe, not the obsolete equipment of the Chinese Nationalists or the half-hearted effort of France against Ho Chi Minh's guerrillas.

Armed support from the U.S. and other free countries has been furnished only where either a Communist insurrection was staged from the outside (as in South Vietnam), where an originally non-Communist upheaval was being infiltrated by Communists (as in Santo Domingo) or where a non-Communist rebellion assumed dangerous proportions thanks to Communist arms shipment, training and other military support (as in the Congo) . -- The comparison of basic political and economic conditions in these countries with those that prevailed in old China is entirely meaningless, as even a cursory examination of the pertinent facts will show.

against these countries, the imperialists usually begin by seizing the big cities and the main lines of communication, but they are unable to bring the vast countryside completely under their control. The countryside, and the countryside alone, can provide the broad areas in which the revolutionaries can maneuver freely.

The countryside, and the countryside alone, can provide the revolutionary bases from which the revolutionaries can go forward to final victory. Precisely for this reason, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of establishing revolutionary base areas in the rural districts and encircling the cities from the countryside is attracting more and more attention among the people in the regions.

Taking the entire globe, if North America and Western Europe can be called "the cities of the world," then Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute "the rural areas of the world."

Since World War II, the proletarian revolutionary movement has for various reasons been temporarily held back in the North American and West European capitalist countries, while the people's revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has been growing vigorously. In a sense, the contemporary world revolution also presents a picture of the encirclement of cities by the rural areas.

The October Revolution [in Russia] opened up a new era in the revolution of the oppressed nations. The victory of the October Revolution built a bridge between the Socialist revolution of the

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* " The countryside, and the countryside alone, can provide the revolutionary bases " : This is an implicit confession that the Communists (Chinese or otherwise) have been unable to follow the teachings of MARX and LENIN who taught that the proletariat -- i.e. the industrial workers in capitalist enterprises -- are the hard core and the true leaders of the Communist revolution.

Calling Western Europe and North America "the cities of the world", while Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute "the rural areas of the world", is a grossly misleading comparison, again demonstrating Peking's inability of recognizing the realities of the world. The comparison means that, just as the rural areas of China (allegedly) conquered the cities of China, the rural areas of the world will conquer the cities of the world, thus completing world conquest by the Communists. However, the cities of China depended upon their agrarian hinterland for food and agrarian raw materials, whereas Western Europe and North America are not only self-supporting in food and agrarian products, but are even exporting vast surpluses to the so-called "rural areas of the world", including the many millions of tons of grains, shipped from the West to China, the Soviet Union and other Communist countries, unable to feed their unhappy subjects. The author's comparison of the rural areas and the cities of the world is wrong for other reasons, too -- for instance, large parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America can certainly not be compared with pre-Mao China.

" The proletarian revolutionary movement has for various reasons been temporarily held back in the North American and West European capitalist countries " : Thus, evasively and reticently, does the Marshal avoid two of the hardest blows under which the CCP keeps suffering. First and foremost, the advanced capitalist countries, where, according to MARX and LENIN, the Communist world revolution ought to have started, show very little revolutionary unrest -- the U.S., Britain, West Germany and Canada none at all. Second, in the few advanced countries with sizeable Communist Parties (however far still from revolution), such as France and Italy, Chinese influence is negligible.

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proletariat of the West and the national-democratic revolution of the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the East. The Chinese revolution has successfully solved the problem of how to link up the national democratic with Socialist revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that, in the epoch since the October Revolution, anti-imperialist revolution in any colonial or semi-colonial country is no longer part of the old bourgeois, or capitalist world revolution, but is part of the new world revolution, the proletarian-Socialist world revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has formulated a complete theory of the new democratic revolution. He indicated that this revolution, which is different from all others, can only be, nay must be, a revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism waged by the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat.

This means that the revolution can only be, nay must be, led by the proletariat and the genuinely revolutionary party armed with Marxism-Leninism, and by no other class or party.

This means that the revolution embraces in its ranks not only the workers, peasants, the urban petit bourgeoisie, but also the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic and anti-imperialist democrats.

This means, finally, that the revolutions directed against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The new democratic revolution leads to Socialism, and not to capitalism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the new democratic revolution is the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a correct distinction between the two revolutionary stages, i.e., the national-democratic and the Socialist revolutions, and he correctly and closely linked the two. The national-democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the Socialist revolution, and the Socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the national-democratic revolution.

There is no great wall between the two revolutionary stages. But the Socialist revolution is only possible after the completion of the national-democratic revolution. The more thorough the national-democratic revolution, the better the conditions for the Socialist revolution.

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" Under the leadership of the proletariat " :
A few paragraphs earlier, we had been told that "the rural areas alone can provide the revolutionary bases.."
However, rural areas are not inhabited by proletarians, i.e. by industrial workers (as defined by MARX).
The CCP in particular had been lacking a proletarian base from the beginning and neither Mao nor most of the other CCP leaders came from a proletarian background

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"Uninterrupted" -- that is, permanent -- revolution was the doctrine proclaimed by TROTSKY. He was expelled from the CPSU and finally assassinated by order of Mao's idol, Stalin, because he preached permanent world revolution -- which conflicted with Stalin's design to consolidate his dictatorship in the Soviet Union first, before launching new international adventures.

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Moscow 'Revisionists'

Serve Imperialism

The experience of the Chinese revolution shows that the tasks of the national-democratic revolution can be fulfilled only through long and tortuous struggles. In this stage of revolution, imperialism and its lackeys are the principal enemy.

In the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, it is necessary to ally all anti-imperialist patriotic forces, including the national bourgeoisie and all patriotic personages.

All those patriotic personages from among the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes who join the anti-imperialist struggle play a progressive historical role: they are not tolerated by imperialism but welcomed by the proletariat.

" IMPERIALISM " , as understood by everybody but a doctrinaire Marxist-Leninist, denotes a regime which conquers and subdues foreign lands and peoples, whether to enhance its military might, its economic resources or to create new settlements for its own population surplus. This type of aggressive and war-like regime has existed throughout history, since the early days of the Sumerian, Egyptian, Persian and Roman empires. The Soviet Union is imperialist -- holding vast areas against the wishes of their inhabitants, from the Baltic states and Bessarabia, through Central Asia, to the Far East. So is Communist China, suppressing large minority groups by force, as in Tibet, and coveting even larger foreign lands, as shown by the maps in every Chicom school textbook, depicting the vast colonial empire of the Manchu Emperors as "Chinese". The imperialism of Western Europe has almost reached its end, most colonies having been granted independence since 1945. U.S. imperialism was always merely "marginal", her colonial possessions only a minor fraction of the size and population of the mainland. Since 1945, the Philippines have been voluntarily granted independence, Hawaii voted by plebiscite to become the 50th State of the U.S. and Puerto Rico voted repeatedly in favor of its status quo, having been offered free choice. -- Use of "imperialism" in Communist propaganda is therefore badly misleading : they hope to be able to use it as a bogeyman with whom to manipulate the developing and newly independent nation in the interest of Communist world conquest.

The Khrushchev revisionists are now actively preaching that Socialism can be built without the proletariat and without a Communist party. And they have cast the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism to the four winds. The revisionists purpose is solely to divert the oppressed nations from their struggle against imperialism and to sabotage their national-democratic revolution, all in the service of imperialism.

The Chinese revolution provides a successful lesson for making a thorough-going national-democratic revolution

Throughout this article, the present Soviet leaders are referred to as "Khrushchev revisionists" -- even though Khrushchev was dramatically removed from Moscow's public scene and his successors, temporarily led by First CPSU Secretary Brezhnev and Premier Kosygin, have changed many of Khrushchev's policies. They also attempted to arrive at a modus vivendi with Peking but failed since Mao would accept nothing short of unconditional surrender.

under the leadership of the proletariat: it likewise provides a successful lesson for the timely transition from the national democratic revolution to the Socialist revolution under the leadership of the proletariat.

Ours is the epoch in which world capitalism and imperialism are heading for their doom and Socialism and Communism are marching to victory. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war is not only a product of the Chinese revolution, but has also the characteristics of our epoch. The new experience gained in the people's revolutionary struggles in various countries since World War II has provided continuous evidence that Mao Tse-tung's thought is a common asset of the revolutionary people of the whole world. This is the great international significance of the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

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" imperialism heading for their doom ... Communism marching to victory. " Even though Marxist-Leninist prophecies and forecasts have been repeatedly and often disastrously wrong, Communist propaganda still tries to impress less experienced audiences with its apodictic prognostications. Long-range forecasts, disproved by history, included the allegation that the middle classes would disappear, that gigantic trusts would swallow all smaller enterprises, that imperialist countries would be ruined when they lost their colonies, and many others. Tactical prophecies, seriously damaging the Communist cause by their mistakes, were, for instance : Stalin's assumption, Hitler and the West would fight to each other's destruction, left the USSR unprepared for Hitler's onslaught 1941 ; a forecast by Soviet economists that transition from war to peace economy would "inevitably" provoke a grave depression in the U.S., misdirected Soviet foreign policy in the first years after the war ; the Berlin blockade, the Korean war, the Cuban missile crisis and many other Communist setbacks were the results of other erroneous forecasts.

Since World War II, United States imperialism has stepped into the shoes of German, Japanese and Italian Fascism and has been trying to build a great American empire by dominating and enslaving the whole world. It is the most rabid aggressor in human history and the most ferocious common enemy of the people of the world.

Every people or country in the world that wants revolution, independence and peace cannot but direct the spearhead of its struggle against U. S. imperialism.

The U. S. imperialists' policy of seeking world domination makes it possible for the people throughout the world to unite all the forces that can be united and to form the broadest possible united front for a converging attack on U. S. imperialism.

At present, the main battlefield of the fierce struggle between the people of the world on the one side and U. S. imperialism and its lackeys on the other is the vast area of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the world as a whole, this is the area where the people suffer worst from imperialist oppression and where imperialist rule is most vulnerable.

Equating the U.S. with German, Japanese and Italian Fascism is more inept than one would expect from a crafty Chicom propagandist. German Communists helped to undermine the Weimar Republic and thus facilitated Hitler's rise to power. Stalin concluded the notorious pact which gave Hitler a free hand to launch World War Two. Without billions of dollars worth of U.S. lend-lease aid, of weapons, other military equipment, food and medical supplies, the Soviet Union might have never recovered from the consequences of Stalin's criminal folly. Generally, conditions in ComChina, the Soviet Union and other Communist countries resemble far more closely those which existed in Hitler's Germany than those prevailing in the U.S. and throughout most of the free world.

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Since World War II, revolutionary storms have been rising in this area, and today they have become the most important force directly pounding U. S. imperialism.

The contradiction between the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the imperialists headed by the United States is the principal contradiction in the contemporary world. The development of this contradiction is promoting the struggle of the people of the whole world against U. S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Since World War II and the succeeding years of revolutionary upsurge, there has been a great rise in the level of political consciousness and the degree of organization of the people in all countries, and the resources available to them for mutual support and aid have greatly increased. The whole capitalist-imperialist system has become drastically weaker and is in the process of increasing convulsion and disintegration.

U. S. imperialism is stronger, but also more vulnerable, than any imperialism of the past. It sets itself against the people of the whole world, including the people of the United States. Its human, military, material and financial resources are far from sufficient for the realization of its ambition of dominating the whole world.

When committing aggression in a foreign country, U. S. imperialism can only employ part of its forces, which are sent to fight an unjust war far from their native land and therefore have a low morale, and so U. S. imperialism is beset with great difficulties.

The people subjected to its aggression are having a trial of strength with U. S. imperialism neither in Washington nor New York, neither in Honolulu nor Florida, but are fighting for independence and freedom on their own soil.

Once they are mobilized on a broad scale, they will have inexhaustible strength. Thus, superiority will belong not to the United States but to the people subjected to its aggression. The latter, though apparently weak and small, are really more powerful than U. S. imperialism.

The struggles waged by the different peoples against U. S. imperialism reinforce each other and merge into a world-wide tide of opposition to U. S. imperialism. The more successful the development of people's war in a given region, the larger the number

In the first of these two paragraphs, the author speaks of a " ... force directly pounding U.S. imperialism " (whatever this force or that pounding may be). In the second, however, he speaks more generally of the " ... imperialists headed by the U.S. ". Both statements are wildly distorted generalizations, artificially constructed to support the article's main thesis, i.e. that all peoples must unite against the U.S.

" Far from sufficient for the realization of its ambition of dominating the whole world. " A typical case of Communist propaganda technique : first, they make a completely unproven (and untrue) assertion -- here, that the U.S. wants to dominate the world. Second, they "conclude" that this is not possible -- here, that U.S. resources do not suffice to dominate the world (no proof offered, either). Third, this "proves" that the enemy is a "paper tiger" -- here, that " U.S. imperialism is ... more vulnerable than any imperialism in the past ". The facts are entirely different : the outcome of World War Two, the eclipse of Germany and Japan, the weakening of France and England, has made the U.S. the leading power of the free world -- a responsibility most reluctantly accepted by the U.S. government and people. This responsibility is an entirely defensive mission, to prevent new aggressions, to maintain peace, to promote international cooperation. It depends upon the world at large how much of this mission can be fulfilled by the UN and other international bodies.

of U. S. imperialist forces that can be pinned down and depleted there.

When the U. S. aggressors are hard pressed in one place, they have no alternative but to loosen their grip on others. Therefore, the conditions become more favorable for the people elsewhere to wage struggles against U. S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Everything is divisible. And so is this colossus of U.S. imperialism. It can be split up and defeated. The peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions can destroy it piece by piece, some striking at its head and others at its feet. That is why the greatest fear of U.S. imperialism is that people's wars will be launched in different parts of the world, and particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and why it regards people's wars as a mortal danger.

U.S. imperialism relies solely on its nuclear weapons to intimidate people, but these weapons cannot save U.S. imperialism from its doom. Nuclear weapons cannot be used lightly.

U.S. imperialism has been condemned by the people of the whole world for its towering crime of dropping two atomic bombs on Japan. If it uses nuclear weapons again, it will become isolated in the extreme.

Moreover, the U.S. monopoly of nuclear weapons has long been broken; U.S. imperialism has these weapons, but others have them too. If it threatens other countries with nuclear weapons, U.S. imperialism will expose its own country to the same threat.

For this reason, it will meet with strong opposition not only from the people elsewhere but also inevitably from the people in its own country. Even if U.S. imperialism brazenly uses nuclear weapons, it cannot conquer the people, who are indomitable.

Fighting on Ground Key to Victory

However highly developed modern weapons and technical equipment may be and however complicated the methods of modern warfare, in the final analysis the outcome of a war will be decided by the sustained fighting of the ground forces, by the fighting at close quarters on battlefields, by the political consciousness of the men, by their courage and spirit of sacrifice.

In other words : the Chicoms, in order to fight the U.S. at the expense of other nations, will continue and intensify their efforts to stir up subversive uprisings -- and even to help provoking conflicts which have nothing to do with their "revolutionary" concepts, like the current fighting between India and Pakistan.

This, they hope and expect, will divide, divert and weaken U.S. military forces, thus protecting China herself against the consequences of the world-wide chain of wars and upheavals to which they are so eagerly contributing.

" Relies solely on its nuclear weapons ... " This is patently untrue. Thus far, the U.S. has frustrated all instances of actual or threatening Communist aggression since 1945 -- the Berlin blockade, North Korean/Chicom aggression against South Korea, North Vietnamese aggression against South Vietnam, and the Cuban missile crisis 1962 -- without resorting to nuclear arms. It depends upon the scope, intensity and tactics of future Communist aggressions and insurrections whether their use can be avoided in the future, too.

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Here the weak points of U.S. imperialism will be completely laid bare, while the superiority of the revolutionary people will be brought into full play. The reactionary troops of U.S. imperialism cannot possibly be endowed with the courage and the spirit of sacrifice possessed by the revolutionary people.

The spiritual atom bomb that the revolutionary people possess is a far more powerful and useful weapon than the physical atom bomb.

Vietnam is the most convincing example of a victim of aggression defeating U. S. imperialism by a people's war. The United States has made South Vietnam a testing ground for the suppression of people's war. It has carried on this experiment for many years, and everybody can now see that the U. S. aggressors are unable to find a way of coping with a people's war.

On the other hand, the Vietnamese people have brought the power of people's war into full play in their struggle against the U. S. aggressors. The U. S. aggressors are in danger of being swamped in the people's war in Vietnam.

They are deeply worried that their defeat in Vietnam will lead to a chain reaction. They are expanding the war in an attempt to save themselves from defeat. But the more they expand the war, the greater will be the chain reaction. The more they escalate the war, the heavier will be their fall and the more disastrous their defeat.

The people in other parts of the world will see still more clearly that U. S. imperialism can be defeated, and that what the Vietnamese people can do, they do too.

History has proved and will go on proving that the people's war is the most effective weapon against U. S. imperialism and its lackeys. All revolutionary people will learn to wage a people's war against U. S. imperialism and its lackeys. They will take up arms, learn to fight battles and become skilled in waging a people's war, thought they have not done so before.

U. S. imperialism, like a mad bull dashing from place to place, will finally be burned to ashes in the blazing fire of the people's war; it has provoked by its own actions.

" Spiritual Atom Bomb " : Another favorite slogan of Chiccom propaganda, revealing the abysmal ignorance of the realities of the outside world in which Peking rulers keep themselves and their subjects. As noted above, weapons alone do not decide wars -- the morale of the armed forces (and of the civilian population), as well as other factors, contribute to the outcome of every conflict. But is the Marshal's arrogant assumption -- i.e. that the moral, political etc. factors are all in favor of Peking or of Communism generally -- justified ? Not at all : during World War Two, the morale of the Soviet forces, commanded by Mao's "big brother" Stalin, was the worst of all major powers, especially during the first two years. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet soldiers and officers (including 20 generals) not only surrendered to Hitler's armies, but volunteered to fight on Germany's side against Stalin's hated tyranny. At the end of the Korean war, more than 20,000 Chiccom and North Korean Communist soldiers refused to return to their Communist homelands, whereas only 23 Americans remained on the enemy's side (most of whom, incidentally, reconsidered since). There have already been thousands of Vietcong defectors, too. Where, then, is the "spiritual atom bomb" ? It is just another deceptive propaganda trick, designed to send millions of other peoples into war.

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The Khrushchev revisionists have come to the rescue of U.S. imperialism just when it is most panic-stricken and helpless in its efforts to cope with the people's war. Working hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists, they are doing their utmost to spread all kinds of arguments against the people's war, and wherever they can, they are scheming to undermine it by overt or covert means.

We leave it to the Soviet government and to the CPSU leaders to respond to the numerous attacks, slanders and distortions this article levels against them. However, balanced analysis of this Chicom document requires some comments upon the facts involved. Here : the present Moscow leadership, far from having come "to the rescue ... of panic-stricken U.S. imperialism", has hardened its attitude towards the U.S. in recent months. Moscow has even stooped to personal insults against the President of the U.S., to demagogic exploitation of the Los Angeles riots and to reducing cultural exchanges with the U.S. -- risking new

tensions between the two big powers, primarily because the rulers of the Kremlin seem to believe (very much to their own disadvantage) that they must take the side of the Vietcong aggressors -- even though the war in Vietnam helps only their Chinese rivals. Unfortunately, the Soviet leadership continues to cling to concepts of "world-wide Communist solidarity" which the Soviet Union has actually long outgrown and which have ceased to be a firm basis for Moscow's foreign relations -- including relations with foreign Communist Parties.

Russians Denounced For Lack of Faith

The fundamental reason why the Khrushchev revisionists are opposed to the people's war is that they have no faith in the masses and are afraid of U.S. imperialism, of war and of revolution.

Like all other opportunists, they are blind to the power of the masses and do not believe that the revolutionary people are capable of defeating imperialism.

They submit to the nuclear blackmail of the U.S. imperialists and are afraid that, if the oppressed people and nations rise up to fight the people's wars or the people of Socialist countries repulse U.S. imperialist aggression, U.S. imperialism will become incensed they themselves will become involved and their fond dream of Soviet-U.S. cooperation to dominate the world will be spoiled.

Ever since Lenin led the Great October Revolution to victory, the experience of innumerable revolutionary wars has borne out the truth that a revolutionary people who rise up with only their bare hands at the outset finally succeed in defeating the ruling classes who are armed to the teeth.

Moscow is hardly less reckless than China in stirring up -- or supporting -- conflicts and insurrections, as demonstrated in the Cuban missile crisis, in Soviet arms shipments to the Congo rebels, to Cyprus and other crisis areas. It is hard to see what Peking means by accusing the Soviets of "opposing people's wars". On the contrary, it is known that Soviet arms shipments for Vietnam encountered major Chicom obstacles and delays.

The October Revolution was by no means an uprising "with bare hands" , but undertaken by a Bolshevik paramilitary organization (led by unperson Trotsky), supported by major disaffected Army and Navy units -- and could never have won, if the Tsarist regime, its armed forces and its police had not been fatally weakened by four years of external warfare against a superior enemy, imperial Germany, first.

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The poorly armed have defeated the better armed. People's armed forces, beginning with only primitive swords, spears, rifles and hand grenades, have in the end defeated the imperialist forces armed with modern airplanes, tanks, heavy artillery and atom bombs.

Guerrilla forces have ultimately defeated regular armies. "Amateurs" who were never trained in any military schools have eventually defeated "professionals" graduated from military academies, and so on and so forth.

Things stubbornly develop in a way that runs counter to the assertions of the revisionists, and facts are slapping them in the face.

The Khrushchev revisionists insist that a nation without nuclear weapons is incapable of defeating an enemy with nuclear weapons, whatever methods of fighting it may adopt.

This is tantamount to saying that anyone without nuclear weapons is destined to come to grief, destined to be bullied and annihilated, and must either capitulate to the enemy when confronted with his nuclear weapons or come under the "protection" of some other nuclear power and submit to its beck and call.

Isn't this the jungle law of survival par excellence?

Isn't this helping the imperialists in their nuclear blackmail? Isn't this openly forbidding people to make revolution?

The Khrushchev revisionists assert that nuclear weapons and strategic rocket units are decisive while conventional forces are insignificant, and that a militia is just a heap of human flesh.

For ridiculous reasons such as these, they oppose the mobilization of and reliance on the masses in the Socialist countries to get prepared to use the people's war against imperialist aggression.

They have staked the whole future of their country on nuclear weapons and are engaged in a nuclear gamble with United States imperialism, with which they are trying to strike a political deal. Their theory of military strategy is the theory that nuclear weapons decide everything.

Their line in army building is the bourgeois line which ignores the human factor and sees only the material factor and which regards technique as everything and politics as nothing.

Referring to the Communists and their subversive allies and followers as "Amateurs" is bitter irony -- even though not intended by the author. Actually, all Communist parties -- by no means only the Chinese -- have developed subversion and guerrilla warfare to a complex art and science, to which they have devoted years of studies, innumerable books, pamphlets and articles and which they are teaching in a vast complex of training schools, covering the globe from Peking to Zanzibar and from Moscow to Cuba.

"Anyone without nuclear weapons is destined to come to grief" -- not at all, unless he follows Mao's irresponsible advice and starts a war with a nuclear power. Experience of 20 years of the nuclear age has clearly shown that the "balance of terror" between the big nuclear powers grants even smaller nations a freedom of political and diplomatic action which they may not have possessed prior to World War Two. The conclusions the author pretends to derive from Moscow's somewhat more realistic stand on nuclear warfare are therefore unproven and irrelevant.

The masses of ComChina are already mobilized in a huge "Liberation Army" and even more numerous militia units. The true meaning of this passage is therefore a demand that Moscow should commit its military forces to fight China's wars.

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The Khrushchev revisionists maintain that a single spark in any part of the globe may touch off a world nuclear conflagration and bring destruction to mankind. If this were true, our planet would have been destroyed time and time again.

There have been wars of national liberation throughout the 20 years since World War II. But has any single one of them developed into a World War? Isn't it true that the United States imperialists' plans for a World War have been upset precisely thanks to the wars of national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America?

By contrast, those who have done their utmost to stamp out the "sparks" of people's war have in fact encouraged U. S. imperialism in its aggressions and wars.

The Khrushchev revisionists claim that if their general line of "peaceful co-existence, peaceful transition and peaceful competition" is followed, the oppressed will be liberated and "a world without weapons, without armed forces and without wars" will come into being.

But the inexorable fact is that imperialism and reaction headed by the United States are zealously priming their war machine and are daily engaged in sanguinary suppression of the revolutionary peoples and in the threat and use of armed force against independent countries.

The kind of rubbish peddled by the Khrushchev revisionists has already taken a great toll of lives in a number of countries. Are these painful lessons, paid for in blood, still insufficient?

The essence of the general line of the Khrushchev revisionists is nothing other than the demand that all the oppressed peoples and nations and all the countries that have won independence should lay down their arms and place themselves at the mercy of the U. S. imperialists and their lackeys who are armed to the teeth.

The author scoffs at the thought that "... a single spark ... may touch off a world nuclear conflagration", noting that none of the conflicts of the last 20 years have led to nuclear war. This is certainly the most criminally irresponsible gamble with the lives of hundreds of millions of human beings. Invention of the nuclear weapons dates back only 20 years and the memories of World War Two are still too vivid in most major nations (outside China) to encourage a new global conflict. But this offers no assurance whatsoever for the future, especially if madmen like the Peking leaders circle the globe -- with or without nuclear devices of their own -- , looking for new conflicts to provoke. Most wars of the past, including the first two World Wars and the Korean War, erupted because of miscalculations, lack of information and accidents on one or both sides. This holds true of future conflicts as well.

".... Already taken a great toll of lives in a number of countries". Whose lives is the Marshal charging against Moscow? Hardly the tens of thousands of Hungarians, killed when the Soviet Army quelled the Budapest uprising 1956, or the hundreds of East Germans, "pacified" by Soviet tanks 1953. Or does he refer to Vietcong casualties which might have been avoided if the Soviets had sent more military aid earlier? (But, as noted above, China impeded such aid shipments) Apparently, this passage has no meaning at all : it is "pure" Chicom propaganda, not blemished by any facts.

Far from having urged any nations to "lay down their arms", it was Moscow rather than Peking which furnished weapons, including submarines, jet bombers and guided missiles to numerous countries unfriendly to the U.S., from Cuba via Egypt and Iraq to Peking's faithful ally, Indonesia. What, then, does the Marshal want ?

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"While magistrates are allowed to burn down houses, the common people are forbidden even to light lamps." Such is the way of the imperialists and reactionaries. Subscribing to this imperialist philosophy, the Khrushchev revisionists shout that the Chinese people standing in the forefront of the fight for world peace:

"You are bellicose!"

Gentlemen, your abuse adds to our credit. It is this very "bellicosity" of ours that helps to prevent imperialism from unleashing a world war. The people are "bellicose" because they have to defend themselves and because the imperialists and reactionaries force them to be so.

It is also the imperialists and reactionaries who have taught the people the arts of war. We are simply using revolutionary "bellicosity" to cope with counter-revolutionary bellicosity.

How can it be argued that the imperialists and their lackeys may kill people everywhere, while the people must not strike back in self-defense or help one another? What kind of logic is this?

The Khrushchev revisionists regard imperialists like Kennedy and Johnson as "sensible" and describe us together with all those who dare to carry out armed defense against imperialist aggression as "bellicose." This has revealed the Khrushchev revisionists in their true colors as the accomplices of imperialist gangsters.

War Is 'Great School' To Temper People

We know that war brings destruction, sacrifice and suffering on the people. But the destruction, sacrifice and suffering will be much greater if no resistance is offered to imperialist armed aggression and the people become willing slaves.

The sacrifice of a small number of people in revolutionary wars is repaid by security for whole nations, whole countries and even the whole of mankind; temporary suffering is repaid by lasting or even perpetual peace and happiness.

War can temper the people and push history forward. In this sense, war is a great school.

In diametrical opposition to the Khrushchev revisionists, the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people never take a gloomy view of war.

" The People are bellicose ... " Which people? The Chinese Communists have never given their own people, let alone the foreign populations whom they want to expend for their own benefit, a chance to decide in free and secret votes. If given that chance, we are certain that a large majority in both South and North Vietnam would vote for the Vietcong, their Chinese commissars and their Soviet weapons to leave, certain that this would also result in a withdrawal of U.S. forces. There are some regions in the world where masses favor war -- but not for the reasons preferred by Peking, rather for deep-seated racial/ethnic enmities, as the conflict between Arabs and Israel, or between India and Pakistan. Peking profits from all conflicts at least indirectly, even if they spring from causes alien to Chicom doctrine.

" Marxists-Leninists and revolutionary people never take a gloomy view of war ". Pacifists and responsible statesmen should note this advocacy of war -- which reminds us ominously of the statement by one of the leading generals of Imperial Germany in the early stages of World War One : " War agrees with me like a cure at

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Our attitude toward imperialist wars of aggression has always been clear-cut. First, we are against them, and secondly, we are not afraid of them. We will destroy whoever attacks us.

As for revolutionary wars waged by the oppressed nations and peoples, so far from opposing them, we invariably give them firm support and active aid. It has been so in the past, it remains so in the present and, when we grow in strength as time goes on, we will give them still more support and aid in the future.

It is sheer day-dreaming for anyone to think that, since our revolution has been victorious, our national construction is forging ahead, our national wealth is increasing and our living conditions are improving, we too will lose our revolutionary fighting will, abandon the cause of world revolution and discard Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Of course, every revolution in a country stems from the demands of its own people. Only when the people in a country are awakened, mobilized, organized and armed can they overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism and its lackeys through struggle; their role cannot be replaced or taken over by any people from outside.

In this sense, revolution cannot be imported. But this does not exclude mutual sympathy and support on the part of revolutionary peoples in their struggles against the imperialists and their lackeys. Our support and aid to other revolutionary peoples serves precisely to help their self-reliant struggle.

The propaganda of the Khrushchev revisionists against people's war and the publicity they give to defeatism and capitulationism tend to demoralize and spiritually disarm revolutionary people everywhere.

These revisionists are doing what the United States imperialists are unable to do themselves and are rendering them great service; they have greatly encouraged United States imperialism in its war adventures. They have completely betrayed the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory of war and have become betrayers of people's war.

" We invariably give firm support and active aid for revolutionary wars .. " ComChina unquestionably encourages all forms of war, insurrection and other bloodshed wherever it can, even in cases which have nothing to do with a Communist revolution, such as the anti-Arab pogrom in Zanzibar, or the tribal rebellion in the Congo. Guerrilla and insurgent leaders can count on propaganda support, commissars and instructors, training on the spot or in China, perhaps limited arms shipments. Any large-scale military, economic or technical aid is as yet beyond Peking's capabilities.

" It is sheer day-dreaming that ... we, too, will lose our revolutionary fighting will, abandon the cause of world revolution " This assurance reflects revealingly old Mao's own painful doubts about China's future. ComChina is 16 years old and the men who seized power, i.e. the first generation of the revolution, are still at the helm. The Soviet regime is 48 years old and the men who seized power 1917 are virtually all dead : the second -- or in some instances the third -- revolutionary generation rules now in the Kremlin... The Soviet Union, in the eyes of Peking, has already lost its revolutionary will and did abandon world revolution. Will China walk this way, too ? Revolution is never a permanent condition, but rather a phase of (violent) transition. China's admirers in other parts of the world may one day be disappointed in their idol, just as Mao & Co were disappointed in the Soviet Union. We cannot be sure when and how China will reach the stage : but apprehension of such "revisionist" trends is clearly implied here.

To win the struggle against United States imperialism and carry the people's wars to victory, the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people throughout the world must resolutely oppose Khrushchev revisionism.

Today, Khrushchev revisionism has a dwindling audience among the revolutionary people of the world.

Wherever there is armed

aggression and suppression by imperialism and its lackeys, there are bound to be people's wars against aggression and oppression. It is certain that such wars will develop vigorously. This is an objective law independent of the will of either the United States imperialists or the Khrushchev revisionists.

The revolutionary people of the world will sweep away everything that stands in the way of their advance. Khrushchev is finished. And the successors to Khrushchev revisionism will fare no better.

The imperialists, the reactionaries and the Khrushchev revisionists, who have all set themselves against people's war, will be swept like dust from the stage of history by the mighty broom of the revolutionary people.

Great changes have taken place in China and the world in the 20 years since the victory of the war of resistance against Japan, changes that have made the situation more favorable than ever for the revolutionary people of the world and more unfavorable than ever for imperialism and its lackeys.

When Japanese imperialism launched its war of aggression against China, the Chinese people had only a very small people's army and a very small revolutionary base. And they were up against the biggest military despot of the East. Yet even then, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that the Chinese people's war could be won and that Japanese imperialism could be defeated.

" This is an objective law independent of the will .. " Note that the author -- like other doctrinaire Communists -- cites mysterious "objective laws", whenever he can't think of any better proof for an allegation. If he were serious about such compulsive laws of history, he would have to consider the turn of the Soviet Union towards "Khrushchev revisionism" and other developments distasteful to him, as equally imposed by "objective laws".

" The successors to Khrushchev revisionism ... will be swept like dust from the stage of history ". We wonder whether the present Kremlin leaders will turn the other cheek to this insulting threat and continue to furnish China's allies and vassals with arms and economic aid, thus hastening the arrival of the "mighty broom" ?

As noted above, Mao & Co can take only a very minor slice of the credit for the downfall of Japanese militarism-imperialism in World War Two. The author conveniently "forgets" the roles played by the U.S., Britain, resistance in other Japanese-occupied areas such as the Philippines and the action of the Chinese Nationalists.

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Today, the revolutionary base areas of the peoples of the world have grown to unprecedented proportions. their revolutionary movement is surging as never before. Imperialism is weaker than ever,

" Today, the revolutionary base areas ... of the world have grown to unprecedented proportions ... ". The author is careful enough not to illustrate this sweeping allegation by a map, or by facts and figures. We must not underestimate the scope or seriousness of Communist-sponsored subversion and insurrection, but we note also the many instances where such efforts have collapsed or never got properly started -- as, for instance, in the Philippines, in Malaya, in Venezuela, Guatemala, in the Congo, and elsewhere.

and U. S. imperialism the chieftain of world imperialism, is suffering one defeat after another.

We can say with ever greater confidence that the people's wars can be won and U. S. imperialism can be defeated in all countries.

The peoples of the world now have the lessons of the October Revolution, the anti-Fascist war, the Chinese people's war of resistance and war of liberation, the Korean people's war of resistance to U. S. aggression, the Vietnamese people's war of liberation and their war of resistance to U. S. aggression, and the people's revolutionary armed struggles in many other countries.

Provided each people studies these lessons well and creatively integrates them with the concrete practice of revolution in their own country, there is no doubt that the revolutionary peoples of the world will stage still more powerful and splendid dramas in the theater of people's war in their countries and that they will wipe off the earth once and for all the common enemy of all the peoples, U. S. imperialism, and its lackeys.

Peking Vows to Support Vietcong Until Victory

The struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is now the focus of the struggle of the people of the world against U.S. aggression.

The determination of the Chinese people to support and aid the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is unshakable. No matter what U.S. imperialism may do to expand its war adventure, the Chinese people will do everything in their power to support the Vietnamese people until every single one of the U.S. aggressors is driven out of Vietnam.

" U.S. imperialism ... is suffering one defeat after another " Where, comrade Marshal ? We are far from desiring to paint an over-optimistic picture of free world victories or to underestimate the threat of Communist aggression. Nevertheless, we can hardly view the collapse of Stalin's blockade of Berlin, the frustration of Communist aggression in Korea, or Khrushchev's forced withdrawal of his nuclear missiles from Cuba as U.S. defeats. And the outcome of Vietnam remains yet to be seen, even though we realize that Mao & Co are determined to fight to the very last Vietnamese.

Finally, this long-winded article reveals its true purposes : first of all, it is to suppress any ideas in North Vietnam or among the Vietcong in South Vietnam that the conflict might be ended by negotiations ; second, as additional insurance against possible "weakening" of the Vietnamese (who have had centuries of tragic experience under the overlordship of Imperial China), to stir up subversion and insurrection in as many other countries as possible. The Chicoms do not insist that Vietnamese alone die for the greater glory of Mao : they are equally willing to accept the sacrifices of other peoples, without regard to race, nationality or geographic location.

The U.S. imperialists are now clamoring for another trial of strength with the Chinese people, for another large-scale ground war on the Asian mainland.

If they insist on following in the footsteps of the Japa-

nese Fascists, well then, they may do so, if they please. The Chinese people definitely have ways of their own for coping with a U.S. imperialist war of aggression.

Our methods are no secret. The most important one is still mobilization of the people, reliance on the people, making every one a soldier and waging a people's war.

We want to tell the U.S. imperialists once again that the vast ocean of several hundred million Chinese people in arms will be more than enough to submerge your few million aggressive troops.

If you dare to impose war on us, we shall gain freedom of action. It will then not be up to you to decide how the war will be fought. We shall fight in the ways most advantageous to us to destroy the enemy and wherever the enemy can be most easily destroyed.

Since the Chinese people were able to destroy the Japanese aggressors 20 years ago, they are certainly still more capable of finishing off the U.S. aggressors today.

The naval and air superiority you boast about cannot intimidate the Chinese people and neither can the atom bomb you brandish at us.

If you want to send troops, go ahead. The more the better. We will annihilate as many as you can send, and can even give you receipts.

The Chinese people are a great, valiant people. We have the courage to shoulder the heavy burden of combating U. S. imperialism and to contribute our share in the struggle for final victory over this most ferocious enemy of the people of the world.

It must be pointed out in all seriousness that after the victor of the war of resistance, Taiwan was returned to China. The occupation of Taiwan by U.S. imperialism is absolutely unjustified. Taiwan Province is an inalienable part of Chinese territory. The U. S. imperialists must get out of Taiwan. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan.

" The vast ocean of several hundred million Chinese people in arms ... " The Korean war has shown that the Chicom leaders, after having exhausted their foreign vassals (China intervened in Korea only after the North Korean army had been decisively defeated), are sacrificing the lives of their own subjects just as recklessly as the lives of others. However, what is the potential of such "human assault waves" against naval or air power, not to mention nuclear weapons ? In 1949, when Mao's masses swept the China mainland, they were unable to cross the narrow Formosa Straits -- just as Hitler's tremendous land armies never managed to cross the English Channel. The Marshal discusses here types of warfare he has never experienced : he is presumably too arrogant to learn from the experiences of other nations, including the Soviet Union.

" If you want to send troops, go ahead. The more the better. We will annihilate as many as you can send, and can even give you receipts. " This cynical invitation to mass slaughter reveals clearly what "socialist humanism" truly is. If anybody should still not understand what the U.S. mission in Vietnam is, here is his answer : to protect the non-Communist majority of the Vietnamese people against grisly "jokers" like this. Note the sly reference to "receipts", presumably the Chicom way of alluding to capitalist greed who treats even the dead bodies of soldiers as merchandise to be receipted for.

In commemorating the 20th anniversary of victory in the war of resistance against Japan, we must also point out in all solemnity that the Japanese militarists fostered by U. S. imperialism will certainly receive still severer punishment if they ignore the firm opposition of the Japanese people and the people of Asia, again indulge in their pipe-dreams.

U.S. imperialism is preparing a world war. But can this save it from its doom? World War I was followed by the birth of the Socialist Soviet Union. World War II was followed by the emergence of a series of Socialist countries and many nationally independent countries.

If the U.S. imperialists should insist on launching a third world war, it can be stated categorically that many more hundreds of millions of people will turn to Socialism; the imperialists will then have little room left on the globe; and it is possible that the whole structure of imperialism will collapse.

We are optimistic about the future of the world. We are confident that the people will bring to an end the epoch wars in human history.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out long ago that war, this monster, "will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society. And in the not too distant future, too. But there is only one way to eliminate it and that is to oppose war with war, to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war."

All peoples suffering from U.S. imperialist aggression, oppression and plunder, unite! Hold aloft the just banner of people's war and fight for the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and Socialism!

Victory will certainly go to the people of the world!

Long live the victory of people's war!

This prophecy -- that, because World Wars I and II led to establishment of Communist regimes, World War III would mean the ultimate doom of imperialism and world-wide Communist victory -- is a boomerang : it implies that Communism needs devastating wars to seize and to expand its power (as indeed it does). The leaders of the 81 Communist Parties, including the Chinese, in their already quoted Statement, were more far-sighted than the Marshal when they rejected this assumption :

" The imperialist reactionaries, who seek to arouse distrust for the Communist movement and its ideology, continue to intimidate the masses by alleging that Communists need wars between states to overthrow the capitalist system and establish a socialist system.

" The Communist parties emphatically reject this slander. The fact that both World Wars, which were started by the imperialists, ended in socialist revolutions by no means implies that the way to social revolution goes necessarily through world war, especially now that there exists a powerful world system of socialism. Marxists-Leninists have never considered that the way to social revolution lies through wars between states. "

We don't have to "slander" Communism any more. The Marshal has obliged us with any proof still needed. He obviously has not as much confidence in the "world system of socialism" (which, of course, includes the "Khrushchev revisionists") as was professed by the party leaders who drafted and accepted the above statement.

ITALIAN COMMUNIST JOURNALIST
CRITICALLY VIEWS CZECHOSLOVAK ECONOMY

[Following is a translation of a series of articles by Giuseppe Boffa appearing in four installments in the Italian-language daily organ of the Italian CP, L'Unità (Unity), Rome, 1 Aug 65, page 3; 4 Aug 65, page 3; 6 Aug 65, page 3 and 11 Aug 65, page 3.]

[First installment, issue of 1 Aug 65. Headline and sub-caps: Planning, Prague's view of the reforms -- The Czechs have gone further than the other Socialist countries in various respects -- New events in the struggle against dogmatism -- From our own correspondent, Prague, 30 Jul 65.]

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After spending a month in Moscow studying up on the changes being prepared for the Soviet economic system and the political repercussions such changes may bring about, I came to Prague to study the same questions here and I have now been here for a week. Czechoslovakia stands in the forefront in the discussions going on in almost all European Socialist countries on the subject of new trends in the economy. As seen from Moscow, happenings in Czechoslovakia are taking on what seems to be the outlines of a deep, drastic reform, though none would go so far as to call it a wild adventure. From Moscow's viewpoint these changes may even be a bit too radical and should be looked upon with a certain degree of caution and be judged accordingly. Seen from Prague, though, these events take on a different perspective but without losing any of their interest. In a certain way the impression one gets from Moscow still remains true but at the same time it becomes more complicated, takes on additional nuances and so becomes transformed into what amounts to a deeper insight into an intricate process wherein different trends and factors combine and conflict with one another in such a way that nobody can safely predict any final, sure outcome.

Undoubtedly there are certain points where the Czechoslovaks have gone further today than any of the other Socialist countries. This is not just a matter of opinion but one of actual fact. And this is what makes discussions among the Czechoslovaks and their own experiences of so much interest. They have gone further than the other countries in their theoretical formulation of their new trend, explicitly maintaining that it is necessary to combine the principle of planning with the mechanism of the market. They have also gone further in working out a set of corresponding principles having a systematic nature of their own; the putting of such principles into general practice would bring

about a substantial modification of the way in which the Czechoslovak economy operates. They have also gone further in defining these trends in black and white because ever since January (1965) there has been a resolution on the books approved by the Party's Central Committee in plenary session, specifying how the new system is to go into operation as of 1 Jan 66 after one year of experimentation on a pilot scale, but involving a large enough sector of the economy (one hundred important enterprises representing one fourth of the country's industrial output) to be something more than just a pilot operation.

But when one starts to investigate just what will undergo any concrete change after 1 Jan 66, one finds that these general principles are being applied in Czechoslovakia with a generous dose of caution. First of all provision is made for a transitional period during which both the old and the new methods of planning and administration will continue to coexist side by side, though the older methods are to progressively lose ground while the newer ones gradually take over. It is hard to say how long such a transitional period could last. It is calculated that it will take three years but four years are not ruled out and it could even take longer. This is particularly true of the new price system (built around three categories of prices -- unrestricted prices, ceiling prices and fixed prices -- in all cases calculated in such a way as to ensure that the producer will be remunerated for his products since he is working to satisfy a real market (demand); this price system is to some extent the mainspring of the new trend.

One can find the same caution being practiced with respect to every other feature of the reform. There is no point in taking them all up here one by one. The new system is already generally known in its broad outline. It has been discussed again and again and in Italy, too, where in particular Professor Sik, one of its originators, went to discuss it in a series of conferences held this spring (1965). Its main features are direct relations among enterprises, planning which outlines only the more important features of national economic development, a heavy decentralization of investments, broad autonomy of decision for groups of enterprises and a rate of pay depending largely on the efficiency of the enterprise in which one works. Added to this is a kind of contract with the foreign market, including the markets of the capitalist West, capable of subjecting Czech enterprises to the stimulation offered by heightened competition.

All of this is a future goal, a long-range one, even though it is all spelled out so clearly (and this is where Czechoslovakia has its advantage). In the case of the more immediate, short-range future, the new Five-Year Plan (1966-1970) has largely been already predetermined in advance by a series of previous investments, by the work already done on large construction jobs which have to be finished and by the need to avoid upsetting overnight a giant productive apparatus which cannot be

ground to a halt and made to stand still while changes are being decided upon. Each one of the new principles, then, is only being put into partial application. If one also bears in mind the fact that these principles are in turn a watered-down version of proposals of an even more radical nature, then one may better understand why it is legitimate to speak of such changes as cautious at this point.

Nevertheless, taken as a whole, one cannot help but consider the Czechoslovak reform to be anything else but a daring move. As original and interesting as the intrinsic features of this move may be, there is more to it than that. What also matters is the general atmosphere within the country where such a reform has been brought to light. Even just a few years ago -- four or five years ago, let's say -- Czechoslovakia could have seemed to be a socialist country willing to tighten its belt again and again, the good economic situation then existing being accompanied by a complete lack of interest in political and ideological discussion. Now the tables have turned. The economic situation is no longer so bright. But discussion and debate on matters of culture and politics have sprung up stronger than anywhere else and have gone deeper to the root of matters than elsewhere too, perhaps.

The economic reform we are talking about is being presented as an important event in the struggle against Stalinism or, to be more exact, against the straight-jacketing of economic thought which was typical of the "cult of personality" and one need only refer to the latest edition of the international magazine, Problemi della pace e del Socialismo (Problems of Peace and Socialism) to find an example of this. There was a time covering several years after the 20th Congress of the CPSU when it seemed as if the anti-Stalinist counteroffensive or as one more often says here, the anti-dogmatic counteroffensive, would never have any effect in Czechoslovakia other than of a very limited variety. Now it has really started here later than it did elsewhere but it has made up for its late arrival by making deeper inroads and by taking a more original form.

The rehabilitation of the victims of the Stalinist period was later coming in Czechoslovakia, but when it did it took the form of public trials. The cultural discussions have started out more moderately and cautiously but the spirit of free discussion has gradually gained a more solid foothold. Nobody could be surprised nowadays at the fact that old cubist paintings are being shown on exhibit in Prague. There are exhibits following all the different trends, a thing one could not even imagine as happening in Moscow at the present time. When Khrushchev and Ilichov were publicly attacking the Soviet intelligentsia in 1963 there was not even one official declaration in Prague supporting their statements. In Czech theatre today the types of plays which predominate are the satirical ones along with those of a more formal kind dealing with serious subjects. None of all this means that the problems of cultural

life have been solved once and for all for everybody. It does mean, though, that where such problems have not been solved there is, in any case, a spirit of struggle with the cultural disciplines coming to the fore and asserting their role as vehicles of research and discovery. The new Czechoslovak motion-picture art was born out of this atmosphere and over the past two or three years their entries in film festivals have been a welcome revelation and certainly represent one of the most interesting artistic manifestations we have been able to glean in recent years from the Socialist countries.

These Czechoslovak motion pictures really deserve to be given a detailed analysis but that would be outside my field. Others have already discussed them and will continue to do so. I would only like to note that one of the themes which gives them their strength is that of individual responsibility, moral responsibility and civic duty, aside and apart from any collective responsibility of any kind whatever. This theme has struck a new chord. It would seem to me to be not at all arbitrary to tie it in with the content of the economic reform about to go into effect. This new reform not only aims at putting a whole set of ideas and incentives into action again in the economy -- ideas and incentives that had previously been declared outmoded -- but which now appear necessary to the economy's efficient operation; it goes further in that it aims at reawakening the spirit of initiative and responsibility of the individual producer and of groups of producers, stimulating their direct interests. In order that it may be applied with success there must first be a profound change in people's ideas (an evolution of their spirits); it actually calls for that very reawakening of individual dedication which the "cult" succeeded in suffocating in the past, the very spirit which was bound to turn out to be more important and valuable to Socialism than ever in the final analysis.

[Second installment, issue of 4 August 65. Headline and sub-caps: Czechoslovakia 1956-65, the route taken by the "reform"; The political struggle in Prague; The decision has already been made to adopt new criteria of economic management starting next year but there is still stubborn resistance; The long conflict between the opposing tendencies - From our own correspondent, Prague, 3 August 1965.]

One of the most important points in the history of these recent years and perhaps the most important for an understanding of the evolutionary change taking place in the Socialist countries is how the new reform to be introduced into the Czechoslovak economy starting 1 Jan 66 was arrived at. The decision to go through with it, made by the Party's Central Committee in January, this year (1965), laying down the broad outline of the reform, was not a hasty one. Nor was it the result of any change in the country's top leadership. The reform is the outcome instead of a long-term process which still cannot be said to have come

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to an end. The process involved a struggle of ideas which had both its high points and its low points, a pressure exerted by the fact that the Czechoslovak economy is a unique one having few parallels and a certain type of political infighting.

The first discussions go back to 1956 during the months immediately following the 20th Congress of the CPSU and they are related to similar discussions which took place in Poland on the subject of what should be the "model" of economic development for the country. It was already felt that the path of industrialization followed by the Soviet Union could not be imitated for too long a time in a country already as far developed as Czechoslovakia. It took some time, though, before any modifications were worked out; these did not make any appearance until as late as 1958. For the first time the concept of "effectiveness" was introduced into economic policy, while there was an expansion of the profit motive at enterprise level and an attempt was made to find more subtle criteria for evaluating plan fulfillment other than mere quantitative ones and a start was made towards regulating the activities of individual enterprises from above by means of fixed standards leaving room for a certain margin of autonomy or leeway instead of resorting to a series of administrative rules and instructions to deal with each individual case.

This timid attempt had very little success because two years later in the face of a combination of difficulties on both the international and domestic scenes it was quietly buried in actual practice. This first episode explains the reason why there was no great amount of real enthusiasm until the new reforms had actually gone into operation; it was necessary to wait and see first of all what real consequences they would have in actual practice.

Promptly afterwards there was a sharp brush with reality. The Czechoslovak economy went through what cannot be called anything else but a crisis in the years 1962 and 1963. After a year of stagnation there was a genuine recession in 1963; the national income dropped 2.4 per cent; industrial production decreased 0.6 per cent and investments by 11 per cent. The third five-year plan, initiated in 1961, had to be given up. Ever since then Czechoslovakia has been governed only by more moderate plans worked out from one year to the next.

In the meanwhile discussions flared up again. The debate on Liberman's proposals which started in Moscow in 1962 served to give these discussions impetus. But in Czechoslovakia things took a different turn and followed a path independent of the Soviet. While the discussions in Moscow became bogged down for some time, in Prague they developed, became more far-reaching and quickly arrived at certain conclusions, gaining adherents in top policy-making posts.

The debate took on an openly controversial character in the press. The new points called for a change in the criteria used in the system of planning, itself, as well as in administration as practiced up to that time so more leeway would be given to the interplay of the market-place. The opponents of these ideas, rallying around Rozsival, a former vice-president of the Gosplan who editorialized on the subject in articles in Rude Pravo (Red Right), daily organ of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak

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Communist Party, asserted instead that the most urgent task was to correct the serious imbalances appearing in the Czechoslovak economy and that these corrections had to be made using the traditional methods of strongly centralized administrative fiat. Professor Sik stated on the contrary that the imbalances were the result of the system currently in force and that if the system were not changed the imbalances would continue to occur over and over again. We in the West therefore have a tendency to look upon Sik as the one who created the reform now planned; here in Prague the matter is seen in a more complex light. Sik, as a member of the Party's Central Committee and as director of the Economics Institute of the Academy of Sciences, was the most outstanding individual but he was only one of a number of economists who had carried on the battle in the press. It is therefore only right that a few others be named, for example, Komeda and Kozusnik who are two research men belonging to the same team who with both their theoretical writing and their articles did much to contribute to the victory of the new principles.

When the discussion was taken up in a political context Sik was appointed by the Party leadership to head up a commission of fifteen theoretical and practical specialists who were supposed to draw up the new proposals. During this second stage of the debate the ideas originally discussed in the press underwent some retouching and correction. It thus became a plan which had already been made over and remade over by many different architects when it was finally approved by the Central Committee in January; before it has been completed in all its details it will also have to pass through additional hands and then it will have to be put into practice.

The search for a new system in January was in any case one point in the country's favor. The objective reasons were such as to outweigh every opposing opinion; the Czechoslovak economy needs new administrative criteria. The characteristic features of this country always have been and still are very different from those of all the other Socialist countries. Its economy was highly industrialized from the very start. Even though its natural resources and manpower reserves were poor, it had advanced traditions of technical progress. The lion's share of industrial production went to the export trade. The planning criteria followed for Socialist industrialization of the USSR -- that is, of a country which had diametrically opposite characteristics -- could not be long applied to Czechoslovakia without bringing about unfavorable results. It is interesting to note how today's Czech economists, when looking for some affinity with Soviet economic thought, are more inclined to find it in the 20's when it was still possible to compare all the possible alternatives in the USSR rather than during the period of Stalinist planning when only one version was imposed from the top down. If the Soviet model was imitated again after 1948 it was only because none other was known of and because the Stalinist policy did not make allowance for any other and also because

as a first step right after the war it was able to offer a solution to certain structural problems of the Czechoslovak economy, for example, the industrialization of Slovakia, the alignment with the developing economies in the other Socialist countries and guarantees of a certain minimum standard of living and social security for all.

On being prolonged beyond its first few years, though, it created a series of problems, imbalances, delays, etc. which gradually worsened until they became obvious to all in the 1962-63 crisis which still cannot be said to be completely overcome even today. The strength of the new principles lies in the fact that they point to a way out of these contradictions.

As reports from Moscow tell us the old model has also found itself in trouble in the USSR, too, in the meanwhile and these difficulties became increasingly clear as the USSR gradually succeeded in drawing away from the stage of de-Stalinization. It would seem, then, that the question has been settled for once and for all in Czechoslovakia. In reality things are much more complicated. For many years this very type of development has been identified with Socialism itself. There are other less industrially developed countries where such a form of development is even today performing the task of bringing about industrialization. For years and years the political leadership, social life and both private and public thinking were formed and developed uniformly in keeping with such a viewpoint. All of this needs to be taken into account. Even today in defining the reforms there are those who speak of a "new system" and those who speak only of "improvement" of the old; both terms are met with sometimes in the same newspaper or in the same circles. It is not just a question of words; it is a way of expressing different ideas about what must be done from the first of the year on afterwards. At first one could be led to believe that in such cases one is dealing with theoreticians who want to bring about the reform on one hand and practical men who are unwilling to accept it; but after a while it became apparent that the demarcation line cut across those in both camps; it is found among administrative personnel, in research institutes and among the technical and engineering leadership. The disagreement which existed over the past years as to whether to accept or reject the principles decided upon in January has now attached itself merely to the field of their application.

Once again the objective thrust is directed against the real problems of the Czechoslovak economy; the resistance comes from the mental attitude and the superstructure of administrative personnel built up and trained during the period of the old type of planning. The most important things at stake both here and in the USSR are both economic and political at the same time.

[Third installment, issue of 6 Aug 65. Headline and sub-caps: Czechoslovakia, the hard battle for foreign markets; Competition, first goal - Back from Prague - August]

My Czechoslovak friends set great store by showing me the First International Jewelry Fair at Jablonec. So one morning I started driving towards the town located a short distance from the point where the Polish and German Democratic Republic borders converge with those of Czechoslovakia, in what was once called Sudetenland where in reality World War II started with the betrayal of Munich. The beautiful, hilly countryside of northern Bohemia, an open invitation to carry a tent in one's car, served as a pleasant introduction to my visit. The fair which awaited me at Jablonec is international only because of a limited participation by twenty different countries, including Italy. The predominant part of the fair remains Czech. Nevertheless, this alone made my trip worthwhile. One of the country's most celebrated architects, Svoboda, the same who prepared the beautiful Czechoslovak exhibit at the 1958 World's Fair in Brussels, was called upon to give his advice in outfitting the exhibition. He and his coworkers have shown themselves to be capable of unlimited imagination and good taste in showing the locally manufactured jewelry. Necklaces, earrings and bracelets were exhibited in what were deliberately chosen to be the most unrealistic settings possible, among the fish in an aquarium, among the sparrows and nightingales in an immense aviary, almost lost among the deposits of the roughest, crudest ores of the earth, grouped together to make up figures which, by contrast, seemed to have stepped out of an expressionist painting. Play of light and water, mathematically calculated movements and stereotype photographs contribute to make the show a successful hit.

Jablonec jewelry has one specific feature about it; it is fake. It started three centuries ago as the manufacture of substitutes to replace the most expensive and authentic precious gems on certain special occasions. In short, it is the junk jewelry industry. Based essentially on the use of glass, for which Bohemian glassmakers are famous, the work ended up by taking on a value of its own, quite independent of the feature of imitating other gems. Jablonec glass became a rival of gems rather than a substitute for them. At the turn of the century it was well known and sought after throughout the world. After World War I there was a downturn in the demand for this kind of work and the fall off became steeper after World War II when it seemed as if the products of Jablonec could find no place in a Socialist economy. It is only in recent years with a return to favor of world fashions that the fortunes of this industry have begun to turn. The products of Jablonec now make up no small part of the Czechoslovak export trade, with 97 per cent of the total output being exported to 65 different countries. In the district of Jablonec alone more than 30,000 persons are employed in the manufacture of jewelry.

This year's show, the attention given to setting it up and preparing it and the interest in showing it to me were all evidence of the new battle in which Czechoslovakia is engaged to win a place for itself on world markets, above all in the West. Czechoslovakia is hungry for foreign currencies. This is also seen in the renewed attention being given to the "invisible" items of export, for example, to the tourist industry. Prague was relatively full of foreigners this year, swarming around Charles Bridge and Hradcany Castle. Their coming is encouraging for a thousand reasons. Nevertheless there are some serious obstacles which inhibit any influx of greater proportions. In spite of the absence of any seacoast, Czechoslovakia is a country which lends itself readily to summer vacationing; the countryside is attractive even if not varying much from place to place. The cultural attractions are of the highest level at Prague if not elsewhere as it is one of the most beautiful cities in all Europe. The traditions and manners of the country are those of open-hearted hospitality. There is a shortage, though, of the equipment needed for modern handling of tourists and that which exists is inadequate because long neglected and this includes hotels, restaurants, roads and service stations. Now when attempts are being made to fill the gap one sees how far behind these services have fallen in the past twenty years.

In any case the Czechoslovak battle for foreign trade cannot be won by Jablonec glass and the tourists who visit Prague alone, no matter how important both of these are. The decisive front is the sector of industry and, in particular, Czechoslovak machinery; the rest only plays a secondary and supporting role. Given the narrow limits imposed by the domestic market, Czechoslovak industry has always worked for foreign markets ever since the country has been independent. But this is the very place where one finds the greatest difficulty today. It is here that delays have taken place which threaten to be more costly than the shortcomings in the tourist sector. Ever since 1947 Czechoslovak exports have experienced a sudden about face. They broke away from Western markets and were directed towards the countries of the Socialist camp which was then undergoing development towards formation of a bloc. This political decision has been and still is a matter of conflicting claims and debate. I personally believe that it was largely unavoidable. The political conditions accompanying the Marshall Plan, the splitting of Europe into two blocs, the "cold war" and the economic blockade practiced by the West left little or no alternative but to go over to the other side politically, too. One can argue, too, about whether such a move was not pushed too far beyond the limits of what was necessary; in my opinion if such a move was already necessary, then it was not. But the question of the consequences arising out of this move is another matter again.

The Eastern market needed immense quantities of equipment in order to become industrialized. Czechoslovakia was able to supply this market. This favored that unilateral and topheavy development of the economy which is so harshly criticized by economists today. Everything was staked on

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heavy industry, on the production of producer goods, building new enterprises alongside the old ones, sometimes at too fast a rate and without worrying about technological progress and this was the really unfavorable outcome, the one complained about so loudly today. This is how the country got out of step with the advancing world technology. In many cases Czechoslovak industry is no longer able to compete with the industry in the West. This also begins to have unfavorable reverberations on the East's markets, above all ever since the countries of Western Europe have recognized the fact that they could make a new comeback in Eastern Europe by offering their own products on that market. The Czechoslovak economy suffered a serious blow in 1960 when China, on seeing its "great leap forwards" fall short, refused to accept large quantities of materials already manufactured or on its way in fulfillment of Chinese orders. This Chinese decision smacked more of politics than of economics. But nowadays even countries like Romania, Bulgaria and Poland are pointing out to the Czechs that their products are at times inferior to those of the Western competition and one can hardly contest the sound economic reasons behind their arguments. Czechoslovak industry therefore finds itself obliged to regain a level of competitiveness with the West, not just to be able to sell to the West as it would like to do, but also to sell to the East. This is one of the essential goals which inspired the reform of planning on the agenda.

While these problems have been rearing their heads on the Socialist markets there has simultaneously come into being within the country a situation wherein even the conditions necessary to any continuation of the previous extensive development of the economy came to be lacking. Manpower resources started to dry up; the countryside was no longer able to supply new manpower for the new enterprises since all the young people and women remained and most of the women are already employed in Czechoslovakia. This combination of factors explains why the third Five-Year Plan, drawn up in 1960 in line with the older criteria, could not be fulfilled. The opening up of new markets in the underdeveloped countries or uncommitted nations which desire in turn to industrialize themselves was unable to offer any solution both because of the special aid terms required for sale to such countries and because here, too, the same competitive conditions had to be faced.

The absence of any long-term goals of development of the Socialist community on a unified basis has hurt Czechoslovak industry in the past as it still does today. This is the great problem of COMECON. For objective reasons the Czechs have been and still are among the most ardent supporters of collaboration within this organization. But now they are becoming aware that not even COMECON can solve the present-day problems of Czechoslovakia. The solution cannot be expected to come from outside. Czechoslovak economists prefer to look for a solution in the principles they have laid down as a foundation for their system, even if they are not entirely unaware of the fact that at least at the beginning some people may well be hurt by it.

[Fourth installment, issue of 11 Aug 65. Headline and sub-caps: The economic reform demands democratic Socialist solutions; The new labor code approved, taking off the manpower freeze and making it easier for workers to change their jobs; Czechoslovakia, the "new system," - Back from Prague.]

The Czechoslovak National Assembly voted in the new Labor Code this year. A long time had been spent in drawing it up and discussing it. Its final approval underwent a number of delays, the last one occasioned by the need to make the new law fit the requirements of the new economic system to go into effect at least partially as of Jan 1. Its chief new feature consists in a gradual unfreezing of the manpower tie-up which existed in Czechoslovakia ever since the time of the first five-year plan. The officially proclaimed goal is that of making it easier for workers to move from one job to another because otherwise the new criteria of economic management tending to create a difference between the more efficient and the less efficient enterprises and making the more efficient ones more attractive to the workers would not be able to operate effectively.

There are two facets to the end of the manpower freeze. On one hand a limitation is done away with in that the chances for a worker to quit his job to take another one will no longer be subject to the system of authorizations hitherto provided for and will thus become a real right of the worker to exercise and not just a very circumscribed one fraught with problems and difficulties as it was under the old law. In order to avoid any abrupt changes provision has been made for a transitory period during which it will still be necessary to give six months prior notice; later this, too, will be reduced to but a few days. There is another side to the picture, too, though, because at the same time restrictions will be placed on the rights of the labor unions to oppose any kind of layoffs and up to now the unions have used this right quite generously and almost without any limit; this limitation of the trade unions' rights will also be introduced gradually through a transitional period. Inevitably the new rules allowing a worker to change his job will find popular favor, but the permitting of layoffs will turn out to be much less popular.

Here we are touching on one of the broadest problems opened up by the debate on the economic reform, that of its political consequences. It is in fact impossible that there should be any coherent application of the principles in the basis of the new system of planning and administration without there also being a corresponding affect upon the entire political life of the country because up to now the country's political life has been strongly molded by the ideas on planning and administration of economic matters held in the past.

Just one example of this is the question of local autonomy. In practice local control has been reduced to an insignificant level and even the attempts made back around 1960 to further stimulate it have been to little or no avail. The National Committees, which are the organs of local power, have in fact a limited financial autonomy because the main part of their budgets comes from funds appropriated from the national budget. Will it be possible for a relationship such as this to continue between the central government and the local organs even after greater financial autonomy and freedom of action has been granted to individual enterprises and concerns? The answer would seem to be no. Though such a relationship may be consistent within a system wherein the whole of economic life was regulated by the detailed instructions emanating from a central source of control, such relationships are no longer consistent when economic activity is organized in such a way as to leave room for a broad decentralization of decision-making.

The problem of local autonomy, an important one everywhere, is particularly important in Czechoslovakia where in the last analysis it becomes a problem of the relations between Czechs and Slovaks, a problem it would be wrong to speak of as being settled forever as has been shown in recent years by the reappearance of a whole series of Slovak demands at the very time when Slovakia, with its industrialization, had achieved great progress.

But there is more to it than that. If applied, the reform would bring about at least for a while at first a set of results which could prove in some cases to be unpopular. Here we have a process which aims at making the Czechoslovak economy more efficient and more productive. Certain enterprises will be shut down and others will become stronger. Others will cut down on their number of employees which today may be excessive and these workers may have to move to other plants which feel a manpower shortage. Workers will therefore have to be displaced and some will need to be retrained. There will also probably be a fight to reduce the level of wages which is very high in Czechoslovakia. All of this is hard to do in a Socialist country without the conscious participation of at least a large part of the masses involved. How can their cooperation be attained? The traditional system of mobilization through campaigns and slogans of a political kind can no longer be effective. But it is still not clear what can be used to replace it. There has been talk of self-government at plant level and such talk is still going on. It appears that this made up part of a first version of the proposed reform and that it was then discarded at least provisionally. Discussions have been carried on at top level in conferences the proceedings of which have not been made public on the questions of creating new organizations to represent the workers in the factories; no decision has yet been arrived at because there is resistance to such a suggestion. The proposal has also been made that alternative forms of economic plans be suggested and submitted to the people so they will know what is involved in each of the choices that is to be made; the forms of discussion attempted to date though have been quite far from anything of the kind.

The entire theme of Socialist democracy thus ends up being only a corollary or adjunct to economic reform. Here just as in the USSR there is much less discussion of these problems than there is of the technical aspects of the new system. Some are aware of the fact they exist but they do not talk about them while others are perhaps not even fully aware of them. There are those who think that once the reforms are put through everything else will come automatically while others are convinced that nothing will change without a fight. Judging just from these brief contrasts of ideas one can readily see the political as well as the economic importance of the discussions which have grown up around the problems of the economy.

Something is stirring. Legislative activity has speeded up in recent months. The National Assembly is working harder and longer. Approval has been given the law guaranteeing to every citizen the right to receive a passport to travel abroad with certain restrictions; among the restrictions which appreciably limit the effect of the law itself is one based on the availability of foreign currency which is very scarce at the present time. A law on the press is being made ready and is the subject of an unfinished debate between the leadership and those who are pressing for it. The new Code of Criminal Procedure calls for the presence of a lawyer at the side of the accused during every stage of the investigation. I gained the impression after talking to various attorneys that the question of the day now arousing most interest among the public and among those who are specially trained in the field is that of the rights of the citizen. The gravest and most serious shortcomings continue to persist in this field. But this is nothing more than just one part, an essential and irrevocable part, of course, as experience has shown, but not the only part of the full range of requirements that need to be met to achieve a Socialist democracy.

In substance these problems are common to the entire Socialist camp. They exist in the USSR. They exist more in some places and less in others in all the countries of Socialist Europe. But they are felt in Czechoslovakia today perhaps more so than anywhere else. The very state of maturity and of development which have been attained by the country explains this difference; it is no mere chance that this is the country where not only a higher level of production had been attained, but also where the working classes had a longer tradition of struggle and organization behind them and where even before the Socialist forces gained power the conquest of democratic freedoms had already taken root. We opened up our investigation on this key and it is well that we close it in the same way. The outcome of this pilot experiment in Czechoslovakia and of the political struggle and debate going on there, good or bad though it may be, can serve as a valuable experiment not only for Czechoslovakia but for the whole Socialist community.

Fact Sheet

[REDACTED]
27 September 1965

BRITISH GUIANA MOVES TOWARD INDEPENDENCE

The small colony of British Guiana, located on the northeast coast of South America, has a political importance immensely greater than its size or economy could ever warrant. This importance derives from the fact that, in a nation riven by racial strife, its largest political party, composed almost exclusively of a single ethnic group, is entirely dominated by a group of Communists.

The only British colony on the South American mainland, British Guiana was acquired by Great Britain from the Dutch in 1814. It has an area of only some 83,000 square miles. Its leading export products are rice, sugar, and bauxite which produce an annual foreign trade of about \$147 million British West Indies dollars (BWI \$1.00 = U.S. \$.59). The present population is estimated to be about 620,000 of whom some 48 percent are of East Indian origin and 34 percent of African origin, the remainder being Amerindian, Chinese, and European.

British Guiana began moving toward independence when a new Constitution was introduced in 1953, instituting universal suffrage, a bicameral legislature, and a ministerial system. In April of that year elections were held to establish the new legislature and the People's Progressive Party (PPP) won a sweeping victory, capturing 51% of the vote, and 18 of the 24 seats in the assembly.

At that time the PPP was a leftist party led by Cheddi Jagan and his wife Janet. Jagan, the eldest of 11 children, was born on March 22, 1918 on a sugar plantation in eastern British Guiana. His grandparents had come to the colony as indentured sugarcane laborers from famine-stricken India. His father was foreman of a plantation work gang. Cheddi Jagan managed to get to the United States in 1936 where he studied at Howard University in Washington and then at the Northwestern University Dental School in Chicago, from which he graduated in 1942. In Chicago he met his future wife, Janet, a student nurse and member of the Young Communist League. The following year the Jagans returned to British Guiana, where he set up business as a dentist and she started in left-wing politics. Cheddi soon became equally involved in politics, first as treasurer of the sugar cane workers trade union (he was a dentist!) and then in 1947 he won a seat in the legislature as a representative of the rural district of Central Demerara. Jagan had the very active support of his wife and together they founded the Political Affairs Committee in 1947, which became the PPP in 1950.

As a result of the PPP's electoral victory in 1953, the party was called upon to participate in the cabinet. Characteristically this produced a crisis in the party with the ultra-leftists arguing that they

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should not hold office in the government because the Constitution was rife with defects, according to their dogma. (These same purists had vociferously advocated back in 1950, that the Party be a straightforwardly Communist Party, not a "spineless leftist coalition.") A compromise was worked out, however; it provided for the PPP to enter the government, but to use its position to frustrate the workings of the government, thereby proving that the constitution was unsatisfactory and providing an excellent platform for demanding far-reaching constitutional reforms.

In October 1953, faced with demonstrations and strikes encouraged by the PPP, the British Governor called upon the Colonial Office to send troops and warships to forestall a suspected attempt "to set up a Communist state." The constitution was suspended, Jagan and the other PPP ministers were dismissed, a state of emergency was declared, and the British Government issued a White Paper charging the PPP leaders with efforts to turn British Guiana into a Communist state by means of violence and conspiracy. An appointed government was then instituted and it ruled the country for the next four years.

During the interim years a struggle for power developed in the PPP; it was led by Forbes Burnham, a Negro (or African, in the local parlance) who had been a Minister in the PPP government. Failing in his attempt to oust Jagan, Burnham broke with the PPP and formed his own party, the People's National Congress (PNC). Although many East Indians left the PPP to join Burnham, and many Africans remained in the PPP, the overall result was nevertheless to create a distinct racial split which has since accentuated itself and the PPP is now almost entirely East Indian and the PNC African. Ironically the three chief ultra-leftists of Jagan's party, shaken by Khrushchev's Secret Speech and the Hungarian Revolution, resigned from the PPP, two of them leaving politics altogether while one, Sydney King, joined Burnham and became a violent Negro nationalist.

New elections were held in 1957 and were characterized by a subtle racist policy adopted by the PPP calculated to bring in East Indian votes. It succeeded and the PPP received 48% of the popular vote. Under the terms of a revised constitution promulgated in 1957, the cabinet was presided over by the Governor who retained emergency powers, to be invoked in the event of crisis. The PPP held five cabinet seats, with Jagan Minister of Trade and Industry and his wife, Janet, Minister of Labor, Health, and Housing. Jagan's conduct was quite different from that of 1953 and his Party cooperated satisfactorily with the Governor (in keeping, let it be noted, with the Soviet policy of consolidation and peaceful coexistence after the Secret Speech and the repression in Hungary). This moderation led the British Government to consider further steps toward independence and a Constitutional Convention was held in 1961 to establish a new Constitution giving further autonomy to the Guianese and to prepare the way for full independence, then contemplated for 1962. This new law provided internal self-government with the British government retaining control over national defense and foreign relations, as well as a veto power over legislation.

The elections of August 1961 were marked by racial tensions and charges of Communism. The PPP emerged from the campaign with 42.6 percent of the vote and 20 of the 35 legislative seats. Forbes Burnham's PNC garnered 41% of the vote and 11 seats, and the United Force (UF), a new party formed by conservative businessman Peter D'Aguiar, got 16.4% of the vote and 4 seats. Jagan was thereupon installed as Premier.

The new government announced its two main objectives as the establishment of a socialist economy and the achievement of independence. This was sufficient to discourage further foreign investment in British Guiana and Jagan's attempts to secure large-scale economic aid from the United States were not successful. Under these circumstances Jagan announced a new austerity budget in February 1962, which was greeted by protest demonstrations which soon degenerated into large-scale riots in the course of which whole sections of Georgetown were burned down. Jagan was compelled to call on British troops for help in restoring order.

In October of that year a conference on independence was held in London to agree upon the procedure for granting independence and to fix its date. The Guianese representatives, Jagan, Burnham and D'Aguiar could not agree on the procedure and date, however, and the talks collapsed. 1963 was marred by an 80 day general strike led by the Trades Union Council and followed by the Civil Service Association, and the workers in industry, transport and postal services.

A second conference on independence was held in London in October 1963. Again the conferees failed to agree and, in consequence, asked Mr. Duncan Sandys, the British Colonial Secretary, to impose a solution, with which they promised to abide. Thereupon Sandys announced that new elections would be held in 1964 under a new electoral system of Proportional Representation (PR) and that after these elections a new conference would be called to settle any further outstanding issues and to fix a date for independence.

The crucial factor in this decision was the introduction of PR. Until that time elections had been held under the simple plurality system in each electoral district (known in English and Guianese parlance as "First-past-the-post"). Although the plurality system tends to encourage a two party system, it worked in British Guiana (a) to foster party voting along strictly racial lines, (b) to favor the election of East Indians, since they are more evenly spread through the country, the Africans being heavily concentrated in the urban areas, and (c) to perpetuate the PPP in office (with only 42.6 percent of the vote they obtained 57 percent of the seats). PR, on the other hand, would tend to fragment the major parties, hopefully breaking the lines of racial division, and to foster the formation of small groups representing regional and occupational interests.

The PPP immediately realized its mistake in permitting Sandys to decide upon the electoral system and, failing to honor Jagan's commitment, emphatically declared that it would not accept Proportional Representation. The PPP organ Thunder, in its issue of February-March 1964,

declared: "The Sandys Plan must be stopped and party members and supporters must understand that in order to stop the Sandys Plan they will have to make sacrifices on a scale and to a degree never required of them before. Whatever the effort and whatever the sacrifices, the Sandys Plan MUST BE STOPPED."

The strategy decided upon was to create sufficient chaos so that an election would be impossible and at the same time to push a demand for immediate independence so that either the British would give in and grant independence, or a successful revolution could proclaim independence. The campaign was launched with a strike by a government-sponsored scab sugarcane workers' union. The union was not recognized by either the British Guiana Trades Union Council nor by the employers; it had been created because the PPP had been entirely unsuccessful in its attempts to gain control of the legitimate union. However, this strike was really only an excuse for chaos. It led to some 200 deaths, hundreds of injured, and millions of dollars of damage to cane fields, factories, houses, stores. But the worst crime of all was that the PPP's campaign increased and crystallized the racial conflict in British Guiana to the point that in villages of mixed population, the Africans packed up and moved to African-controlled areas for protection, and the East Indians left for Indian-controlled villages. Thus the supreme accomplishment of Jagan and his Communists had been the destruction of an inter-racial amity constructed during a period of some 200 years.

Finally, in May, the Governor declared a state of emergency and British troops were called out to prevent sheer anarchy. Although the struggle continued thereafter in sporadic outbursts throughout the country, peace was imposed sufficiently to permit the registration of voters and the holding of elections on December 7, 1964.

As hoped, the PPP failed to gain a clear majority of votes; it received only 45.8% and 24 seats versus 40.5% (22 seats) for the PNC, and 12.4% (7 seats) to the UF. The PNC and UF immediately agreed upon a coalition government and on December 14, 1964 Forbes Burnham was installed as Premier and Peter D'Aguiar as Minister of Finance. When the new Parliament convened on 31 December it was boycotted by the PPP; this boycott was maintained until May 1965, when the PPP deputies were sworn in, but they left again two days later when the speaker of the house refused to let them debate endlessly the salary of the Attorney General.

The period since the installation of the Burnham government has been marked by intermittent acts of sabotage and terrorism despite efforts to solve the racial conflict by the Colonial Secretary, Anthony Greenwood, who visited British Guiana in February 1965, and the repeated attempts at conciliation made by Forbes Burnham.

One of Cheddi Jagan's oft-repeated complaints, and a major excuse for his opposition to independence, has been that the civil service, and most particularly the police force, is controlled by Africans and that

East Indians are discriminated against in the civil service employment practices. To answer this accusation as impartially and objectively as possible, Burnham invited the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), a highly respected organization composed of leading lawyers and judges from practically all non-Communist countries, to conduct a special investigation in British Guiana. But when the investigators held hearings in British Guiana in June 1965, Cheddi Jagan refused to testify! It is interesting to note that the evidence presented to the investigators did indicate that a large majority of police officers are of African origin ... for several not-so-obvious reasons: (a) The urban population, from which most of the officers are recruited, is preponderantly African, the East Indians being concentrated in the sugar-growing rural areas; (b) Only a relatively small percent of the applicants for police positions, are East Indians; (c) Many East Indians don't pass the English language requirement because they have been taught in Hindu in their communal schools which they have attended in preference to the public schools where instruction is in English; (d) many of the East Indians are simply too small to meet the requirements of the police force. In any event, the ICJ report is expected to be published early in October 1965; its findings will be of interest, as is the fact that the Burnham government solicited this impartial investigation.

The most notable achievement of the Burnham government has been the boost given to British Guiana's economy; this has been in good measure due to renewed confidence in the country's future on the part of foreign investors. An American aluminum company has announced an investment in a new processing plant; Germany is providing technical assistance, the United States Government is providing funds, equipment and advisors for major construction projects; the Guianese themselves have contributed \$10 million to their country's development. Unemployment is being tackled realistically. Perhaps most important of all is not these concrete achievements but rather the contrast in directions: the new government is moving forward, the previous government was leading the nation to ruin. Of course much remains to be done. As the new Prime Minister says: "We have not achieved the millennium. Milk and honey are not our diet. But can anyone deny that British Guiana is on the move, and has established its right to take its place among the free nations of the world"?

And independence is indeed the next, and imminent, step. The British Colonial Secretary, Anthony Greenwood, has called for a conference in London on 2 November to finally establish the procedure and set the date for granting independence. It is generally expected that agreement will be reached on a date sometime in the Spring or Summer of 1966.

There is little doubt that Jagan and the PPP will attempt to forestall independence as long as they are out of power. Nor is there much doubt that, failing to prevent independence, they will attempt to oust Burnham before the next regular election, scheduled for 1968. However

Jagan will have his problems. For one thing, although the controlling directorate of the PPP is Communist, the constituents are not. And there are already signs that the rank and file realize that the PPP's policies are not entirely in the interests of the Indian community. The quality of Prime Minister Burnham's statesmanship may well succeed in posing an attractive alternative which could wean them away from their extremist leaders.

Another problem for Jagan is the development of the current ultra-leftist faction of his party, now led principally by Brindley Benn, the PPP's former Chairman, and by Moses Bhagwan, head of the party's youth branch, the Progressive Youth Organization (PYO). It is the PYO which has been sending youths to Cuba and Moscow for training in guerrilla warfare and sabotage as well as in Communist theory and tactics. As has been seen in other countries of Central and South America, these are the "violence now, theory later" fanatical extremists who cannot but alineate a large part of the East Indians.

Typical of the problem involved was the press conference held on 12 September 1965 by two Guianese students returning from study in Cuba where they had scholarships awarded by the PPP. They said they had been forced to undergo military training, including infantry, bombing and sabotage tactics, as part of their "scholarship." According to the Georgetown press, they exposed a Cuban-Jagan plot to foment rebellion in British Guiana by pitting East Indians against Negroes. The two students revealed that they had tried to leave Cuba for a whole year before being finally released. They were warned by the Cubans and by the PPP representative in Cuba, Lalbahadur Labachan that they and their families would be killed if they tried to say anything against the PPP.

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