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# Significant Dates ▶

JAN.

- 1 Conference (heads of state), African and Malagasy Common Organization (OCAM), mid-January, Tananarive, Malagasy Republic.
- 2 Fidel Castro assumes power, 1959.
- 2 7th Anniversary, the Castro regime. [Note: The Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity (Tri-Continent) Conference sponsored by the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization (Communist) begins on 3 January; the timing is not accidental.]
- 3 Afro-Asian Latin American Conference (Tri-Continent Conference), Havana, 3-10 January, sponsored by the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization (Communist controlled).
- 6 President Roosevelt states Four Freedoms: of speech and expression, of worship; from want and from fear. 1941. 25th anniversary.
- 17 (Yugoslavia) Plenum of CP Central Committee expels Vice Premier Milovan Djilas. [See Calendar of Significant Political Events for similar subsequent actions against Djilas. If you do not have a Calendar, you may request one.]
- 21 (Tibet) Chinese People's Republic orders government representatives to Peking to negotiate "peaceful solution Tibet's status." (See Calendar for subsequent events). 1950.
- 30 3rd anniversary, Founding of Organization of African States (OAU) by 20 nations; Lagos, Nigeria, 1962.

FEB.

- 1 UN General Assembly charges Chinese Communist aggression in Korea. 1951.
- 8 Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, arrested 27 Dec 1948, sentenced life imprisonment for treason and espionage. Freed 31 Oct 1956 (see calendar 23 Oct-4 Nov 1956).
- 10 European Coal and Steel Community formed. 1953.
- 13 Czechoslovakia, last East European nation governed by traditional parliamentary methods falls by coup to Communist control. 1948.
- 14 CPSU 20th Congress, Moscow in which Khrushchev denounces Stalin in secret speech. 14-25 February 1956. Tenth anniversary.
- 14 USSR and CPR sign treaty of alliance, repudiating Soviet-Nationalist Treaty (14 August 1945) authorized by Yalta Agreement. 1950.

20 December 1965

# Briefly Noted ✓

Wheat  
Failure  
Continues

## Serious Soviet Foreign Trade Deficits

The Soviet Union has already purchased during 1965 close to ten million tons of wheat from Canada, Argentina, Australia and France -- with a consequent drain on its gold supplies. The Kremlin is spending about double the amount of gold being produced in its mines -- during the past three months alone they have sold gold to the west valued at \$225 million -- to meet its increasing trade deficit. [See attachment: UPI London dispatch 2 Dec 1965 carrying facts and figures.]

The seriousness of the Soviet agricultural situation is openly revealed in the Ministry of Foreign Trade publication, Vneshnyaya Torgovlya SSSR za 1964 god (Foreign Trade of the USSR for 1964), which shows that the country has become a net importer of grain and grain products for the first time in its peacetime history. The balance of Soviet grain trade plunged from a net surplus of over 8 million tons in 1962 to a net deficit of 4 1/2 in 1964. Information already available indicates that the 1965 deficit will considerably exceed that of 1964.

The net trade deficit (of all imports and exports,) greatly reduced by the customary Soviet export surpluses with CEMA members and the underdeveloped countries, still amounted to \$55 million. More important to the Soviet regime than this overall figure, however, is the rising deficit trade with the hard-currency, capitalist, developed

nations, which in 1964 reached \$452 million. In earlier years, the USSR had achieved a favorable balance of trade with the industrial West, largely through sales of raw materials, but from 1960 on there have been deficits which have had to be covered by credits or the sale of gold. It is acknowledged that over one billion dollars worth of Soviet gold was sold abroad in 1963 and 1964.

One aspect of these deficits with the West which undoubtedly particularly disturbs Soviet Party leaders is their need for a considerable surplus of hard currency to finance their far-flung political, propaganda, and subversive activities.

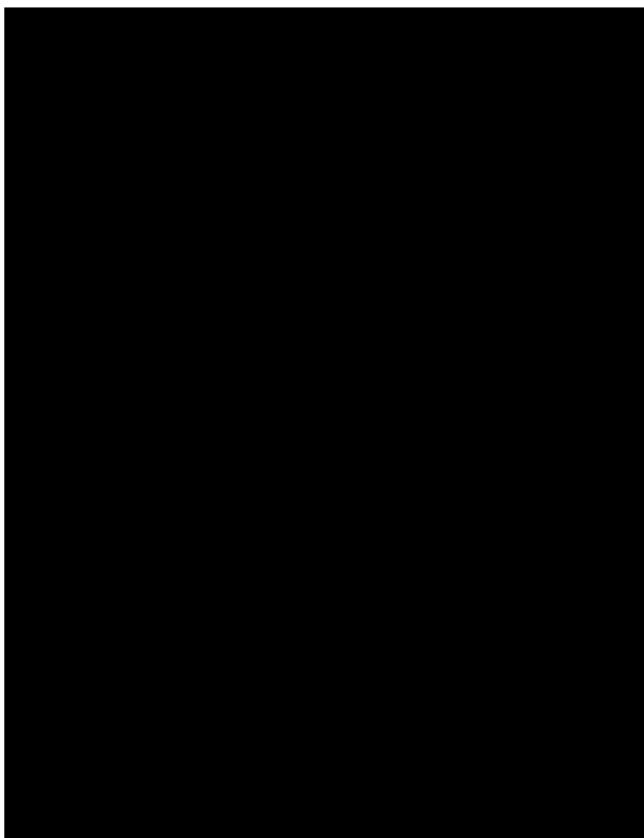
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KGB in  
the Spotlight

Soviet Espionage  
Thriller

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25X1C



USSR  
and  
France

Restraints on U.N. Peace-  
keeping

The USSR particularly, and France implicitly at least, agreed some months ago to make voluntary contributions to help solve the UN financial crisis, if no action were taken against them through Article 19 (which could have relieved them of their votes in the General Assembly). Neither has done so (despite no action on Article 19) and, with an operating deficit of some \$80 million, UN peacekeeping activities are seriously curtailed. It seems clear that this was their intent.

To date, only about 18 nations have made voluntary contributions to the so-called UN "rescue fund," which was to make up for the unpaid assessments of 12 countries (mostly communist) who said they would not be

responsible for peacekeeping expenses to which they had not agreed. Not one of the 12 debtor nations has as yet contributed to the fund.

As additional evidence of bad faith toward UN principles, the Soviet Union has broken the Security Council's unanimity on Kashmir. While dropping its demand that a three-month time limit be placed on UN Kashmir observer operation, the USSR abstained from voting on the Security Council resolution demanding prompt and unconditional pull-backs of Indian and Pakistani troops from the battle zone. And the Russian ambassador warned the Council that the Soviets would continue their campaign to reduce the Secretary General's authority over peacekeeping activities.

For its part, France has used the transparent technique of asking for a special 12-man committee to overhaul the whole UN budget process (purportedly in the interests of economy and efficiency) indicating it will make no voluntary contributions until this is accomplished.

These tactics to impose arbitrary big power control over all UN peacekeeping actions should be discussed for audiences in developing countries -- especially where UN services are sorely needed. The fact that the US, while continuing to support other UN functions such as the foreign aid Special Fund (\$60 to 65 million pledged), cannot be expected to make a contribution to the "rescue fund" while the debtor nations do not, should raise serious questions in developing nations as to which countries really support their interests in the UN.

\* \* \*

Savagery  
in  
Caracas

Communist Attempt to  
Bomb National Congress

The blind, brutal savagery of Venezuelan Communist terrorism was never more evident than in the 6 December murder of the wife of Accion Democratica Deputy Martin Antonio Rangel. The 22 year old mother of two sons was killed when she opened a gift package delivered to her husband at the National Congress, which he subsequently brought home unopened. The gift was a small statue of the Virgin Mary in which a bomb was concealed.

The Communists' intention obviously had been for Antonio Rangel to open the package in the congressional

chamber, where his desk is located in the center of the Accion Democratica delegation. Had the bomb exploded there it probably would have killed or wounded several dozen deputies.

The act was scored by President Raul Leoni as a monstrous crime; the two houses of congress passed a joint resolution condemning it as an attempt against the congress itself; and 59 leading leftist intellectuals issued a proclamation calling for the Communist Party and the MIR to repudiate the principle of armed opposition and to contribute to a pacification that will permit them to return to the free exercise of democratic rights.

\* \* \*

#68

Commentary

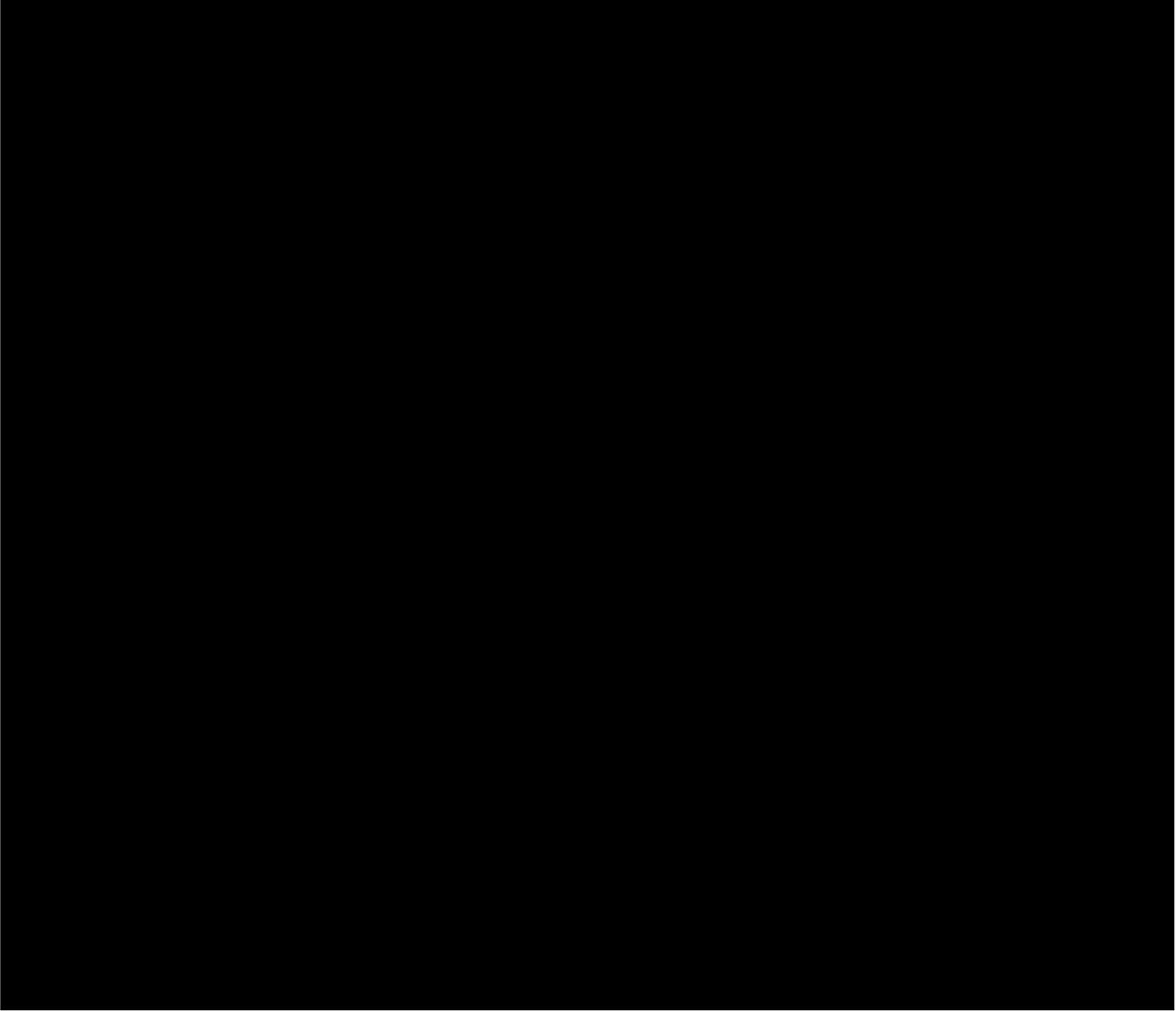
24 Nov-7 Dec 1965

Principal Developments:

1. A 28 November Pravda editorial firmly, though calmly, sets the line for a counter-attack against the recent Chinese polemics, particularly the 11 Nov. joint article. Unity of action is essential and demanded by "the majority of the M-L parties." The CPSU does everything possible to insure normalization of relations with the CCP, has "time and again" proposed specific joint actions, and has refrained from open polemics for more than a year, -- but with "no positive response from the CCP leaders." Their "policy of subverting unity" harms the entire movement, the parties in the capitalist countries, international organizations, and national liberation, -- especially the embattled Vietnamese who particularly need united support. The Chinese "call for organizational disassociation" will hit the CCP itself hardest, because "this means disassociation from the overwhelming majority." Support rendered to the Vietnamese is the touchstone: those who refuse to cooperate are hampering the Viets and helping the aggressor. By 5 December, Pravda can publish excerpts supporting this editorial from the press of all East European ruling parties (except the Rumanians and Albanians), Mongolia, most West European and the Canadian CPs. Izvestiya on the 6th, fifth anniversary of the 81-party Moscow conference statement, concludes along the same line.
2. The Polish Trybuna Ludu denunciation of the Chinese is astoundingly sharp, branding their accusations as "absurd" and "nonsense," remarking that the "entire big article, full of anti-Soviet attacks, does not contain a single word on how the CCP intends to help the Vietnamese." Hungarian Nepszabadsag suggests that perhaps the CPs have been "too passive" toward the splitters and declares that "the most effective way to struggle successfully for unity is to strengthen solidarity with the Soviet Union." Bulgarian Rabotnicheskoe Delo slavishly asserts that "friendship and unity with the SU and the CPSU are the cornerstone for the internationalism of every ... party."
3. We have not yet seen any direct comment by Chinese-aligned parties, though Chou En-lai, speaking at an Albanian Embassy liberation anniversary reception on the same day, includes a "routine" denunciation of Khrushchev revisionism and the Albanians carry on their customary anti-CPSU barrage.
4. An unconfirmed NYTimes report credited to "Asian sources" at the UN states that China is demanding and receiving transit-fee payments in dollars from the USSR for aid shipped to Vietnam.

5. Brezhnev makes a secret visit to East Germany, announced only afterwards, after which Soviet Foreign Trade Minister Patolichev completes negotiations in Berlin for a 1966-1970 trade agreement. East German Deputy Premier and Planning Chief Apel commits suicide on 3 December: reportedly, he sent a message to Western contacts, [redacted] declaring that his act was a protest against the "sell-out of his country's economic interests" in the Soviet trade pact.

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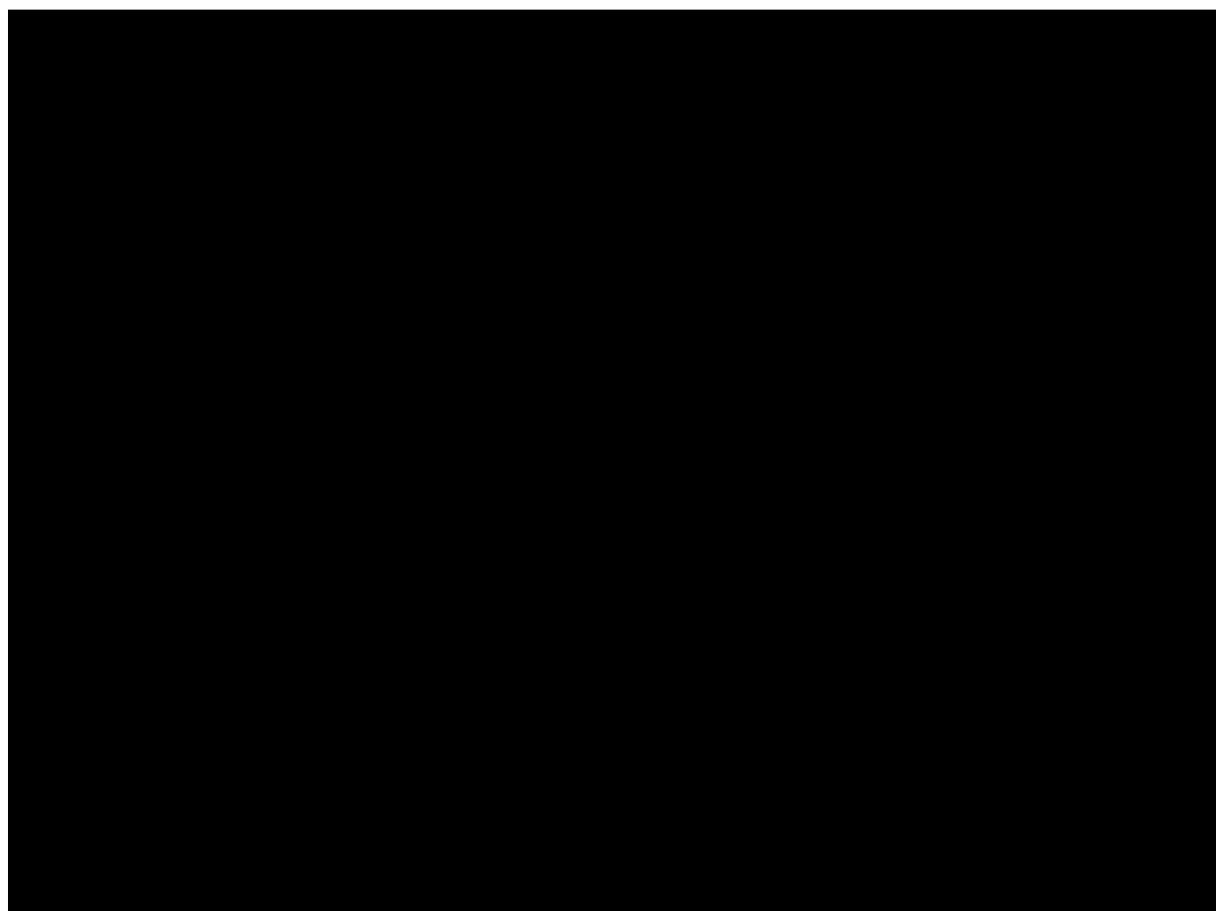
Significance:

The CPSU counter-attack, as anticipated, adheres to the calm, reasonable, everything-for-unity approach which has done so well over the past year and capitalizes heavily on popular antipathy to Peking's open refusal

to cooperate with the USSR in aiding the hard-pressed, fraternal Vietnamese. The counter-productivity of the Chinese rejection of this Soviet maneuver is clearly seen in the amazingly hard-spoken denunciations by the East European ruling parties, particularly the Poles, who have tried to keep entirely out of the polemical battles.

Pravda's warning that the Chinese "call for organizational disassociation" will result in isolation of the CCP from the "overwhelming majority" and Izvestiya's satisfaction in "the expansion of the CPSU's permanent contacts with all other M-L parties" may be seen as a sort of girding for a new effort to convene a world conference. Support for such speculation could also be seen in some references in the EE texts. De facto, of course, the Soviet invitation to all parties to send two delegates to the CPSU Congress should in itself bring the widest representation possible at this juncture, but it is possible that the old anti-conference elements (Rumanians, Italians, British, etc.) may, before accepting, insist on a guarantee that the assemblage will not be used as a conference of the ICM.

In any case, the 23rd CPSU Congress will obviously be the principal focal point in ICM affairs for the foreseeable future.



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CHRONOLOGY -- COMMUNIST DISSENSIONS

#68

27 Nov-7 Dec 1965

November 22 (delayed): Zagreb, Yugoslavia, Vjesnik article by z. Kristl, "Two Khrushchevs in the Chinese Eyes," comments on the recent exacerbation of Sino-Soviet conflict. The 11 November Chinese joint article, he says "means not only renunciation of unity of action ... but also an open declaration of a command for a definite break of all relations, from interstate relations to international women's or freedom fighters organizations .... If the Chinese words really mean what they say, we should expect considerable changes in the very near future."

"From military tactics it is known that 'disengagement' and break of contact with the enemy are always insisted on by the side which feels that it is the weaker.... In this sense, the new Chinese intentions, if realized, will be despite their 'sharpness' and 'revolutionary character' -- only a flimsy curtain over the defensive battle after the years of the great leap backwards."

November 26: NCNA Peking comments that Soviet UN delegate Fedorenko "beat the drum for the formation of a UN military force" and announced that the SU, "together with the United States," is ready to contribute to its support.

"Formerly the SU opposed this American proposal. But ever since the Camp David talks in 1959 between Khrushchev and Eisenhower, the Soviet leadership's move to cater to the needs of the US on this issue has come into the open step by step...."

An albanian Zeri I Popullit article, "The Vietnamese People Will Defeat the US Aggressors," according to Tirana ATA, "unmasks the efforts made by them and the K revisionists to arrive at a 'joint solution' of the Vietnamese affair and thus save the American aggressors from total defeat in Vietnam."

November 27-29: The 21st anniversary of Albania's liberation (28) is celebrated in Peking and Tirana. At the Albanian Ambassador's reception in Peking, Chou En-lai condemned K revisionism, which "has betrayed M-L and proletarian internationalism": "catering to the needs of U.S. imperialism, it is disrupting the unity of the socialist camp and the ICM and undermining the national liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world...." Pravda on the 28th extolls the achievements of the Albanian people with Soviet assistance and says that "the Soviet Government has always been and is in favor of consolidating friendship and cooperation between the SU and Albania." In Tirana

on the 28th, Zeri I Popullit carries two anti-K. revisionist editorials, one pegged to the anniversary and another on "The Revisionists Make Common Front with the Imperialists Against the Indonesian CP!"

November 28: Pravda features a 4,000-word editorial on "The International Duty of All Countries," counter-attacking recent Chinese polemics -- particularly the 11 November joint article, though it is not specified. The language is calm, confident, "non-polemical," but firm.

"Unity of action of Communist and workers parties is the nucleus of the rallying of the revolutionary forces of our time.... Unity ... has never come automatically by itself. It has been achieved as a result of long, patient, and persistent work and a struggle against revisionist and dogmatic distortions of Marxism...."

"... The tremendous opportunities existing today for the further development of our revolutionary cause are not fully used. The effectiveness of joint actions by revolutionary cause are not fully used. The effectiveness of joint actions by revolutionary forces is considerably weakened and undermined by the differences that arose within the Communist movement. An overwhelming majority of fraternal parties stand firmly on the general line of the CM forged by the 1957 and 1960 Moscow conferences. Certain parties hold positions differing radically from the common platform of Communists. Under these conditions, the majority of M-L parties calls for closing the ranks of the Communist and national liberation movement despite the existing differences...."

Pravda cites as examples of successful recent "international Communist actions" the meeting of all LA parties, the Brussels conference of WE parties and the Prague meeting of "almost 40 parties" on the 30th anniversary of the Comintern 7th Congress.

The CPSU, it continues, "is sparing no effort to overcome the difficulties that have developed": the party and its CC "have done and are doing everything in their power to insure a normalization of relations between the USSR and China and between our two parties." The CPSU "has time and again proposed to the Chinese leadership to come out together on highly important specific issues," and "has refrained from open polemics for more than a year." ... These efforts "unfortunately .. met with no positive response from the CCP leaders. Of course, unity of action can not be imposed on anyone by force."

"The policy of subverting unity of action, the line of intensifying attacks on M-L parties, is harmful to the entire international Communist and liberation movement. It also has an adverse effect on the activities of the fraternal parties of the capitalist countries.... It causes great damage to international organizations.... It considerably hinders the people's struggle for liberation and the

consolidation of all anti-imperialist forces. This splitting line deals especially hard blows to those fraternal parties and people which, like the Vietnamese Workers Party and the Vietnamese people, are in the forefront of the armed struggle against the imperialist aggressors and are therefore in particular need of support by a united socialist camp and a united WCM....

"What a gift imperialist propaganda receives from the actions of those who ... repeat the slanderous fabrications of the ideologists of imperialism about a 'capitalist degeneration' of the socialist Soviet state, and who even go so far as to call for an organizational disassociation....

"One cannot but see that such actions may do great harm first of all to those who sponsor them.... As a matter of fact, this means disassociation from the overwhelming majority of the M-L parties....

"... The support rendered to the Vietnamese people's just struggle is the touchstone of how this or that CP fulfills its international duty.

"The Soviet Union is providing and will provide all the necessary assistance to the heroic Vietnamese people.... Other fraternal parties also took vigorous action in support of Vietnam.... Those who refuse to cooperate and turn down proposals for joint actions against the aggressors are hampering the struggle of the Vietnamese people and helping the aggressor....

"... To oppose this unity now and to call for division is to act contrary to the interests of the revolution, to come out against Lenin, to renounce Lenin's heritage...."

November 29: TASS announces that Brezhnev visited East Germany at the invitation of the SED/CC and Ulbricht 27-29 November, "in an atmosphere of cordiality, fraternity, and complete unanimity of views."

NCNA comments on The USSR and the USA -- Their Political and Economic Relations, "a 396-page book recently put on sale in the SU to preach the revisionist line of USSR-US cooperation for domination of the world."

"Tirelessly emphasizing the 'major significance' of USSR-US co-operation, the author (V. A. Valkov) writes that cooperation between two 'such mighty powers'.... 'is vitally necessary for the Soviet and American peoples as well as for the destiny of all mankind.'..."

November 30: NCNA announces that the CPR Embassy in Djakarta sent two more "very strong protests" to the Indonesian Govt over "recent cases of serious persecution of Chinese nationals which were stage-managed and organized by Indonesian right-wing forces...."

December 1-2 : Mongolian Party daily Unen and Ulan Bator Radio broadcasts carry full text of the 28 November Pravda editorial on the 1st. Unen's editorial next day comments on it, beginning: "The MPRP and the Mongolian people unanimously approve and support the Pravda editorial ...."

December 2: Czech Party daily Rude Pravo condemns the Chinese joint article.

"It is only too clear that the rejection of joint action plays directly into the hands of the imperialists, makes the national liberation struggle more difficult, and hampers the strengthening of the anti-imperialist front. It is therefore even more incomprehensible that the rejection of a joint approach is justified by such fantastic assertions as that an 'irreconcilable antagonism' exists between some CPs and the leadership of the CPSU, which, it is said, is a 'class antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie ... an antagonism between socialist and capitalist societies.'"

Rude Pravo concludes:

We welcome the fact that the CPSU in Sunday's Pravda article clearly and calmly answered the slanderous campaign and again stressed its intention of contributing toward strengthening the unity of Communist ranks."

December 3: Polish Party daily Trybuna Ludu editorial, "For Unity in the Defense of Peace and the freedom of Nations," denounces Chinese rejection of Soviet "proposals on concerting joint actions to defend the DRV." It specifically points to the 11 November joint article which "fills one with astonishment."

"Nobody can be convinced by thundering words, for in politics not words but deeds count. Facts, on the other hand, say that the CPR, without whose cooperation no real help can be given to Vietnam, refuses any cooperation.... Moreover, it rejects the possibility of a summit meeting of party and government leaders of the socialist countries....

"In order to justify its openly disrupting attitude, the ... article does not hesitate to use such absurd accusations as 'the essence of the policy of the CPSU is the defense of capitalist rule in the capitalist world and the restoration of capitalism in the socialist world!'

"No matter what nonsense the CCP leaders utter, they cannot invent arguments which could justify in our eyes, in the eyes of the entire socialist and progressive world public opinion, refusal to cooperate and to concert on policy....

"... The entire, big article, full of anti-Soviet attacks, does not contain a single word on how the CCP intends to help the Vietnamese nation in its bloody and difficult struggle....

"... This unusual statement of the CCP leaders will find no favorable echo in any Communist or working class.... The disruptive activities of the CCP shall be overcome...."

December 4: Hungarian Party daily Nepszabadsag article, "The Paramount Task Is to Fight Imperialism," deplored the unprecedented "grave differences in viewpoints" and polemics which prevent a united Communist political stand, raises questions as to whether the CPs are resolute enough in the face of aggressive, adventurous imperialist policies and whether they have not adopted a too passive attitude toward the unity splitters. More and more CPs are becoming convinced of the right of the CPSU and of the other fraternal parties which have identical views and pursue identical policies.... The most effective way to struggle successfully for unity is to strengthen solidarity with the Soviet Union. (Note: above is from Budapest MTI summary; full text not yet available.)

TASS reports from Ottawa that the Canadian CP has published a statement censuring the attacks on the CPSU in the Chinese joint article.

TASS announces that Polish Politburo member Kliszko talked with Brezhnev, Suslov, and Andropov "in a warm and friendly atmosphere" today.

NYTimes publishes a 3 December dispatch by its UN correspondent Middleton stating that "Asian sources" at the UN report that "Communist China is demanding and receiving transit-fee payments in dollars from the Soviet Union for shipping military aid and medical supplies to North Vietnam." Headeds: "Qualified sources here saw the dollar payments as further evidence of mounting strain between the rivals."

December 5: Bulgarian Party daily Rabotnichesko Delo editorial, "Unity in the Joint Struggle Is a Guarantee for Our Successes," deplores the joint Chinese article of 11 November.

"... Friendship and unity with the Soviet Union and the CPSU are the cornerstone for the internationalism of every fraternal and Communist party....

Pravda publishes excerpts from articles of the East and West European and Mongolian Communist press (with the notable absence of Rumanian) supporting the Pravda 28 November editorial -- although none of the excerpts includes any specific mention of China.

December 6: Izvestiya features an article on the fifth anniversary of the statement of the 1960 81-party conference by Yuriy Frantsev (editor of Problems of Peace and Socialism). According to a TASS summary, he declares that:

The CPSU insures the unity of the WCM. It was only recently that delegations of 60 fraternal parties visited Moscow. This is evidence of the expansion of the CPSU's permanent contacts with all other M-L parties, which is based on proletarian internationalism.... However, it is also known that there are people -- the CCP leaders -- who openly stand for a split and try to dissociate themselves organizationally from parties favoring unity of action.... Those who reject unity of action hamper the people's struggle against imperialism and help the aggressor.

French Communist monthly Democratie Nouvelle carries an article, "The Tragedy of Djakarta," by FCP journalist Jean-Maurice Hermann, who criticizes the PKI for having followed a "hard line" in foreign affairs and dubious tactics internally, resulting in success for imperialism and counter-revolution risking possible permanent consequences. He asks "Was not the PKI the principal support outside China for the theses of the Chinese CP and the only large party which rallied to them?"

December 7: NYTimes Berlin correspondent cites "Eastern bloc diplomats" as reporting that Dr. Erich Apel, East German Deputy Premier and Planning Commission Chief, committed suicide on 3 December in protest against a trade pact with the Soviet Union which he considered a sell-out of his country's economic interests." West Berlin mayor Willy Brandt disclosed that Apel had sent a message to Western contacts justifying his step and declared that the details would be made public in a few days.

CRONOLOGIA -- DISENSIONES COMUNISTAS

No 68

27 Noviembre - 7 Diciembre 1965

22 Noviembre (retrasado): En un artículo publicado en "Vjesnik," de Zagreb, titulado "Dos Jruschovs a ojo de los chinos," Z. Kristl comenta sobre el reciente exacerbamiento del conflicto chino-soviético. Declara que el artículo conjunto chino del 11 de noviembre "significa no solamente la renuncia a la unidad de acción ... sino también una declaración abierta de una orden de ruptura definitiva de relaciones en su totalidad, desde las relaciones entre estados hasta las organizaciones de mujeres o de luchadores por la libertad .... Si las palabras chinas quieren decir realmente lo que dicen, deberemos esperar cambios considerables en un futuro muy próximo."

"De la táctica militar se sabe que siempre es la parte que se siente más débil la que insiste en el 'destrabe' y la ruptura de contacto con el enemigo.... En este sentido, las nuevas intenciones chinas, si se realizan, serán, pese a su 'agudeza' y 'carácter revolucionario', solo una tenue cortina sobre la batalla defensiva después de los años del gran salto atrás."

26 Noviembre: Desde Pekín Sinjua comenta que el delegado soviético Fedorenko ante la ONU "batió el bombo por la formación de una fuerza militar de la ONU" y anunció que la Unión Soviética, "conjuntamente con los EE.UU.," está lista a contribuir a su mantenimiento.

"Anteriormente la Unión Soviética se oponía a dicha propuesta. Pero a partir de las conversaciones en Camp David en 1959 entre Jruschov y Eisenhower, la maniobra de la dirigencia soviética por servir a las necesidades de los EE.UU. en este asunto ha salido a la luz paso a paso...."

Un artículo del diario albanés "Zeri I Popullit," titulado "El pueblo vietnamita derrotará a los agresores norteamericanos," dice la agencia ATA de Tirana que "desenmascara los esfuerzos hechos por ellos y por los revisionistas jruschovistas para llegar a una 'solución conjunta' del asunto vietnamita y así rescatar a los agresores norteamericanos de la derrota total en Vietnam."

27-29 Noviembre: En Pekín y Tirana celebran el aniversario (el 28) de la liberación de Albania. En la recepción en la embajada albanesa en Pekín, Chou En-lai condena el revisionismo jruschovista, que "ha hecho traición al marxismo-leninismo y el internacionalismo proletario": "sirviendo a las necesidades del imperialismo norteamericano, está desarreglando la unidad del campo socialista y el MCI y socavando el movimiento de liberación nacional y la lucha revolucionaria de los pueblos del mundo...." El 28 "Pravda" ensalza las realizaciones del pueblo albanés con ayuda soviética y declara que "el Gobierno soviético siempre ha estado y está a favor de consolidar la amistad y la cooperación entre la Unión Soviética y Albania." En Tirana el 28 "Zeri I Popullit" publica dos editoriales

contra el revisionismo jruschovista, uno relacionado con el aniversario y el otro titulado "Los revisionistas hacen frente común con los imperialistas contra el PC indonesio."

28 Noviembre: "Pravda" publica un editorial de 4 mil palabras sobre "El deber internacional de todos los países" que contraataca ante las recientes polémicas chinas -- especialmente el artículo conjunto del 11 de noviembre, aunque esto no se dice en concreto. El lenguaje es tranquilo, confiado, "no polémico," pero firme.

"La unidad de acción de los partidos comunistas y obreros es el núcleo de agrupamiento de las fuerzas revolucionarias de nuestra época.... La unidad ... nunca se ha producido automáticamente por sí misma. Ha sido conseguida como resultado de un trabajo prolongado, paciente y persistente y una lucha contra las tergiversaciones revisionistas y dogmáticas del marxismo....

"... Las tremendas oportunidades existentes actualmente para el ulterior desenvolvimiento de nuestra causa revolucionaria no son aprovechadas totalmente. La efectividad de las acciones conjuntas por la fuerzas revolucionarias queda considerablemente debilitada y socavada por las divergencias surgidas dentro del movimiento comunista. La inmensa mayoría de los partidos fraternos se mantienen firmes en la línea general del movimiento comunista fraguada por las conferencias de 1957 y 1960 en Moscú. Ciertos partidos mantienen posiciones que difieren radicalmente de la plataforma común a los comunistas. En tales condiciones, los partidos marxista-leninistas en su mayoría reclaman el cierre de filas del movimiento comunista y de liberación nacional no obstante las divergencias existentes...."

"Pravda" pone de ejemplo de "acciones comunistas internacionales" que han tenido éxito recientemente la reunión de todos los PC latinoamericanos, la conferencia en Bruselas de los partidos de Europa Occidental y la reunión en Praga de "casi 40 partidos" en el trigésimo aniversario del Séptimo Congreso del Comintern.

El PCUS, prosigue, "no escatima esfuerzo para superar las dificultades que han surgido"; el partido y su CC "han hecho y están haciendo cuanto está en su poder por asegurar la normalidad de las relaciones entre la URSS y China y entre nuestros dos partidos." El PCUS "una y otra vez ha propuesto a la dirigencia china aparecer juntos sobre cuestiones específicas de gran importancia" y "se ha abstenido de las polémicas abiertas por más de un año." Dichos esfuerzos "por desgracia ... no hallaron respuesta positiva por parte de los líderes del PCCh. Por supuesto, la unidad de acción no puede ser impuesta a la fuerza por nadie."

"La política de subvertir la unidad de acción, la línea de intensificar los ataques contra partidos marxista-leninistas, hace daño a todo el movimiento internacional comunista y de liberación. También tiene efecto adverso sobre las actividades de los partidos fraternos de los países capitalistas.... Ocasiona grave daño a las organizaciones internacionales....

y la consolidación de todas las fuerzas antí imperialistas. Esta línea escisionista asesta golpes especialmente fuertes contra los partidos y pueblo fraternos que, como el Partido Vietnamita de los Trabajadores y el pueblo vietnamita, están a la delantera en la lucha armada contra los agresores imperialistas y por lo tanto tienen especial necesidad de apoyo de un campo socialista unido y un MCM unido....

"¡Qué regalo recibe la propaganda imperialista de las acciones de aquellos que ... repiten las calumnias fabricadas por los ideólogos del imperialismo acerca de una 'degeneración capitalista' del estado socialista soviético y que llegan al extremo de pedir una desasociación organizativa...!"

"Uno no pueda dejar de ver que semejantes acciones hacen gran daño en primer lugar a aquellos que las propugnan.... En efecto, ello implica desasociación de la inmensa mayoría de los partidos marxista-leninistas....

"... El apoyo prestado a la justa lucha del pueblo vietnamita es la piedra de toque de cómo este o aquel PC cumple su deber internacional.

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CRONOLOGIA -- DISENSIONES COMUNISTAS

No 68

27 Noviembre - 7 Diciembre 1965

22 Noviembre (retrasado): En un artículo publicado en "Vjesnik," de Zagreb, titulado "Dos Jruschovs a ojo de los chinos," Z. Kristl comenta sobre el reciente exacerbamiento del conflicto chino-soviético. Declara que el artículo conjunto chino del 11 de noviembre "significa no solamente la renuncia a la unidad de acción ... sino también una declaración abierta de una orden de ruptura definitiva de relaciones en su totalidad, desde las relaciones entre estados hasta las organizaciones de mujeres o de luchadores por la libertad .... Si las palabras chinas quieren decir realmente lo que dicen, deberemos esperar cambios considerables en un futuro muy próximo."

"De la táctica militar se sabe que siempre es la parte que se siente más débil la que insiste en el 'destrabe' y la ruptura de contacto con el enemigo.... En este sentido, las nuevas intenciones chinas, si se realizan, serán, pese a su 'agudeza' y 'carácter revolucionario', solo una tenue cortina sobre la batalla defensiva después de los años del gran salto atrás."

26 Noviembre: Desde Pekín Sinjua comenta que el delegado soviético Fedorenko ante la ONU "batió el bombo por la formación de una fuerza militar de la ONU" y anunció que la Unión Soviética, "conjuntamente con los EE.UU.," está lista a contribuir a su mantenimiento.

"Anteriormente la Unión Soviética se oponía a dicha propuesta. Pero a partir de las conversaciones en Camp David en 1959 entre Jruschov y Eisenhower, la maniobra de la dirigencia soviética por servir a las necesidades de los EE.UU. en este asunto ha salido a la luz paso a paso...."

Un artículo del diario albanés "Zeri I Popullit," titulado "El pueblo vietnamita derrotará a los agresores norteamericanos," dice la agencia ATA de Tirana que "desenmascara los esfuerzos hechos por ellos y por los revisionistas jruschovistas para llegar a una 'solución conjunta' del asunto vietnamita y así rescatar a los agresores norteamericanos de la derrota total en Vietnam."

27-29 Noviembre: En Pekín y Tirana celebran el aniversario (el 28) de la liberación de Albania. En la recepción en la embajada albanesa en Pekín, Chou En-lai condena el revisionismo jruschovista, que "ha hecho traición al marxismo-leninismo y el internacionalismo proletario": "sirviendo a las necesidades del imperialismo norteamericano, está desarreglando la unidad del campo socialista y el MCI y socavando el movimiento de liberación nacional y la lucha revolucionaria de los pueblos del mundo...." El 28 "Pravda" ensalza las realizaciones del pueblo albanés con ayuda soviética y declara que "el Gobierno soviético siempre ha estado y está a favor de consolidar la amistad y la cooperación entre la Unión Soviética y Albania." En Tirana el 28 "Zeri I Popullit" publica dos editoriales

contra el revisionismo jruschovista, uno relacionado con el aniversario y el otro titulado "Los revisionistas hacen frente común con los imperialistas contra el PC indonesio."

28 Noviembre: "Pravda" publica un editorial de 4 mil palabras sobre "El deber internacional de todos los países" que contraataca ante las recientes polémicas chinas -- especialmente el artículo conjunto del 11 de noviembre, aunque esto no se dice en concreto. El lenguaje es tranquilo, confiado, "no polémico," pero firme.

"La unidad de acción de los partidos comunistas y obreros es el núcleo de agrupamiento de las fuerzas revolucionarias de nuestra época.... La unidad ... nunca se ha producido automáticamente por sí misma. Ha sido conseguida como resultado de un trabajo prolongado, paciente y persistente y una lucha contra las tergiversaciones revisionistas y dogmáticas del marxismo....

"... Las tremendas oportunidades existentes actualmente para el ulterior desenvolvimiento de nuestra causa revolucionaria no son aprovechadas totalmente. La efectividad de las acciones conjuntas por la fuerzas revolucionarias queda considerablemente debilitada y socavada por las divergencias surgidas dentro del movimiento comunista. La inmensa mayoría de los partidos fraternos se mantienen firmes en la línea general del movimiento comunista fraguada por las conferencias de 1957 y 1960 en Moscú. Ciertos partidos mantienen posiciones que difieren radicalmente de la plataforma común a los comunistas. En tales condiciones, los partidos marxista-leninistas en su mayoría reclaman el cierre de filas del movimiento comunista y de liberación nacional no obstante las divergencias existentes...."

"Pravda" pone de ejemplo de "acciones comunistas internacionales" que han tenido éxito recientemente la reunión de todos los PC latinoamericanos, la conferencia en Bruselas de los partidos de Europa Occidental y la reunión en Praga de "casi 40 partidos" en el trigésimo aniversario del Séptimo Congreso del Comintern.

El PCUS, prosigue, "no escatima esfuerzo para superar las dificultades que han surgido"; el partido y su CC "han hecho y están haciendo cuanto está en su poder por asegurar la normalidad de las relaciones entre la URSS y China y entre nuestros dos partidos." El PCUS "una y otra vez ha propuesto a la dirigencia china aparecer juntos sobre cuestiones específicas de gran importancia" y "se ha abstenido de las polémicas abiertas por más de un año." Dichos esfuerzos "por desgracia ... no hallaron respuesta positiva por parte de los líderes del PCCh. Por supuesto, la unidad de acción no puede ser impuesta a la fuerza por nadie."

"La política de subvertir la unidad de acción, la línea de intensificar los ataques contra partidos marxista-leninistas, hace daño a todo el movimiento internacional comunista y de liberación. También tiene efecto adverso sobre las actividades de los partidos fraternos de los países capitalistas.... Ocasiona grave daño a las organizaciones internacionales....

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"¡Qué regalo recibe la propaganda imperialista de las acciones de aquellos que ... repiten las calumnias fabricadas por los ideólogos del imperialismo acerca de una 'degeneración capitalista' del estado socialista soviético y que llegan al extremo de pedir una desasociación organizativa...!"

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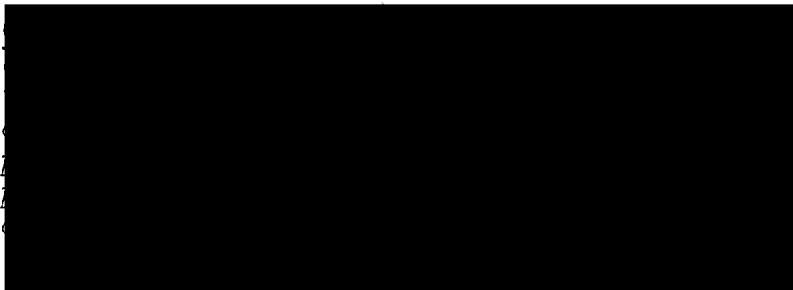
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UNITED STATES:

PLANNING IN A DYNAMIC, CREATIVE SOCIETY

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SITUATION: Communists have always claimed the superiority of their system and attributed it largely to state ownership of the means of production and control of planning by an authoritarian state organization. Therefore, it is a significant event -- in the battle of ideologies which help determine people's choice of socio-economic, political systems -- when a communist not only rejects communism but later describes capitalist society, inter alia, as

"... a stable, evolving, creative and innovative social system..."

Stevan Dedijer, born in Yugoslavia and formerly head of Marshal Tito's Atomic Energy Institute, quit Yugoslav Communism in 1957, after twenty-one years of service, and left the country in 1961 to later become a naturalized Swedish citizen. He is now a specialist on the interaction of science and social development in the Sociological Institute of Lund University in Sweden.

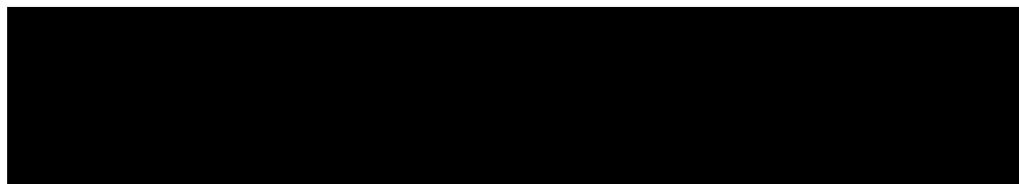
In a paper delivered before the Royal Swedish Academy of Engineering Science in June 1965, he concluded that the United States has refuted the "laws of capitalism" and that America is headed "exactly in a direction Marxist social scientists claim that it could not go." Among the findings of his firsthand study of U.S. society, Dedijer reported there was better planning in the U.S. than in communist countries; and that public and private organizations interact to promote the welfare of all American citizens.

Facts and figures contrasting U.S. with communist country economic performance should speak for themselves and do to a large extent. But, on the one hand communist publications seek to distort and misinterpret economic data; and, on the other, claim that Marx' predictions are being borne out with regard to the stagnation and dissolution of the capitalist system (which "carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction" and can evolve only toward this final end).

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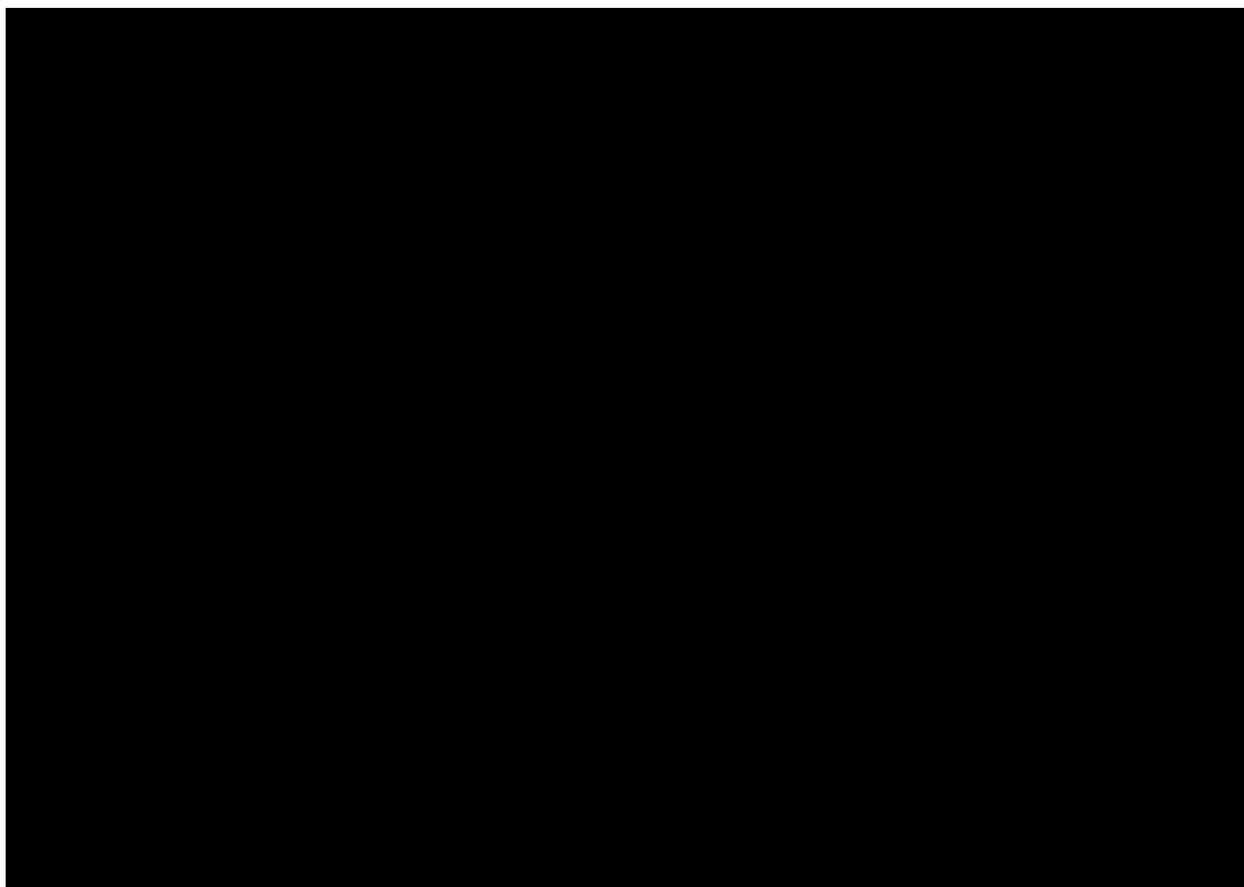
Admissions by communist officials that all is not well with their economic organization and proposals to borrow from capitalist techniques again carry a picture which should help others to evaluate the respective systems. (See Briefly Noted in this issue on the failure of the Soviet wheat harvest; and numerous papers on communist economic problems in previous BPG's.)

Evidence of a vital, growing, creatively evolving western society rounds out the picture which facts and figures per se cannot portray. And Dedijer's paper does this in touching on the interrelations of private and public institutions, on the interacting planning research facilities of government and private enterprise, and on the vitality of a society promoting the welfare of all of its citizens. Such an analysis should be meaningful to those who think in communist terms and to those who listen to propaganda on the merits of the communist system -- or worse, to disinformation about capitalism and western democracy.



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[REDACTED] SUDANESE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY  
DECLARES COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS UNLAWFUL

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SITUATION: A comparatively insignificant incident, which under other circumstances might well have gone unnoticed, has provided an amazing demonstration of international Communist dialectical "logic," provoked the proscription of the pro-Soviet Sudan Communist Party (SCP) and presented a timely political gambit for exploitation by the shaky coalition government of the Sudan.

Anti-communist demonstrations and riots broke out on 11 and 12 November in Khartoum and Omdurman, triggered by an insult to Islam and the Prophet by a Communist student in a public discussion at the Higher Teachers' Training Institute. Several teachers and student groups marched to the Council of Ministers and demanded the dissolution of the SCP and the outlawing of its members. Rioters, organized by the violently anti-Communist Moslem Brotherhood and other Islamic groups stormed Communist centers, forcing the Communists to request police protection. After their initial shock, the Communists marshalled their own followers and instigated violent street demonstrations, with many people on both sides injured and with considerable damage to property.

Religious enmity against the Communists was exploited swiftly by the coalition government to dissolve the SCP: on 14 November leaders of the Umma Party and the National Union Party, partners in the coalition, met and agreed to take advantage of the religious frenzy to proscribe the party. A motion for proscription was presented to the Constituent Assembly and passed on 15 November.

After more than a week of pro- and anti-Communist agitation, the Constituent Assembly passed on 22 November a constitutional amendment declaring Communist associations unlawful and authorizing the Assembly to enact the necessary legislation to effect the amendment. Following the prescribed three readings of proposed legislation before the Constituent Assembly, on 9 December the Assembly formally enacted into law a bill dissolving the SCP, confiscating its properties, making it a criminal offense to belong to any communist organization, and immediately unseating eleven Communist Party members of the Assembly.

During the debate in the Assembly, the SCP steadfastly maintained that the proposed banning of the SCP was illegal, an attitude they reiterated after the legislation was passed. There are indications that the SCP will go underground and continue its battle for legality as well as subversive anti-government activities.

Meanwhile, the student, Shawqi Muhammad Ali, was tried and sentenced to prison on 5 December for voicing "blasphemous, anti-Islamic statements at a public gathering." Shawqi admitted that he was a communist and an atheist, but -- disillusioned with the SCP's disavowal of him -- he subsequently expressed regrets over his misguided blasphemy and a desire to embrace Islam.

Soviet reaction. The Soviet press lost no time in expressing Soviet concern over the elimination of one of the few remaining legal communist parties in Africa, which about a year ago seemed to have a chance of dominating the Sudan.

A PRAVDA commentary of 17 November describes the ban of the SCP as "foreshadowing the onslaught by Sudanese reactionaries on Democracy," and a "step towards Dictatorship," leading the Sudan "to national catastrophe." The commentary reported, approvingly, the SCP leader's statement that the Party will not accept the ban and will continue to "wage the struggle to defend democracy and the constitution" since the government's violation of the constitution gives the SCP the right to defend itself.

TASS news items from Khartoum emphasized the efforts of the SCP and "progressive elements" to "defend democracy and freedom" on the one hand, and the repressive actions of the police and the Moslem Brothers which led to the injury of SCP leaders, on the other. They also stressed that intellectuals and leaders of other political groups were joining with the SCP in opposing the ban. (The Soviet press at first appeared to be exerting maximum influence to prevent the ban while the ban was still under consideration and not yet in force.)

Victim of Sino-Soviet dissensions. The first hint of how the Sino-Soviet dissension affected the Sudan situation was revealed in a 19 November NOVOSTI Daily Review: it reported that the SCP had issued an official statement blaming anti-religious remarks by one man for setting off the anti-communist campaign. According to the SCP announcement, this man (the student) is a member of the "revolutionary leadership communist party, a group of corrupt people ... waging an unprincipled struggle against communists all over the world." The group was further identified as "agents of the Chinese Communist Party," and was said to have been expelled from the SCP in mid-1964. The SCP was also quoted as condemning the "rude interference in Sudanese affairs by the CCP."

On 22 November PRAVDA commentary stressed that the ban of the SCP is part of a long run campaign to reverse the recent swing to the left in Sudan, combined with a "broad onslaught on democratic liberties and organizations and the gains of the people." While its main fire was directed against "reactionary parties," the commentary asserts that "anti-communist demonstrations and raids" took place with the "obvious connivance of the authorities." The commentary closed with the statement that "Soviet Communists and all Soviet people" declare solidarity with the Sudanese communists and "patriots and democrats" and express confidence that "Sudanese national democratic forces" will be able to "rebuff the onslaught of reaction and imperialism."

The Soviet Peace Committee entered the scene with a 26 November statement expressing grave concern over the harassment of democratic forces in the Sudan. It asserted that "Present attacks on Sudanese democratic organizations noted for their consistent struggle for peace cannot but please aggressive imperialist and colonialist circles which are the enemies of peace."

An "after the fact," press interview with the SCP Secretary General on 30 November was reported by TASS, which stated that "the conspiracy against the SCP had been prepared long before the anti-Islam speech was made ... by a provocateur who pretended to be a Communist." TASS further reported that the Sudanese Communists are fully aware of the existence of the traditional concepts of the Sudanese, and that the SCP does not "propagate anti-religious ideas either directly or indirectly."

An Old Story. The Worldwide Communist anti-religion campaign has continued without letup and has been more noticeable in overt actions in recent years while clashes between Communists and Moslems have increased. For example,

Indonesia -- the long, insidious PKI campaign to strip Moslem groups of power (having their parties and papers banned) and subvert their youth, was suddenly reversed in a violent eruption on the heels of the unsuccessful PKI coup in October 1965. Moslems have led the attacks on all PKI installations and groups and pledged to eliminate communism.

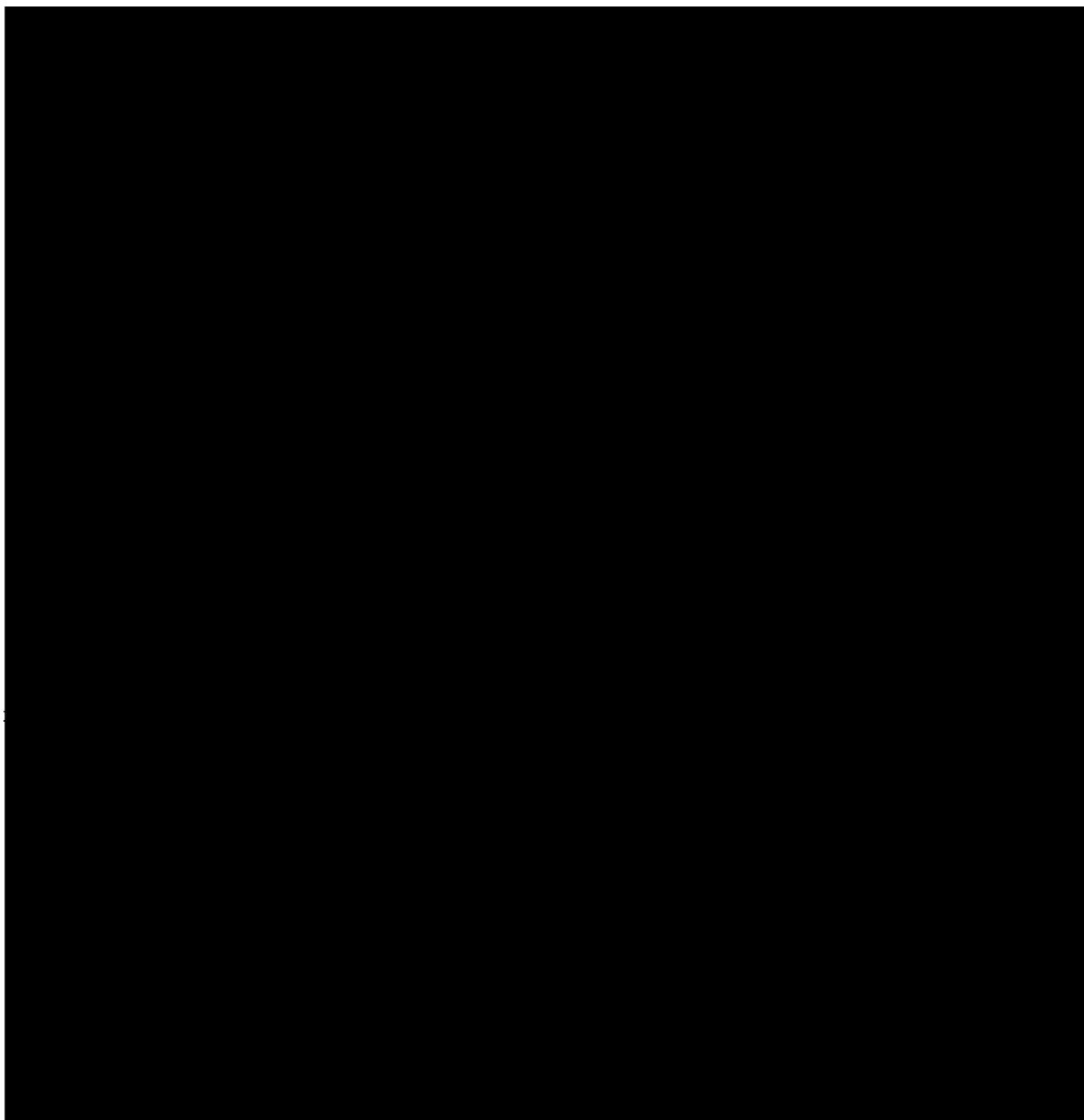
Tibet -- the 15-year CPR drive (noticeably increased in 1958-1959) to eradicate Buddhism in Tibet, where it has been defined as genocide, continues by persecuting, jailing, exiling and killing the remaining leaders.

Algeria -- soon after ousting pro-communist Ben Bella, Boumedienne promised to bring Islam back to the Moslem country.

USSR -- the Kremlin permitted, if it did not arrange, an anti-Moslem demonstration led by 150 Sudanese students before their own embassy in Moscow on 17 November 1965 -- testimony to the success of Soviet anti-religious indoctrination of some students from foreign countries.

Islam's reaction to these attacks and campaigns spreads from Sudan to Djakarta, and even in Pakistan (so recently striving for friendly ties with the CPR) the Moslems have condemned the mistreatment of their brethren in other countries.

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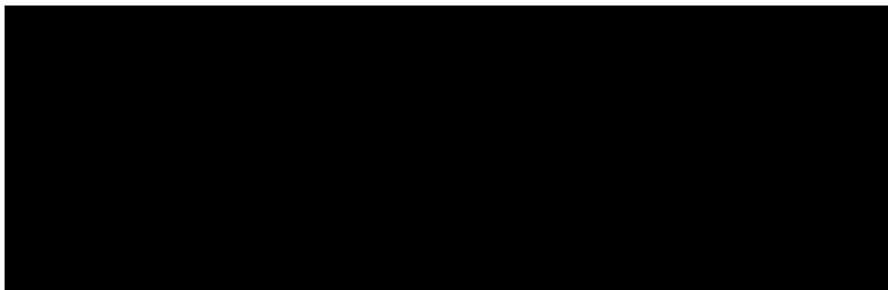
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COUNTERING COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA  
ON VIETNAM

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SITUATION: In the past few months the stridency, exaggeration and outright falsehoods apparent in Communist propaganda on Vietnam have grown to such proportions that Communist propagandists are making themselves vulnerable to exposure as distorters of the truth and outright liars. At the beginning of December, for instance, Hanoi's monthly numbers game on the total of American planes downed over North Vietnam hit a new high with the claim that the 800th U.S. plane had just been shot down. At the beginning of October, Hanoi asserted that Viet Cong forces had been bolstered by the addition of 40,000 eager new recruits in the month of September alone; a 17 November editorial in Nhan Dan (the North Vietnamese Communist Party daily) maintained that U.S. forces have suffered 11,000 casualties so far in 1965 and that 1000 American servicemen had been killed in the period between 20 October and 20 November alone. Peking and Hanoi have been trumpeting alleged American "atrocities" with particular attention to "the barbarous nature of the U.S. aggressors' use of poison gas to massacre hundreds of innocent civilians." Moscow has also resurrected a memorable chestnut from the Korean War by giving play to charges of U.S. forces "waging chemical warfare in the South."

Moscow and Peking, while crying "war monger" at the U.S. are nimbly avoiding mention of any substantive issues in their coverage of possible peace talks. In this connection considerable play has been given the 1964 "peace offer" made by the North Vietnamese to open talks with the U.S. on Vietnam and the U.S. "outright rejection of this forthright attempt to achieve peace."

A particular vulnerability for the U.S. has been in the area of the anti-war demonstrations staged by U.S. college students, civil rights organizations and other misguided citizens. Peking is especially featuring the "massive groundswell of U.S. domestic opposition to Administration policies": prominent U.S. personalities opposed to American participation in the Vietnam

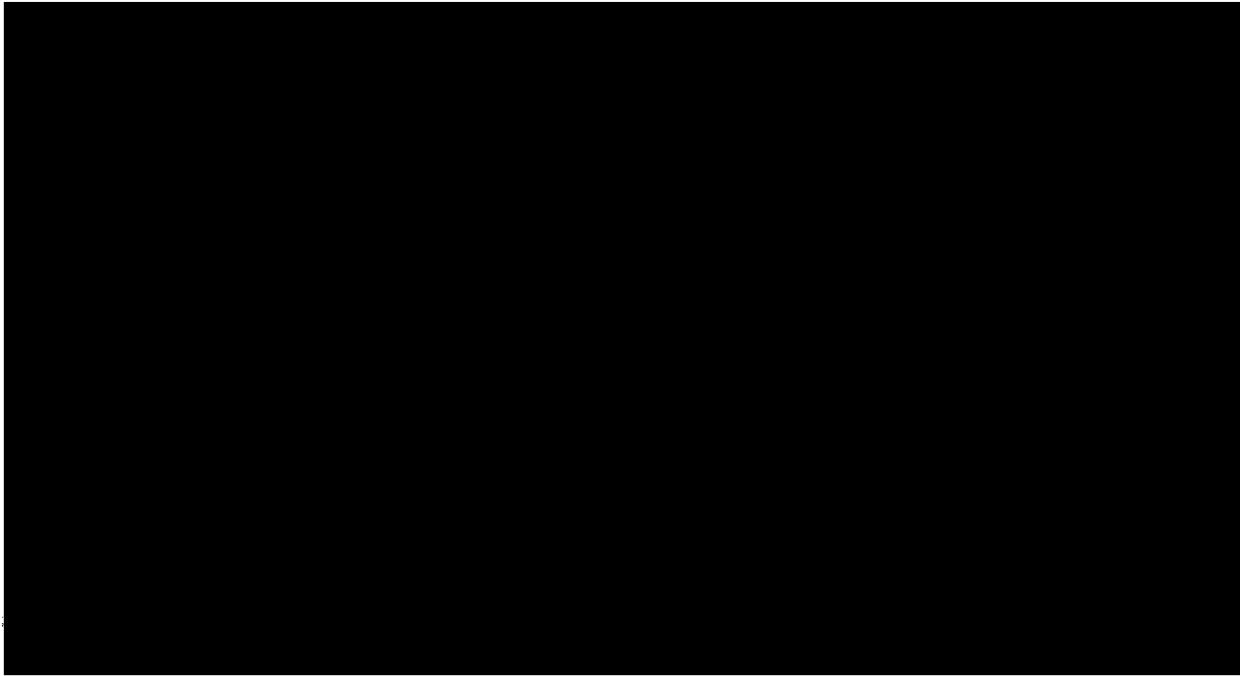
conflict are quoted; U.S. policy makers are widely pictured as being fearful of "the gathering domestic violence" and of having to take into account the "growing strength of the antiwar movement" before making a move in Vietnam. Perhaps most damaging of all, are the pictures truly worth a 1,000 words, widely featured, (and readily available from the U.S. press) showing student demonstrators carrying "get out of Vietnam" placards, huge crowds listening to impassioned speakers telling them not to let their sons, husbands etc. die in another Asian war, beleaguered pro-Administration speakers being shouted off the platform, and protest marchers being dragged off by the police.

References

Unclassified attachments:

1. Statistics, facts, quotes relating to U.S. participation in Vietnam conflict.
2. 22 October 1965 letter to New York Times editor on Vietnam written by distinguished university professors in the field of Far East studies.
3. 29 November 1965 Washington Post article by John M. Goshko on call of 100 prominent Americans for support of U.S. in Vietnam
4. Background information on U.S. demonstrations against war in Vietnam.

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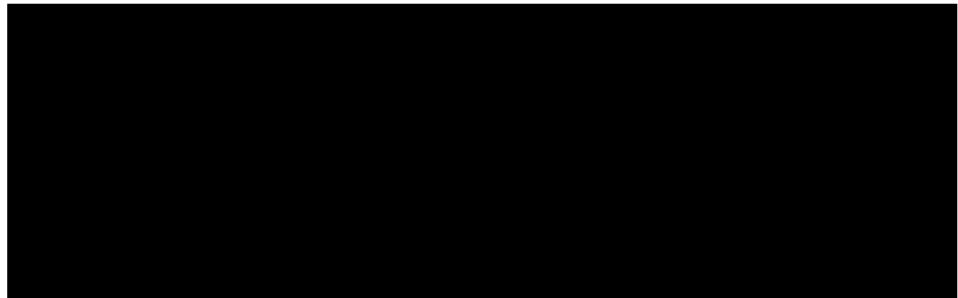
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20 December 1965

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THE CUBAN COMMUNIST PARTY

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SITUATION. On 28 September 1965 Fidel Castro announced a new 100-man Central Committee, complete with political bureau and secretariat in the best Soviet tradition, to oversee the ruling party of the nation, the United Party of the Socialist Revolution (PURS). Several days later, on 3 October, he declared that the party would thereafter be known simply as the Cuban Communist Party.

The political bureau of the Central Committee will obviously function as the supreme policy-making group. It is composed of Fidel and Raul Castro, President Dorticos, Castro's satrap Amrando HART Davalos, who doubles as Secretary of Organization, the Minister of Interior Ramiro VALDES Menendez, and three Army majors who fought in the hills with Castro and are distinguished by their loyalty to him, though probably not by their meager qualifications as Marxists-Leninists.

The party's Secretariat will essentially be charged with carrying out policy. Lest there be any doubt about who's running things, Fidel and Raul Castro, as well as Osvaldo Dorticos, are also members of the Secretariat. It includes, in addition, the only two veteran Cuban Communists -- those who belonged to the Popular Socialist Party (PSP) before the revolution -- remaining in the top levels of the party: Blas Roca, ex-editor of the daily HOY and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, an economics minister.

It is notable that the new Central Committee contains a very large number of military officers -- 68 out of 100 members. This is an obvious reflection of the role of the military in Cuba; they are the mainstay of the regime and not even the Communist Party will be beyond their domination.

The new Central Committee will cap a party organization which has been developing principally as a regional and local institution during recent years. Its 50,000 members are drawn from a hard core of Castro's most militant supporters and are therefore intrinsically loyal to him and

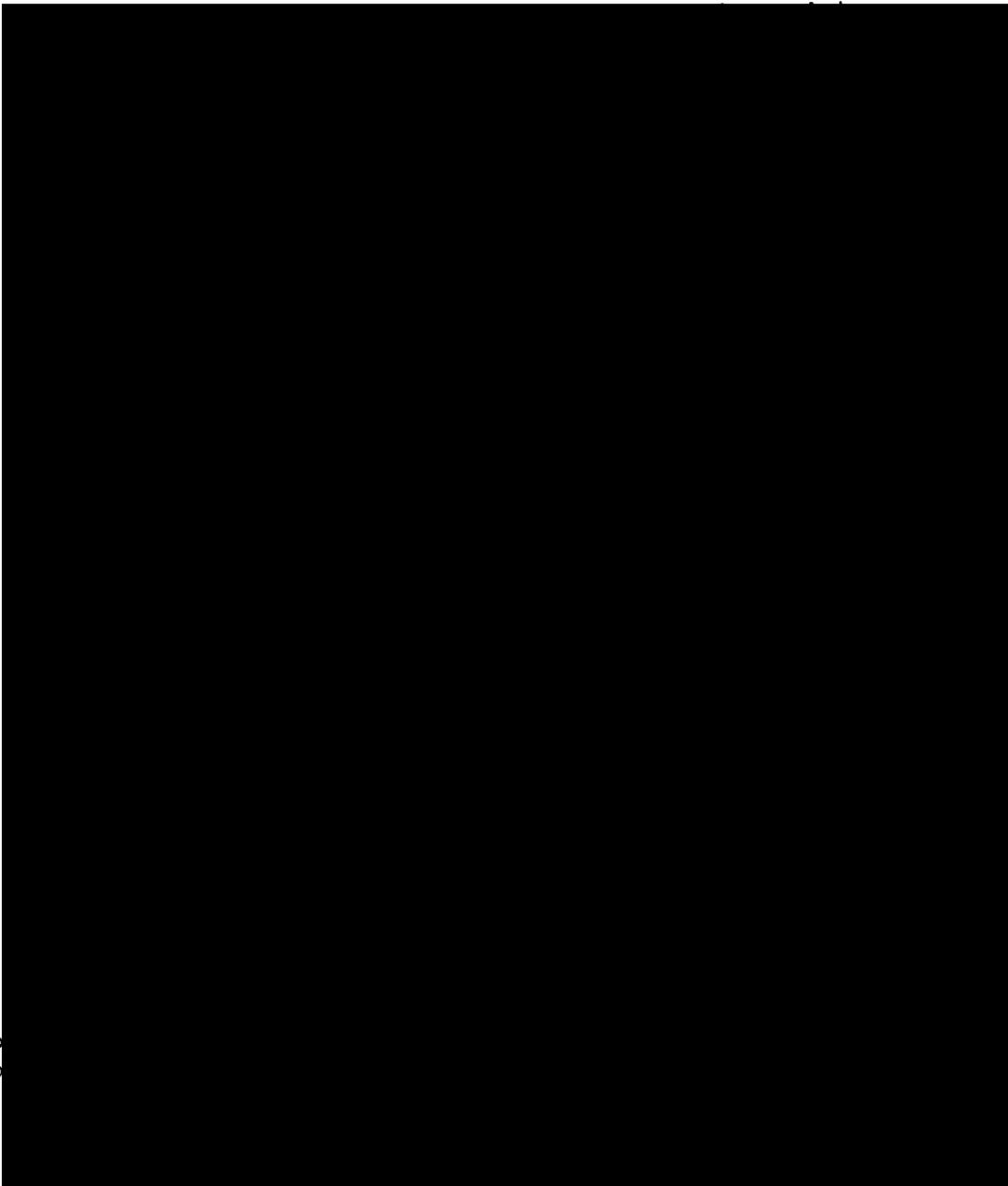
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obediently responsive to the regime policies. With most of its representation from the Cuban masses, however, the party is grounded more in unsophisticated adulation for Fidel Castro than in any overriding attachment to Communist ideological tenets.

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20 December 1965

Gold and Wheat  
in the USSR

[UPI London dispatch 2 Dec 65]

The Soviet Union's heavy purchases of foreign wheat are draining Russian gold reserves, it was reliably reported today.

A new shipment of Russian gold to Europe coincided with authoritative reports that the Kremlin is now selling almost twice the amount which is being produced in hard-worked Russian gold fields.

Wheat purchases from Canada, Australia, Argentina and France caused the drain and present indications are that it will continue for some years to come.

Experts said the strain also has forced the Soviets to change their tactics in world markets where they have sought to secure maximum prices for their commodities in contrast with previous price-cutting methods.

During the past three months alone the Russians have sold 200 tons of gold in the west, valued at \$225 million. This was arranged through the Bank for International Settlements and London dealers.

Considerably larger sales that may run into hundreds of millions of dollars are anticipated in coming months.

The Soviets have bought more than 6 million tons of wheat from Canada alone and 3.3 million tons from Argentina, Australia and France. There have also been considerable Soviet purchases of heavy and costly western industrial equipment which will continue in line with Moscow's major re-tooling plans.

This is held to be one of the reasons why the Russians are increasingly insistent on long-term credits when they negotiate deals with the west.

To what extent the drain on Russia's gold is affecting her reserves as well as her current output is a matter for conjecture. Moscow continues to keep the figures of its gold production a well guarded secret.

The Man in the Mirror

by Frederick Ayer, Jr.

Henry Regnery Co., Publishers, 114 West Illinois Street,  
Chicago, Illinois 60610 \$4.50

CPYRGHT

A recent espionage thriller contains more than the usual amount of excitement and suspense, backed up by a wealth of authentic background detail. Roger Storrow, executive assistant to the President of the United States, and a member of the National Security Council, is kidnaped by Mexican agents acting for the Soviet Intelligence, while Storrow is on leave, pursuing his hobby of amateur archeologist in the Yucatan, Mexico.

Other Soviet agents, a year earlier, had captured a German wanted for World War II crimes, who was living in the Argentine, and forced him to undergo training as a secret Soviet agent. The German, whose name is von Tetlow, was almost a perfect physical double for the American, Storrow, and surgeons "corrected" most of the few remaining differences between the two men. Von Tetlow speaks excellent English, and listens to tape recordings of Storrow by the hour. He is brought to Yucatan, and observes Storrow through a police type mirror. Finally, the Soviets send von Tetlow back to Washington, where he succeeds for a time in attending U.S. official conferences as "Storrow."

We will not divulge further details, but recommend that those interested in spy novels read this book, which is above the average for such fare, and provides such excellent factual background on Soviet cloak and dagger operations.

## Foreign Affairs: Where Marxism Errs on Us

### CPYRGHT

By C. L. SULZBERGER

PARIS—The United States has refuted the "laws of capitalism" that have influenced Communist analysts and policy makers and America is headed "exactly in a direction Marxist social scientists claim that it could not go."

This statement might not astonish United States politicians, economists or businessmen, but it assumes much interest coming, as it does, from a prominent sociologist who was a Communist for 21 years. He is Stevan Dedijer of the Sociological Institute of Lund University, Sweden.

#### A Non-Communist

Dedijer, now a Swedish citizen, describes himself as "neither a Communist nor an anti-Communist." He was born in Yugoslavia and formerly headed Marshal Tito's Atomic Energy Institute. He quit Yugoslav Communism in 1957 and left the country in 1961, although he frequently returns on a Swedish passport.

Dedijer sent me the speech he gave in Stockholm June 13 before the Royal Swedish Academy of Engineering Sciences. This was subsequently published Aug. 30 by the Stockholm newspaper Dagens Nyheter.

The former Yugoslav sociologist recently completed a three-month American sojourn at Yale University's Department of the History of Science. He had been specializing in what he calls "the most sensitive field in every country for detecting and identifying social change—the field of interaction of science—basic and applied, natural and social—and society.

Dedijer observed: "One must go to the U.S.A. There, more than anywhere else I have been, one is pounded by evidence that everything within the U.S.A., not only its technology and landscape, but its ideas, values, goals, habits, institutions and patterns of social behavior are changing rapidly. . . .

"The interactions of science and society there are stronger and the resulting social changes are more rapid and intense than anywhere else I have been. These interactions in the United States are easier to follow than elsewhere, for it produces more public information on what science and society are doing to each other than any other three or four countries of the world. . . .

"Nowhere has the idea of progress been so strongly embedded for so long in the social beliefs and values of its leading elite and so widespread among the population as in the United States. . . . Throughout its history, the idea of progress has dominated the thought and soul of the United States and has always won out in decisive moments when challenged by the opposite tendency. . . .

"Business leaders themselves are more and more active in fostering the idea that the material progress must be broadened into the concept of social progress for all sectors and strata of U.S. society. . . . Although practically every governmental department and agency in the U.S.A. has active planning divisions, often staffed or counseled by social scientists, it is not Government but business that does most planning. . . .

#### The Profit Motive

"It is my guess that a systematic comparative study of planning activity of enterprises in various countries would show that those in the U.S.A. do more and better planning by far and have more experience in it than the enterprises in the Communist countries. As if in derision of Marx, the profit motive has spurred the U.S. business firms, large and small, to engage during the past generation in increasingly accurate planning of sales, investments, productivity, new products, processes and capacities. . . .

"As regards research, no-

where in the world are so many plans for its development right now being produced as in the U.S.A. . . . Social Scientists—including historians and philosophers—are to be more and more found not only in every research policy workshop—but also in the planning and executive divisions of Government agencies. . . .

#### Creative Social System

"The 'New Deal' of Roosevelt, the half-started 'New Frontier' of Kennedy and the 'Great Society' of Johnson are not simply 'vote-getting gimmicks,' but seem to be all a part of an increasing, conscious effort—now being made with new insights and greater pressures from the interactions of science and society—attempting to rationalize, as it is at present humanly possible, U.S. society—into a stable, evolving, creative and innovative social system based on an enlarged complex of social values."

The best comment on all these observations is perhaps this: All Soviet bloc capitals are now experimenting with efforts to increase production by using those very profit incentives hitherto regarded by them as exclusively capitalist.

### CPYRGHT

20 December 1965

Research and Change in the USA

[Following are excerpts from a translation of an article by Stevan Dedijer, translated into Swedish by Torsten Blomkvist and published in the Swedish language daily newspaper Dagens Nyheter (Today's News) Stockholm 31 August 1965, page 4.]

During the last generation the US has broken with all "laws of capitalism" and developed in the direction that according to Marxist sociologists it cannot possibly develop, writes Stevan Dedijer in this article about the interaction between science and social development in the US. Dedijer has among other things studied physics and sociology in the US and has been chief of the atomic institute in Belgrad. He is now connected with the sociological institute in Lund.

CPYRGHT

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Now as previously I devoted myself to study in an area which I regard as the most sensitive in all countries with regard to discovery and identifying social change -- the interaction between science, basic and applied, natural and social science -- and society.

Since more research of the most modern kind is carried out in the US than in any other country in the world, the interaction between science and society is stronger there and the resulting social changes are more rapid and intensive there than anywhere else. And this interaction is especially easy to follow in the US because more information is published there than anywhere else in the world about how science and society influence each other.

The debate about how the most important objects for research in a country can be determined as rationally as possible is well known to all who are interested in or engaged in research policies, and it is for the present extremely vigorous and general in the US and it brings out fundamental questions in the life of the nation. The debate concerning the criteria of the research policy is transformed into a debate about the basic value standards and goals of American society, about the methods for achieving them and about what social and institutional changes are required.

The debate is both a cause and an effect of the changing views on social progress in the US. The Americans deny categorically that there is any such thing as a national American ideology. Still, the idea of

progress for example has nowhere in the world so strongly and for so long been a part of the social convictions and value standards of the leading circles or been so widespread in the population as in the US.

This idea has always been victorious in the decisive moment when it has been fought by the opposite trend, represented for example by the "Know-nothings" and the supporters of slavery in the nineteenth century, the "America firsters" in the 1930's and the Goldwaterites in our time.

In the past the idea of progress in the US was generally identified with increased material comfort and technological advances which were to be achieved through individual initiative with a minimum of social restraint or responsibility. A man's worth in the US is still measured in everyday parlance by how many dollars he has or earns or the number of people he employs or controls. But today the business leaders themselves play an ever more active role in promoting the view that material progress must be expanded to include social progress for all strata of the population in American society. Thereby the debate is further complicated and intensified about whether "we ought to explore the stars before or after we have eradicated the slums."

Many Americans, including proponents of "individual initiative" are beginning to take a new look at their country, to see also its forbidding aspects: poverty, ugliness, ignorance, a psychologically unpleasant atmosphere, extreme insecurity and enormous social strains.

The discovery of these long-range social problems leads among other things to increased activity in regard to all kinds of social planning. In spite of the fact that practically all government departments and government agencies in the US have active planning divisions, often with sociologists as consultants, it is not the government but business that does most planning.

It is my belief that a systematic comparative study of the planning activities of business corporations in various countries would show that American business plans far more and better and gets more experience from it than enterprises in the Communist countries do. The profit motive has spurred American business, big as well as small, to give ever more careful attention to planning of sales, investments, productivity, new products and capacities.

Large-scale planning in the US has not yet reached the stage where production goals are set up. In recent years a certain annual increase in the national income has been determined as desirable and the government tries to guide the economy in the desired direction through control of the demand by means of financial measures. The planning of US economy has now gone so far that models are constructed for various sectors of the system. An example of this is the model for sixty branches of American industry constructed by the Department of Commerce

using the "input-output" method. Thanks to this one can study the implication for the entire American industry of a change in the production of a single raw product or semi-finished product or of a procedure within a given industry.

As far as research is concerned there are at the present nowhere in the world so many plans for its development presented as in the US. The National Academy of Sciences has during the last two years published a series of long-range plans for basic research in various fields. Physics and chemistry are first in turn while a plan for sociology is still in the course of preparation. A number of institutions and individuals have outlined long-range plans for the recruitment of research personnel in the basic and applied sciences, including the first analytical models for the theory of science.

To coordinate and adjust all these plans to an all-inclusive national research plan for the US will undoubtedly be the next logical step. This must presumably be deferred, awaiting the outcome of the discussion that is in progress about civilian technological research. This is for the present discussed primarily with reference to its importance for the solution of such national problems as concern the general environment: urbanization, transportation, communications, the preservation and development of natural resources etc. It is also being studied on a lower level with reference to stimulation of development in private business. Economic, social and political limits for stimulation of the civilian technology on the company level is determined, and the need for institutional and methodological changes are carefully investigated, by representatives of the government, science, the universities and the business community.

Debates and discussions about science and society, about plans and prognoses, about the value standards and goals of American society, are words and wishes. Can these words and wishes about what the American social system "ought to be" become policy and be transformed into social reality? Can the American society be transformed into a more rational and stable social system under the influence of modern science, basic and applied, sociological and natural?

There are many who harbor strong doubts and there are some, mostly Marxists, who categorically deny that this is possible. As long ago as 1930, they say for example, there was published under President Hoover's aegis a study of "Recent Social Trends in the US," which demanded measures within the entire American social system that "agriculture, labor, industry, the school system, religion and science can develop a high degree of cooperation in the next phase of national progress" and which recommended economic planning on a large scale. They maintain that the basic "laws of society" function independently of human will in American society and that they have prevented all past efforts and will prevent all future ones to transform these social needs into social reality.

It is my first-hand impression, based on considerable quantitative data about these problems, that the US has broken all these "laws of capitalism" and has developed in just that direction which according to Marxist sociologists it could not possibly develop. Roosevelt's New Deal, Kennedy's New Frontier and Johnson's Great Society are not only tricks to canvass for votes, but appear to be part of an ever stronger conscious effort to create a rational social system which is capable of renewal and based on an expanded complex of social value standards.

Statistics, Facts, Quotes Relative to  
U.S. Participation in Vietnam Conflict

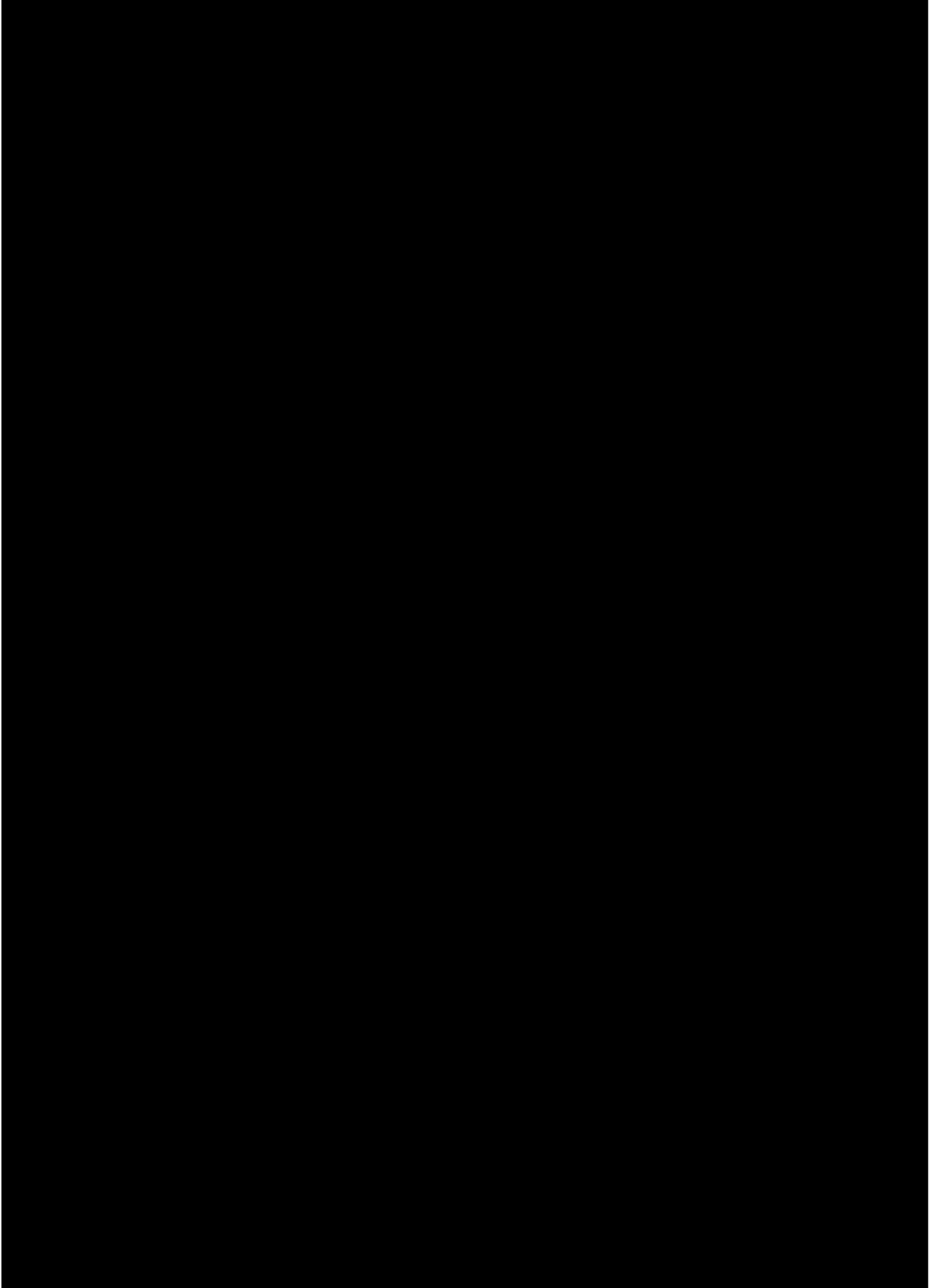
Communist claims that the U.S. has suffered tremendous losses of men, planes, armament and materiel have been most greatly exaggerated in the fields of planes downed and men killed. These claims can probably best be exposed as greatly distorted by giving the true figures which are regularly issued by the U.S. Department of Defense and generally borne out by neutralist on-the-scene correspondents. The figures are overt.

Hanoi's "Statistics" on the number of U.S. planes shot down since August 1964 have claimed:

12 October 1965	650
31 October	725
8 November	757
1 December	800

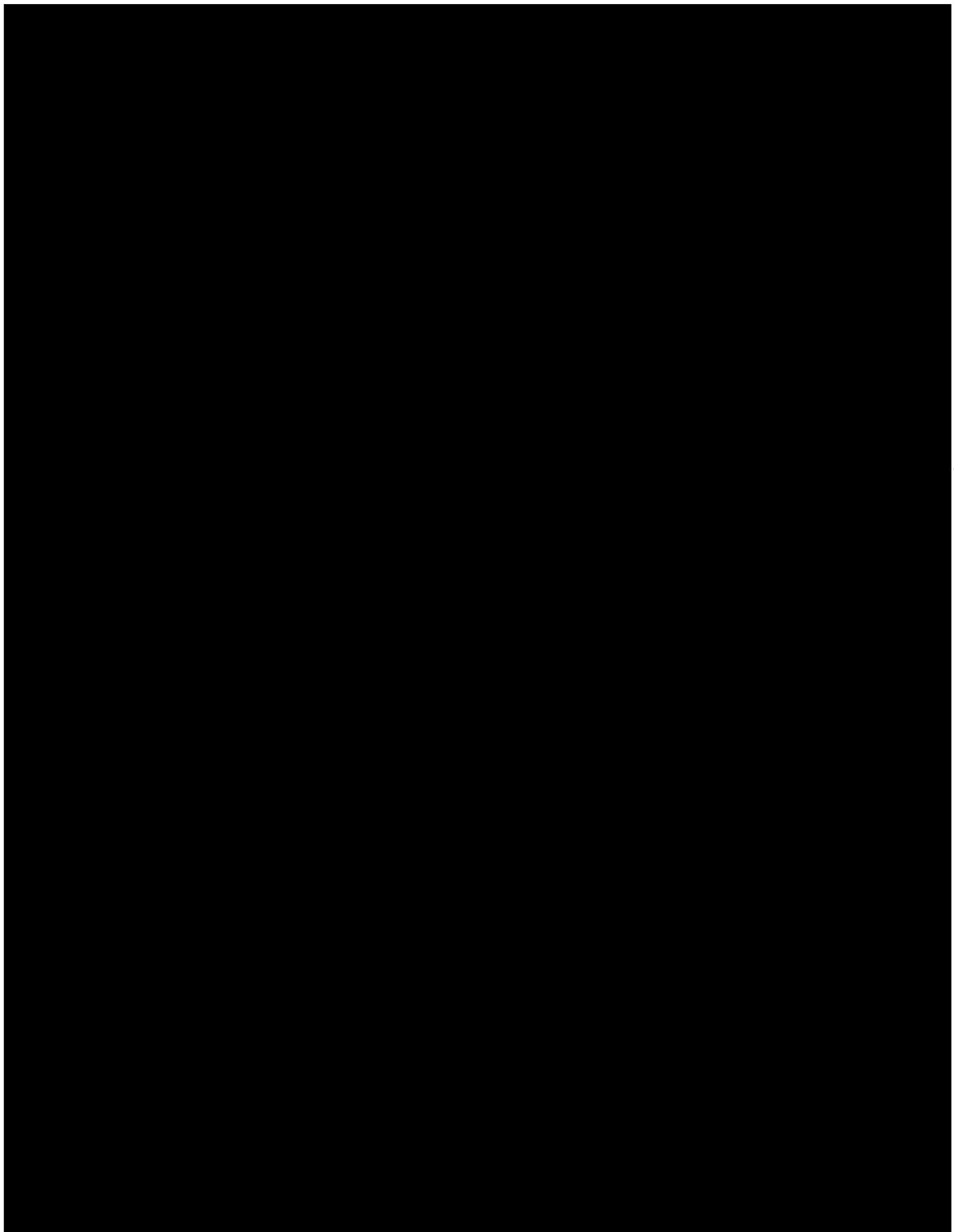
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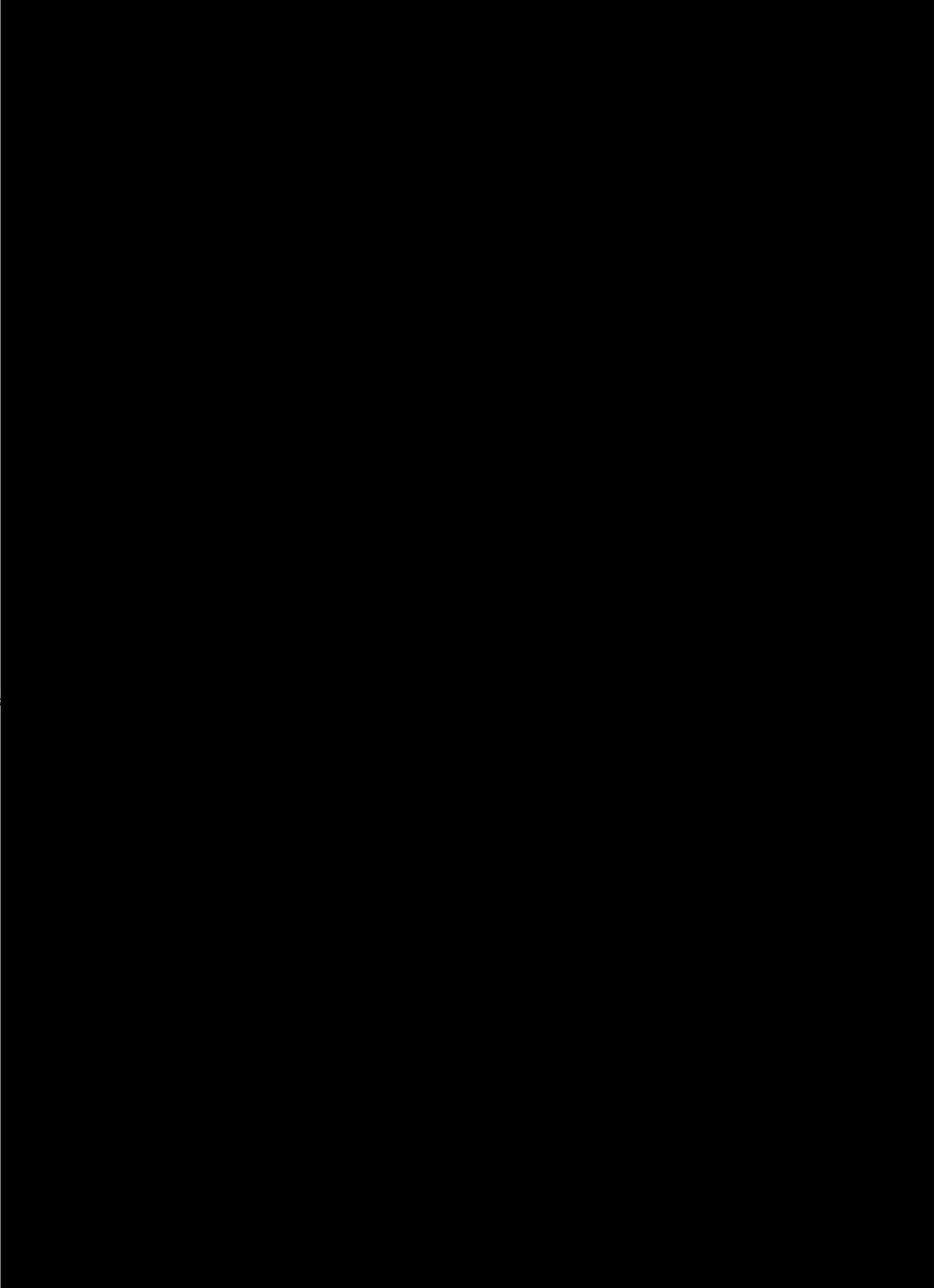
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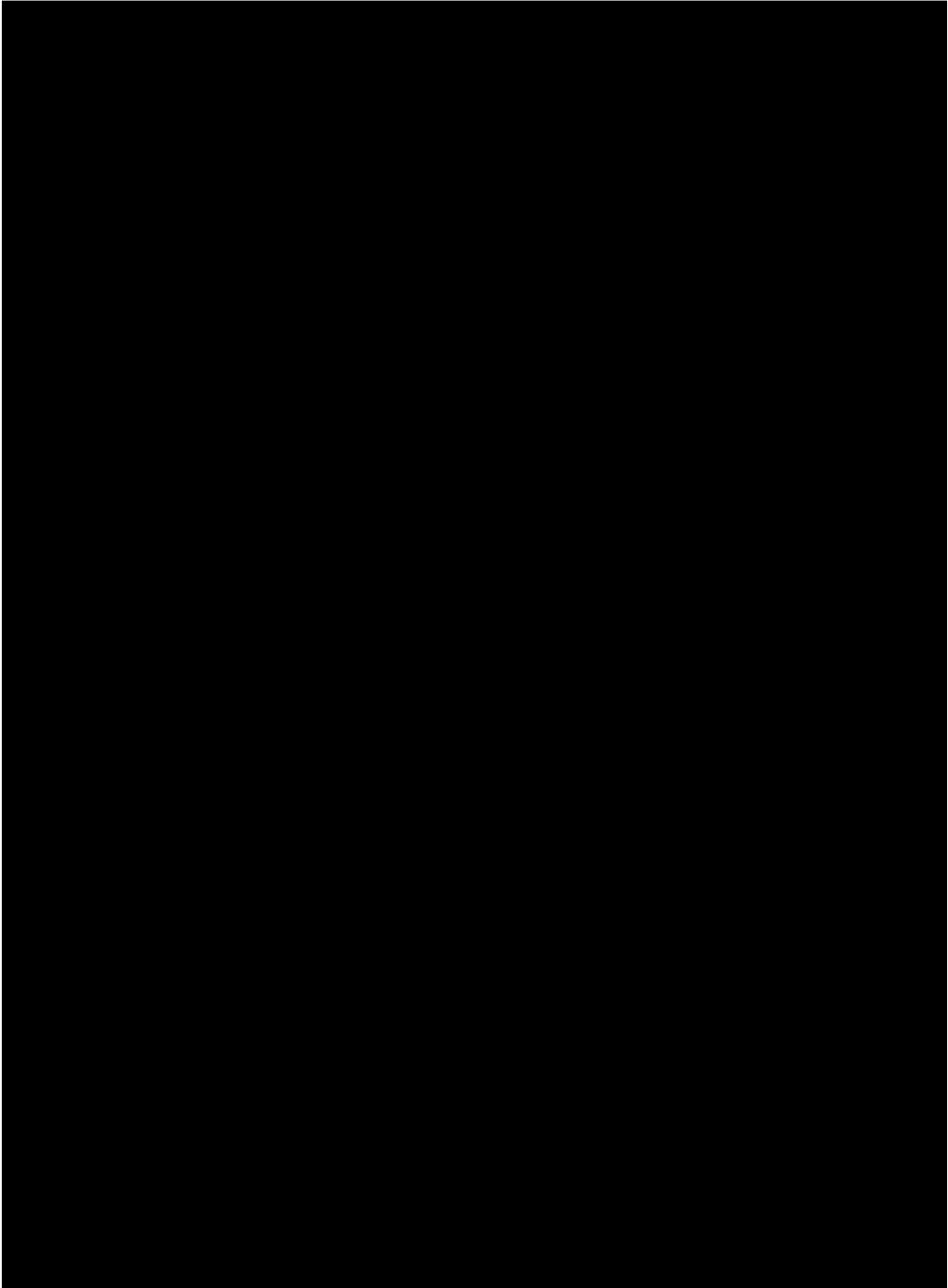


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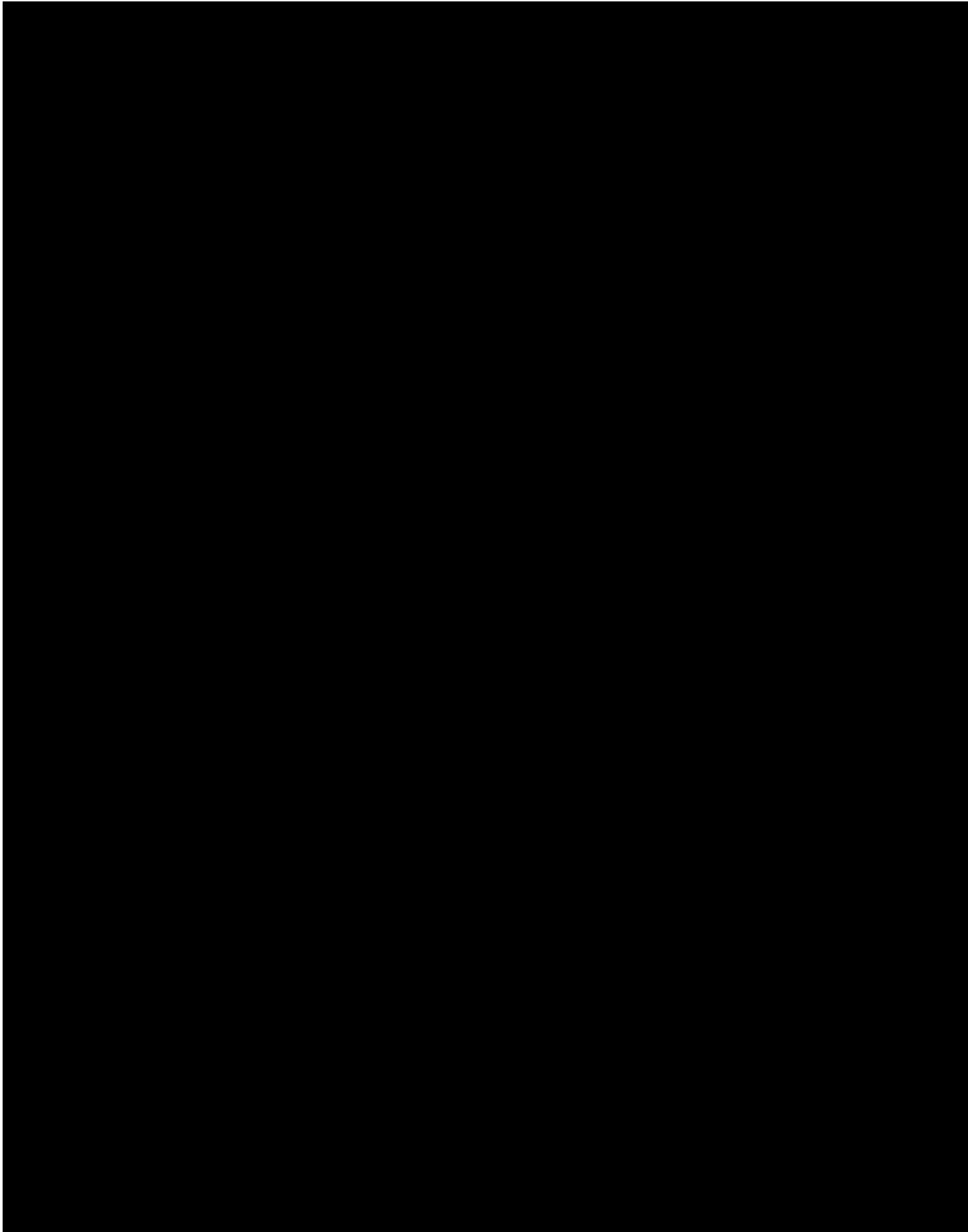


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20 December 1965

Background Information on US Demonstrations  
Against War in Vietnam

The anti-war movement began on 24 March 1965 at the University of Michigan with several thousand students and professors holding an all night teach-in.

Since March more than 50 other universities have had teach-ins with the spring teach-ins culminating in a National Teach-In on the Vietnam War held in Washington, D. C. on 15 May and sponsored by the Inter-University Committee for Public Hearings on Vietnam.

On 17 April the Students for Democratic Society (SDS), a leftist youth group, sponsored a march on Washington calling for the end of the war in Vietnam. Several thousand participated in this march.

A so-called Washington Summer Action Project was held from 6 - 9 August and sponsored by the SDS, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and various pacifist groups. The project ended with a walk to the Capitol which resulted in the arrest of several hundred demonstrators.

On 15 and 16 October the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC) sponsored an International Day of Protest against American Military Intervention. This resulted in demonstrations in about 50 U.S. cities. The VDC sent circular messages to leftist groups in several countries, particularly in Latin America, urging mass demonstrations against U.S. policy in front of U.S. Embassies. Student peace groups and civil rights organizations were also encouraged to consolidate their efforts on 15 and 16 October. The appeals to the groups overseas generally failed to generate public demonstrations although several tens of thousands people participated in demonstrations.

The 27 November March on Washington was organized by SANE (Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy) as a call to mobilize the conscience of America to end war. SANE is not an extremist organization of the caliber of VDC, but unfortunate incident of Viet Cong flags being carried briefly by some marchers received more publicity than its due. However, march was orderly, spirits of crowd reportedly good humored for most part aided by beautiful weather and no significant incidents occurred. Crowd estimated to number under 25,000, considerably fewer than number hoped for by organizers (up to 50,000). Reports of overseas demonstrations of support for this March which were being requested by SANE and pushed by the World Peace Council (a Communist front organization) have been sporadic, exaggerated by Communist press and really good sized only in Moscow.

THE WASHINGTON POST

29 November 1965

# 100 Prominent Americans Issue Call For Clear Support of U.S. in Vietnam

CPYRGHT

By John M. Goshko  
Washington Post Staff Writer

One hundred prominent Americans yesterday called on all elements of American society "to make unmistakably clear . . . to friend and foe alike" their support of the United States commitment in Vietnam.

Their "call for constructive public action" came on the heels of Saturday's anti-war demonstration in Washington and highlighted another day of national preoccupation with the pros and cons of the Vietnam conflict.

Among the signers were former Secretary of State Dean Acheson; former Vice President Richard M. Nixon; former Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon; James B. Conant, president emeritus of Harvard University; Vannevar Bush, former president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington; Gen. Lucius D. Clay, former U.S. military governor in Germany; Whitney North Seymour, past president of the American Bar Association, and syndicated newspaper columnist Roscoe Drummond.

The signers declared they

have an obligation to make clear to the world their belief

that the majority of Americans support these purposes:

- To help the people of South Vietnam resist subversion and foreign military intervention "plotted, directed and supplied from the North."
- To demonstrate that 'Communist doctrines of guerrilla warfare and 'wars of national liberation' will not succeed against a determined people with firm allies.'
- "To seek the end of the war by negotiation or other honorable means not in conflict with our obligations."
- "To get on as rapidly as possible with the more constructive tasks . . . of laying foundations for a better future" for all the peoples of Southeast Asia."

The appeal asked "all concerned Americans" to take part in local discussions on Vietnam, to make known their views to Congress, to contribute to voluntary agencies working in Vietnam and to sign and circulate this resolution addressed to President Johnson:

"We, as Americans, renew our dedication to the achievement of peace with freedom. To this end, we declare our support of the American commitment in Vietnam and resolve that whatever national resources are required shall be devoted to its fulfillment."

The proposals were made public by Freedom House, a New York organization that describes itself as "a non-partisan center dedicated to strengthening our free society." In a companion statement, Freedom House officers said they were "particularly pleased that a wide variety of political viewpoints are represented among the signers."

CPYRGHT

2 November 1965

## Letters to the Editor of The Times

CPYRGHT

### U.S. Role in Building Lasting Peace in Asia

To the Editor:

We the undersigned write as scholars and specialists. Most of us have devoted much of our adult lives to study and work in South and East Asian affairs. Many of us have lived in Vietnam.

We write in response to what we consider distortions of fact and the emotional allegations of a small but vociferous group of fellow university teachers regarding the war in Vietnam. We must first observe that those who have signed advertisements and petitions represent a very small proportion of all university professors. Further, the petition signers include disproportionately fewer scholars in the fields of government, international relations and Asian studies. A mere handful of scholars with Far East credentials identified themselves with these protests.

For the record, we make the following assertions of fact: The Vietcong initiated the present war in South Vietnam. The Vietcong is a Communist-led and Communist-controlled political movement. Its aim is to establish, by any available means, a Communist rule in South Vietnam.

#### Fight for Independence

It is false to compare the war now being fought in Vietnam with that which was fought by the French between 1946 and 1954. That was a colonial war, fought by Vietnamese of every variety of political complexion to achieve national independence. The Government of Vietnam since 1954 has been a truly Vietnamese national regime, and it is fighting now to maintain its independence.

The People's Revolutionary party, which leads the Vietcong, is a segment of the Lao Dong (Communist) party of North Vietnam. The Vietcong itself was organized by the North Vietnamese, armed by the North Vietnamese, and

The Vietcong have employed methods of terror, torture and outright murder. For American academics to bemoan the "brutality" of the South Vietnamese response, without the slightest comment on the initiators of the brutality, is the epitome of bias.

The Communist regime in North Vietnam is among the harshest and most brutal in Asia. All opposition has been exterminated. No free elections of any kind have been permitted. The living standards of the people are low even by Asian standards. In contrast, the people of South Vietnam, until the stepped-up Vietcong attack, were enjoying a far better living standard.

Between 1954 and 1961 there were four elections, conducted with varying degrees of freedom.

The Geneva accords were broken first and repeatedly by the Communists, as documented by the records of the International Control Commission.

The President has offered to hold unconditional peace talks with Hanoi and has been rejected repeatedly by Hanoi, Peking and Moscow. The burden of proof is now on the Communists.

#### Communist Danger

Communist conquest of South Vietnam would, in our view, lead inevitably to a deterioration of resolve throughout South and Southeast Asia. While the non-Communist states in the region are not likely to fall in actual geographical sequence (i.e., the "domino" theory), we believe these nations would eventually succumb politically and/or militarily to Chinese expansionism following an American withdrawal from Vietnam.

If there is any lesson that should have been learned by us since 1919, it is that collective security is the only effective means to deal with totalitarianism on the march. Our negotiations and agreements must not be "Munichs." Men who value liberty are unwilling to settle for peace at any price.

The surest guarantee of peace in Asia is what it has always been everywhere: recognition by all that our commitments to our allies will be honored. And we shall use the peace thus secured as Americans used it in postwar Europe, and as President Johnson has pledged to use it for Asia.

The basis for a lasting settlement in Asia will be built as we create the conditions for freedom through social and economic programs no less than through military means.

JOHN T. DORSEY, WESLEY R. FISHEL, WILLIAM HENDERSON, P. J. HONEY, JOHN D. MONTGOMERY, LUCIAN PYE, I. MILTON SACKS, GEORGE E. TAYLOR, FRANK N. TRAGER, DAVID A. WILSON.

East Lansing, Mich.  
Oct. 22, 1965

20 December 1965

The Cuban Communist Party

Largely obscured by the dramatic announcement of permission for Cuba's dissidents to leave the country was another passage in Fidel Castro's speech of 28 September 1965 in which he announced the creation of a new Central Committee for Cuba's ruling party. A few days later, on 3 October, he officially named the party the Cuban Communist Party, thus finally bringing it out of the limbo in which it had existed more as Castro's personal cheering section than as a political party.

The new central committee of 100 persons will be led by a political bureau of eight men, a secretariat of six, and five principal committees. Fidel and Raul Castro continue as first and second secretaries of the party and Armando Hart, formerly the Minister of Education, has moved up to the third slot in the party hierarchy as its secretary of organization. President Dorticos, chairman of the economic committee, is in the political bureau and the secretariat as is Minister of Interior Ramiro Valdes. These five will probably control virtually all activities of the party from their vantage point in the political bureau. The only other members of that august group are three army majors who fought in the hills with Castro but who otherwise have few if any of the qualifications an orthodox Communist would believe necessary for the highest level of leadership in a Marxist-Leninist party. Obviously they were included to give a strong representation to the military, which evidently was a major preoccupation of Castro in selecting the members of the central committee: 68 of them hold military rank.

The six-man secretariat will be responsible for administering policies set by the political bureau. Most of its members are political technicians with long government experience. Both Blas Roca and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, veteran Communists and experienced organizers, are members. Raul Castro, who heads the secretariat, is the only military representative.

Most of the responsibilities of the five standing committees within the central committee concern matters which were not previously under party control. Dorticos' five-man economic committee is made up of four other adherents of "liberal" economic principles. The "dogmatist" views of the discredited Ernesto "Che" Guevara no longer have any proponents in the Cuban leadership. Armando Hart is chairman of the education committee, which includes also the new education minister and the head of the party schools.

The new foreign affairs committee is headed by a young revolutionary with little experience in foreign relations, Osmani CIENFUEGOS Gorriaran, rather than by Foreign Minister Raul Roa, who is only the second member. It is noteworthy that Manuel Pineiro, the head of Cuba's enormous intelligence and subversion service, is one of the three members of this important committee. However, there is no doubt that the conduct of

(Cont.)

foreign affairs will remain predominantly under the direct control of Fidel Castro.

The fourth major committee within the central committee -- the constitutional studies committee -- is chaired by Blas Roca and includes the justice minister. This group is charged with drafting a "socialist" Constitution for Cuba and with establishing a new court and judiciary system patterned after Soviet bloc examples. It will also probably assume a major role in planning the first Cuban Communist Party Congress, which Castro has announced for late 1966.

The fifth committee is the revolutionary armed forces and state security committee, headed by Raul Castro and staffed by the interior minister and the army chief of staff. About one fourth of the party and two thirds of its central committee members are in the armed forces. By thus joining together the party and military establishments, the regime is attempting to ensure against a polarization of its two most important bulwarks.

The announcement that the party is now to be called the Communist Party is the second name change and third organizational shuffle in less than five years. It was buffeted by a tumultuous power play, underwent a pervasive purge, and finally was completely reconstructed. Through all these changes, however, Fidel Castro has uniformly stated that "the role of the party is to govern." As early as December 1961 he promised that the regime would be institutionalized in a proletarian party.

The development of the united party began in the spring of 1961 when the Integrated Revolutionary Organization (ORI) was formed from the three political groups which survived the Batista regime: Castro's 26th of July Movement, the Revolutionary Directorate (a student faction), and the pre-Castro Communist Party (PSP). The ORI, however, was formed without a clear definition of its powers or role in the Cuban regime, and in June 1961 Castro stated that it was to be only the preliminary step in the formation of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution (PURS).

Although various regime officials described the ORI as a Communist party, it pursued a somewhat equivocal course until Fidel Castro publicly espoused Marxism-Leninism in December 1961. During the first year of its organization, therefore, the ORI had no meaningful program, no national executive organ, and no effective party organization.

The "old" Communists of the PSP inevitably dominated the ORI. They were a small and well-organized club of professional politicians -- a generation older than the young Castroites. In all of Cuba's six provinces and in most of its municipios (municipal districts), "old" Communists controlled the ORI but continued to express primary loyalty to the PSP leadership. In March 1962 the ORI national directorate was announced,

and its 25 members included about an equal number of "old" and "new" Communists. Fidel Castro as first secretary headed a six-man secretariat. It appeared, however, that Castro was losing control of the regime and that the PSP was freely implementing its own policies. Tensions mounted as "new" Communists in the regime became increasingly critical of the PSP.

Castro struck at the "old" Communists late in March. He sensationaly denounced Anibal Escalante, a prominent PSP leader, for "sectarian tyrannies" and accused him of creating "absurd and monstrous" confusion because of his "madness for power." Escalante was removed from his post as organization secretary. Moreover, Castro railed against the "old guard" Communists for squandering political power and forgetting the masses, and initiated a wide-ranging purge to remove the undesirable elements. Escalante was the only "old" Communist removed from the national directorate, but the purge extended to four of the six provincial party chiefs and most of the local bosses, and was not completed until all the party cells were completely reconstituted.

The rebuilding of the party cells began in May 1962 and continued for about two years while commissions appointed by Castro held "nominating assemblies" in work centers and state farms throughout the island. This system of popular assemblies, introduced by Castro to generate party cadres among the masses, has been acclaimed by the regime as an important innovation in Communist procedure. At the assemblies "model workers" were selected on the basis of their demonstrated devotion to the regime, and party commissions subsequently selected those suitable for PURS membership. The members of the interim ORI were individually reconsidered, but probably at least half of them were purged.

By the end of 1962 the Cuban press was beginning to refer to the party as the PURS and the transition from the ORI was effected by early 1963 without official notice. the PURS national directorate was composed of the remaining ORI leaders. Although it was the party's main organ, its functions were limited chiefly to educational and organizational matters and it did not have clearly established responsibilities. The PURS was therefore not a governing party but simply another intermediary stage in developing a ruling Communist party.

For almost three years the PURS slowly augmented its membership and powers as lower party commissions and cells were formed and given a large degree of autonomy. By 1964 the provincial party organizations had been granted extensive supervisory and administrative duties. They continue to function as the centers of authority in the six provinces.

Thus the establishment of the new central committee serves to provide an institutionalized leadership for the lower and intermediate party organizations which have been developed and have functioned for several years now.

To supervise and coordinate party indoctrination, there is a committee for revolutionary orientation (COR) which is attached to the central committee. It publishes a bulletin at regular intervals and controls the Cuban Institute of Radio Broadcasting, which operates all radio and television stations. The COR also maintains direct control over the press. Each lower party committee has a COR representative who, Fidel Castro insists, "is not a commissar" but a "revolutionary instructor." The COR chairman is Raul Garcia Pelaez. The editor of the party daily, Granma, was the former COR chief.

The party maintains an extensive system of more than 250 party schools including the Nico Lopez National Party School, five national schools for the mass organizations, and six provincial centers, as well as day and evening basic schools specifically created to bring revolutionary instruction to peasants and workers. The schools have graduated over 100,000 students. Courses include theoretical Communist studies, Cuban history, and the works and speeches of Fidel Castro. The party also stimulates and ensures proper political indoctrination in the nation's regular school system by maintaining delegates on provincial and municipal education boards.

The Union of Young Communists (UJC) is the party's youth organization, and is guided by the party in grooming the "most exemplary" Cuban youth for party membership. The UJC had its origin in the former Association of Rebel Youth, which changed its name in April 1962 and absorbed five separate youth groups. The UJC claims a membership of about 80,000 and anticipates an eventual total membership of about 100,000 Cubans between the ages of 14 and 27. It controls the Federation of University Students and supervises the Union of Pioneers (UPC) and the Union of Secondary Students (UES).

With more than 10,000 members of the Cuban armed forces also members of the party, the military is rapidly forming its own political cadre unswervingly loyal to the regime. Raul Castro has personally supervised the party development in the military by appointing all political instructors and by staffing all party offices with trusted supporters of the regime. In 1964 he said that the military will have the highest percentage of party members in the country because "the armed forces are the political and military vanguard of the revolution." According to the younger Castro, fully a third of the military will eventually be admitted as full or candidate members of the party and the Union of Young Communists.

Military cells are constructed in essentially the same manner as in civilian work centers. The members of a military unit gather in a popular assembly to choose the "model combatants," who are later reviewed by party commissions appointed by Raul Castro. Those accepted form a cell and elect their own officers. There are a few intermediary party structures that coordinate and direct the activities of lower bodies, but the hierarchy is kept weak because military channels maintain the line of

command. This system was patterned after that employed by the Soviet army and military advisers from the bloc countries who were largely responsible for its creation.

The party central committee directs the military cadre through Raul Castro's armed forces committee. The principal duties of the military cadres are to drum up support for regime policies, to spread the Communist doctrine, and to provide the example for high military and political performance. Creation of the Cuban Communist Party consolidates the position of the "new" Communists -- who are in fact personal followers of Fidel Castro first, and Communists second. The "old" Communists -- those who have labored in Karl Marx's tortured texts since Castro was a wild-eyed student -- are largely eclipsed. There is little doubt that the economic and bureaucratic chaos which exists in Cuba today forced Castro to institutionalize at least a part of the political power which he has held. But Castro has no desire to have the party become a rival to the government or to himself. He sees the party as an instrument of his own power, owing loyalty to him rather than to doctrine. He wants it to stimulate effort and loyalty at levels which his direct personal influence cannot reach.

At the same time Castro recognizes that the fundamental source of power in Cuba today is the military, and so he is giving the armed forces the dominant position in the Cuban Communist Party. Mindful, no doubt, of recent experience in Algeria and Indonesia, Castro intends to prevent the military and the party from setting out on divergent courses; he also intends to use the one to keep the other in hand.

Creation of the Cuban Communist Party has also the effect of bringing Cuba still more closely within the folds of Soviet practice and influence, a point made notable by Cuba's concomitant estrangement from China. Actually the division between Cuba and China has developed over a considerable period of time, as may be deduced from an article which appeared in the pro-Chinese Communist newspaper printed in Belgium under the title of La Voix du Peuple. It carried an article in its 2 July 1965 edition, obviously inspired by the Chinese, which detailed a long list of grievances against Cuba dating back to May 1963 when Castro visited Moscow and, it insinuates, sold himself to Khrushchev for a sugar contract. It further blamed him for sending a delegation to the "schismatic" meeting of Communist Parties in Moscow in March of 1965. But its harshest attack was directed against Castro's attitude toward the group of Algerian army officers who overthrew Ben Bella:

"Since 23 June 1965 Castro has launched himself into the vanguard against the Algerian revolution. Whereas Moscow observed a hypocritical silence and Budapest criticized, Castro attacked. Does he realize that in this aggressive orientation against Algeria, in associating himself with all the imperialist forces linked with the counter-revolutionaries, he scuttles the prestige of the man who was the leader of the victorious Cuban revolution?"

The barb hit home. In the speech announcing the creation of the Cuban Communist Party Castro declared: "We could never say that those who have helped us to defeat the imperialists are accomplices of the imperialists."

Cuba's alignment with Moscow does not signify, however, any lessening of its zeal for "exporting revolution" and encouraging armed violence whenever prospects for success are good. Both Havana and Moscow, for example, continue their broadcasts in the native Indian languages of the Latin American altiplano in which they unequivocally support and call for armed revolution.

20 December 1965

Italian Socialist Parties

1947 - 1965

At its November 1965 Congress, the Italian Socialist Party of Pietro Nenni agreed to take steps to reunify with Saragat's Social Democratic Party. To give Nenni a more direct role in the reunification process, the Congress created a new position for him, namely President of the Central Committee.

The splits and realignments of the original socialist Party from 1947 to date are detailed in Walter H. Mallory's 1965 edition of Political Handbook and Atlas of the World (pages 140-141) as follows:

ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY: Until 1957 aligned with Communists by a "Unity of Action" pact originally signed in 1934 and renewed in 1943 and 1946. In January 1947 the party split into two groups over this question. One retained the name of "Partito Socialista Italiano" (PSI) and based its political conduct on close understanding with the Communists; the other named itself "Partito Socialista dei Lavoratori Italiani" (Socialist Party of Italian Workers) and under the leadership of Giuseppe Saragat declared its independence from the Communists and its firm adherence to the principles of Western political democracy. A second split in the PSI in December 1947 resulted in the formation of the very small Union of Socialists Party led by Ignazio Silone. In May 1949, a third split occurred under Giuseppe Romita, who opposed unity of action with the Communists. In October 1957 the PSI declared the "Unity of Action" pact to be no longer valid.

Electoral appeal of the party is mainly to manual and white-collar workers as well as intellectuals. It advocates land reform and some nationalization of industrial and commercial monopolies. In foreign policy it follows an ambiguous line, often neutralist, and often contrary to policies of the Western governments. In recent years it has withdrawn opposition to NATO and currently, as part of the government's parliamentary majority, it does not oppose the basic principles of Italian foreign policy.

Leaders: Francesco De Martino (Secretary-General), Pietro Nenni (Vice-Premier), Giovanni Pieraccini, all of the majority "Autonomous" faction. Minority faction is headed by Riccardo Lombardi.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano): Is the party resulting from the amalgamation in 1951 of the Italian Workers' Socialist Party with the various Socialist Unity groups headed by Giuseppe Romita and Ignazio Silone, the Unitary Socialist Party and others. The party declares its complete independence from the Communist Party and from the Socialist Party of Pietro Nenni. Although occasionally expressing dissatisfaction with the speed with which moderate reforms are put into effect, it took part in all De Gasperi governments from May 1947 until 1951, and in the Scelba, Segni and Fanfani governments.

Leaders: Giuseppe Saragat (President), Mario Tanassi (Secretary-General), Paolo Rossi, Luigi Preti, Roberto Tremelloni.

Tuesday, Nov. 16, 1965 THE WASHINGTON POST

# Italian Socialists Reject Bid of Reds, Will Support Moro

CPYRGHT

By Leo J. Wollemborg  
*Washington Post Foreign Service*

ROME, Nov. 15—By a 4-to-1 majority, the national congress of the Italian Socialist Party has endorsed continued participation in the government of Christian Democratic Premier Aldo Moro and has authorized, for the first time, concrete steps toward an early reunification with the Social Democrats.

The Socialists rejected, in a meeting that ended Sunday night, the Communist bid for "a single party of the workers" on the ground that "the Italian and international Communist movements are unable to revise principles, methods and policies which are incompatible with those of the Socialists."

#### New Milestone

Thus, the congress marked a new milestone in the far-reaching realignment of Italian political forces which has been under way ever since the Socialist majority started to shift from alliance with the Communists to governmental partnership with the traditionally democratic and pro-Western groups.

The result, for the Communists, has been the shrinking of the percentage of the electorate controlled by them from 37 per cent ten years ago to less than 30 per cent now. This includes the votes of those pro-Communist and left-wing Socialists.

Moreover, the outcome of the Socialist congress and progress toward reunification with the Social Democrats appear bound to further loosen the remaining ties between Socialists and Communists in local administration and in the labor field.

#### Play Minor Role

Foreign affairs played a minor role at the Socialist congress since the whole Party accepts by now Italy's membership in the Atlantic Alliance. The platform approved by the majority reaffirms, full support for the economic and political unification of Europe and calls for "close contacts" with the Socialist International. It opposes "any proliferation of atomic weapons" and advocates a cease-fire and a negotiated settlement in Vietnam. It reaffirms Socialist support for Red China's admission to the United Nations "in spite of the difficulties caused by China herself."

Some differences exist within the Party with regard to the timing and procedure for Socialist reunification but in this connection the proponents of early action, led by Vice Premier Pietro Nenni, appear to have prevailed over the followers of Party Secretary Francesco de Martino, who favors a more cautious approach.

#### Would Heal Split

Reunification would heal a split going back to 1947, when Giuseppe Saragat, now president of Italy, broke with the majority of the Socialists who, under Nenni's leadership, supported continued collaboration with the Communists. Today, Nenni himself is under daily attack from the Communists for having brought the Socialists into a government "subservient to American policy and to the interest of Italian capitalists."

Many Socialists and most Social Democrats want the merger to take place well in advance of the 1968 general election. The reunified Party, they argue, would then face the polls as a fully integrated political force already representing some 18 per cent of the total vote and thus able both to win adequate recognition from the Christian Democrats and to compete effectively with the Communists for the allegiance of the growing leftist electorate.

The Washington Post  
27 Nov 1965

CPYRGHT

### *Italy's New Left*

Like a prodigal son, Italy's major Socialist Party led by Pietro Nenni is being welcomed into the fold of Western cooperation. Its break with the Communists was a long time coming but is no less important on that account. The Socialist rejection of a common front with the Communists and the moves for reunion with the Social Democrats of President Saragat presage a significant realignment of the loyal Italian left.

After World War II the Nenni Socialists came under the influence of the Communists who were then headed by a remarkable intellectual, the late Palmiro Togliatti. Right-wing Socialists could not stomach this cooperation with totalitarianism and broke away to form the Social Democrats. Some persons suspected that Togliatti was blackmailing Nenni. In any event, the combination gave the Communists extraordinary power.

Actually the realignment began more than a decade ago when, much to the discomfiture of American diplomacy at the time, Christian Democratic President Giovanni Gronchi began talking of an "opening to the left" to woo back the Nenni Socialists. The overtures bore fruit after the 1963 elections when the Socialists supported the Christian Democratic government with some reservations. Togliatti's doctrine of "polycentrism," meaning many centers of Communist power, undoubtedly accentuated the process. But not until the Socialist meeting just completed did the break become complete. Mr. Gronchi's gamble has paid off for the present Premier, Aldo Moro.

Like Socialist Parties in many other countries, the Italian party has found that cooperation with the Communist tiger, even a tiger that in the fashion of the Italian Communists pretends to be a peaceable pussycat, leads to only one end. The result of the break now should be to reduce the Communist influence in Italy to more nearly its true dimensions—though even the 24½ per cent Communist vote is probably an exaggeration of hard-core sympathy. More important, the realignment on the left should help consolidate the forces working for democratic social reform and thus assist the Moro government to move away from past immobilism.

20 December 1965

Sudanese Versus Soviet Interpretations of  
Dissolution of Sudan Communist Party

I Excerpts from Statements of Government and Religious Leaders of  
Sudan. CPYRGHT

Minister of the Interior, 12 November:

On the eve of 8 November, a person who described himself as a communist disavowed the existence of God before a big group of Moslems, thus causing doubt in the message of the Prophet. Following an argument on debauchery, "the communist" ridiculed the teachings of Islam which deal with this vice. This enraged those present, and drove them to organize a procession on the following day. "The procession proceeded to the cabinet building with a petition demanding the dissolution of the Communist Party, describing its ideas as corrupt and deviating from the traditions and religion of this nation, and demanding the adoption of decisive measures.

"On the eve of the same day, masses of the Moslem people in Omdurman took part in demonstrations expressing these sentiments. ... these demonstrations passed by the Communist Party center.... The occupants of the center began to stone the demonstrators. This increased the fury of the demonstrators, who broke into the center. ...."

While we condemn what this person had said and affirm that the government will not permit any abuse of the Islamic belief and that it will insure the protection of religion from the allegations and lies of the heretics, we urge the citizens to respect the law, to keep completely calm, and to stand by the side of peace and order.

....

Supreme Shariah Board (highest authority on Koranic law), 14 November:

The Supreme Shariyah Board met ... to discuss the question of the student who declared in public at the seminar of the Institute of Teachers that he was a communist and apostate and that he was proud of this fact. He insulted the prophet of Islam by saying that debauchery used to be committed in his pure and honored house.

After (?considering) the matter from all its angles ..., the board deemed it necessary to issue the following statement to the Sudanese people ...:

First, what the student said shows disbelief in God and apostacy which disowns him from Islam. The judgment of the Shariyah is

(Excerpts Cont.)

that the renegade has three days in which to repent or he will be killed; but if his apostasy is (?an insult) to the Prophet, ... repentance is not acceptable.

Second, the attitude of this student is nothing but a symptom which indicates the imminent danger which lies in wait for the belief of this Moslem nation. This danger has come as a result of the spread of communist dogma in the Sudan.

Third, communism is atheism and apostasy. Islam and communism are not compatible. A man cannot be a communist and a Moslem at the same time.

Fourth, the emergence of a Communist Party or organization in a Moslem country tends to pave the way for combating the Islamic creed in which this nation believes. Communist organizations are the schools which work by all means for the spread of these ideas.

Fifth, in order to protect the creed of the Moslems from any corruption or apostasy, the board deems that: 1) The Constituent Assembly should proclaim a law which protects the nation's creed from apostasy and punishes anyone who calls for this dogma; and the form of punishment should be a firm deterrence from the danger of this corruption. 2) All educational machinery should be purged of communists; this is in order to insure the bringing-up of the generations in the creed and Islamic teachings. 3) In order to protect the creed, we call upon this Moslem nation -- individuals, groups, parties, and bodies -- not to support or cooperate with the communist organizations which call for apostasy and atheism.

Sixth, Islam is the religion of freedom. It bestowed tolerance, which no other religions have done. It safeguards freedom of belief and opinion, but it fights apostasy and reversion, which is the discarding by the Moslem of his religion.

Seventh, we call on responsible officials to put an end to this trifling with the creed and to treat the matter firmly and seriously in order to protect the creed, which is in danger of obliteration.

Finally the board, while explaining to public opinion the judgment of the shariyah on this matter, calls on all compatriots to maintain calm and not to resort to violence, which is against our ethics and which our shariyah does not permit, particularly so when there are responsible officials to guard and protect the creed from those who tamper with it.

Minister of Information and Labor, 16 November:

Abd ar-Rahman an-Nur, minister of information and labor and the official spokesman for the government, made the following statement

following the decision of the Constituent Assembly to dissolve the Communist Party:

The decision of our Constituent Assembly to dissolve the Sudanese Communist Party came in response to the wishes of the citizens ....

The decision was fundamentally based on (?the principle) that communism is a system that contradicts our faith and creed and is inconsistent with democracy which we have (?chosen) as a way of government. We are confident that communism cannot be fought only by propaganda, but by realizing the demands of the people ....

We are a democratic country and it is not true that the dissolution of the Communist Party contradicts democracy. We have not fought against or punished any individual for his convictions, but we lawfully fight the dissemination of corrupt creeds and propaganda -- creeds which contradict our religion, traditions, and customs and which break up or threaten our unity or our dignity. We also fight lawfully the spread of the principles which disseminate hatred and animosity between individuals, groups, or organizations and those which call for violence as a means and method of realizing demands.

Imam Al-Hadi al-Mahdi, 15 November:

We denounce the dishonorable attitude of the candidate for the teachers training school. ....

Communism and Islam do not agree. The overbearing attitude of the advocates of communism to this extent must be kept within bounds. People should cooperate for the protection of their creed, the safeguarding of their principles and traditions derived from the spirit of Islam, and the improvement of the conditions of their brethren .... The general response among the Moslems and their solidarity in expressing their feelings toward this overt atheism uttered by this candidate is a firm proof of their true loyalty and their interest in protecting their creed and their true religion.

The protection of the sons of the homeland from the danger of communism and its atheism, does not at all conflict with democracy, delay it, or act as a stumbling block in its way. On the contrary, the ousting of communist principles and its atheism from this homeland will provide for it true democracy and will enable it to exercise democracy in full freedom and in a sound manner. Therefore, in protection of the spirit of the Islamic creed, and the safeguarding of the traditions of this country, the concerned authorities have considered the dissolution of this party through the Constituent Assembly according to our democracy and our good ideals. .... We support this wise decision ... and we cooperate with them for the realization of anything that may uphold religion and maintain for the nation its good traditions and its achievements in the various fields. ....

(Excerpts Cont.)

Premier Muhammad Ahmad Mahjub, 21 November:

... The will of the great Sudanese people became clear in the recent elections organized by the Constituent Assembly, which represents the people's will. Since the formation of the Constituent Assembly, it has been guided by the will of the Sudanese people, taking their aims, ideals, and values as its inspiration.

... democracy was accepted as the path and the way. Either there is democracy or there is no democracy. Democracy means respect for majority rule, with safeguards for the rights of the minority within the law. As an Islamic people, our democracy is bound up with our lofty ideals, derived from the true Moslem faith. The unfortunate incident and the odious words uttered by that unbelieving communist student have left in the hearts of the Moslem Sudanese people a serious effect and the deepest wounds; they have caused the masses of our Moslem people to go out in protest against this ugly deed and to call for a ban on the Communist Party, which has caused sedition, spread a spirit of disbelief, and created an atmosphere of moral disintegration.

... in accordance with the will of the Sudanese people and in order to preserve their Islamic ideals, the Constituent Assembly passed by a vast majority a resolution to dissolve the Communist Party. It has asked the government to draft the necessary laws to implement the resolution. ....

... we warn all those who work openly or in secret to destroy, to ignore the law, or to violate law and order while claiming to be defending democracy and freedom that ... they are the deadliest enemies of freedom. We warn them: we shall not hesitate to preserve freedom and democracy in our concern to defend the good name of our country against their folly and to preserve the principles of democracy and Islamic principles. We warn them all against furthering their folly; we assure all citizens that we shall continue to strive with determination to strengthen stability and to realize the aspirations of the Sudanese of all walks of life.

II      Excerpts from Soviet Media.

16 November, Moscow in Arabic to Arab World:

... the Sudanese Constituent Assembly approved a decision dissolving the Communist Party. Khartoum and Omdurman were during the past few days the scene of rowdy anti-communist activities aimed at causing confusion, trouble, and bloody clashes. In Omdurman, rowdies attacked the Sudanese Communist Party building. .... The immediate pretext for this wave of attacks against Sudanese communists and their party is what was uttered against religion by a provocateur at the Omdurman teachers college, who alleged that he was a communist.

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Common sense says that this provocative idle talk was that of an adventurous individual who had no relations with the Sudanese Communist Party, the statement of the Sudanese Communist Party Central Secretariat asserted.

However, some of the leaders of the rightwing Ummah and National Unionist Parties and Moslem Brotherhood leaped with astonishing speed to another path. Meetings and demonstrations were organized against communists and speeches were made, clear in meaning, which led to the impression that religion had been insulted by the communists. Immediately deputies of the rightwing parties in the Constituent Assembly submitted a draft law to dissolve the Communist Party, also demanding ... the dissolution of a number of democratic organizations.

Conjecture over the present anti-communist campaign in Sudan has led to the belief that it was absolutely not spontaneous but was prearranged. This campaign is in complete harmony with the aims of colonial circles to liquidate the democratic gains of the Sudanese people realized in the wake of the popular revolution of 21 October 1964. .... Thus present incidents in Sudan can only be a cause of satisfaction to those arch enemies of the Sudanese people, the imperialists and colonialists.

The patriotism of the Sudanese Communisit Party and its attempts to unite all national and democratic forces in a single front against imperialism created serious obstacles for imperialist policy. .... The unquestionable necessary and legal activities of the Sudanese Communist Party play an important role in the internal life of the country and express the interests of the broad masses of workers ....

The path of crushing democratic forces in Sudan, which the right-wing parties want to formulate as basis for political life in the country, cannot but arouse anxiety among all true friends of the Sudanese people. It is under the guise of combating communism that actions which benefit the colonialists and aim at obstructing and halting the people's march on the path of social progress and democracy have taken place.

17 November, PRAVDA Comment:

PRAVDA assesses the outlawing of the Sudanese Communist Party as the first step ushering in "the beginning of a large-scale offensive against democracy organized and headed by the Sudanese reaction." The paper today publishes a contribution by I. Alexandrov entitled "Intrigues of Sudanese Reaction." He writes that "The rights and freedom gained by the Sudanese people during the October 1964 revolution are being flouted. At that time, spokesmen of the rightwing parties asserted that they would adhere to democratic

principles. They have now violated these principles by barring representatives of the leftwing parties, including the communists, from participation in the government. The national unity which the Sudanese Communist Party achieved during the revolution has been split. ... reaction has revealed its true face .... In place of the overthrown military dictatorship, it seeks to establish the power of the rightwing and reduce to naught the achievements of the revolution."

"The existence of the Sudanese Communist Party is in accordance with the Sudanese constitution," Secretary General of the Sudanese Communist Party Central Committee said. "If the government violates the constitution, everyone has the legitimate right of self defense. Our party will not accept any undemocratic and unconstitutional decision and will fight for democracy and the constitution."

PRAVDA says in conclusion: "The actions of Sudanese reaction are incompatible with the national interests of the country. .... The step toward dictatorship is leading the Sudan to a national catastrophe."

17 November, Moscow TASS International Service:

Nearly 150 Sudanese students studying in Moscow gathered outside the Sudanese Embassy to protest the banning of the Sudanese Communist Party.

... a student in the economic faculty, read a petition adopted by the students. The document emphasizes the revolutionary role of the Sudanese Communist Party and describes the ban as "the beginning of the suppression of the democratic movement as a whole."

17 November, Moscow in Arabic to Arab World:

A meeting took place on 17 Novembar at the PRAVDA editorial office between leaders of the Sudanese Communist Party ... and Party Central Committee and Soviet and foreign journalists ....

The statement which they read expressed their firm denunciation of the actions of Sudanese reactionary forces, who imposed on the Constituent Assembly a draft resolution banning the activities of the Communist Party and other democratic mass organizations in the country. The statement provided a proper reply to attempts by Sudanese reactionary forces to justify their actions, which are contrary to democracy, through the anti-religious provocation that they had planned and which was carried out by one of the students.

The Communist Party had explained that this student was not one of its members and that the Communist Party had always respected people's religious feelings. .... The campaign of reactionary forces against communism was organized for quite different reasons.

The statement added that this campaign is the result of the crisis that the ruling reactionary forces are experiencing. Although they enjoy an overwhelming majority in the Constituent Assembly, they have proved their complete inability to solve problems facing the country.

During the five months that rightist forces have been in power in the country, they have slipped further into the bondage of loans from imperialist states. As a result, popular opposition to the ruling parties has intensified.

18 November, Moscow TASS International Service:

"The reactionary plot now stands fully revealed. It is directed against the freedom and progress of our country," says a statement of the Sudanese Communist Party Central Committee issued here today. "From the moment they came to power, the reactionaries have been steadily fulfilling their plan: They deprive trade unions of their rights, confiscate papers, ban demonstrations, and now they have decided to outlaw the Communist Party. Thus the leaders of the Ummah and the National Unionist Party intend to smother all voices of protest in our country."

The present situation in the country is reminiscent of the one exactly seven years ago, the statement says further, when the reactionaries had no chance to cope with the opposition of popular forces and established a military dictatorship. Now these reactionaries are carrying out a "civilian" coup, a mutiny against the constitution.

The Central Committee says that the reactionaries want to blame the Communist Party for their inability to solve economic problems and the problem of the country's unity and security. These tasks, the statement stresses, can be achieved only by forces believing in democracy and socialism.

19 November, Moscow Domestic Service:

Khartoum workers and students intend to defend the victories of the 21 October revolution and protect from persecution that party which represents their interests, namely the Sudanese Communist Party. The farther to the right the government of the feudal al-Umma and National Unionist parties moved, the faster the influence of the progressive forces grew. The people did not forget that the al-Umma Party at one time cleared the path for a military dictatorship.

The October congress of the Sudanese Trade Union Federation called for a democratic government which would liquidate imperialist domination in the country's economy. It also called for an expansion of workers rights and improved living conditions. .... The embassies of a number of Western powers in Khartoum, which had tried without success to cause a split in progressive organizations, decided that the time had come to check leftwing forces. Implementation of this plan had to be postponed in October because of a dispute between the two government parties. .... The two parties then were reconciled and a pretext was found to attack leftwing forces.

It was decided to use a police agent in the student movement in order to insult the feelings of religious believers. Claiming to be a communist, this agent-provocateur deliberately insulted believers. Seeing the likelihood of a provocation, the Sudanese Communist Party immediately disclaimed any connection with the police agent. However, text of the speech was in the hands of rightwing papers before it was made. There followed demonstrations by religious fanatics demanding the banning of the Communist Party and other progressive organizations.

.... On Tuesday, 16 November ... introduced a bill in the Constituent Assembly to change the constitution and ban the activities of the Communist Party and other atheistic organizations, to deprive their deputies of their mandates, and even to give the government the right to imprison communists. The bill was passed on the first reading, but on the same day workers were in the streets ... to defend the Communist Party and other progressive organizations. At the second reading, deputies of the National Unionist Party, one of the government parties, opposed the bill. The government was forced to postpone consideration of the bill until 22 November.

20 November, Moscow TASS International Service:

About 40 public and political organizations of the Sudan have protested against the government's intent to amend the constitution and to outlaw the Sudanese Communist Party.

Under the impact of the broad protest movement against the banning of the Sudanese Communist Party, the advocates of democracy and their opponents came to loggerheads inside the National Unionist Party, .... Some of the members of this party, who voted on 15 November for granting the right to the government to draw up a bill on the banning of the Sudanese Communist Party, have now come out against this measure.

20 November, Moscow Arabic to Arab World:

In the name of Soviet workers, the AUCCTU has voiced its strong protest against the campaign of prosecution waged by Sudanese reactionaries. The council declared its fraternal solidarity with Sudanese workers and trade unions in their struggle for independent development and consolidation of the republic's sovereignty. It also expressed confidence that the shameful plot by reactionaries against the people will inevitably end in failure.

22 November, PRAVDA article, "An Antidemocratic Act" (Summary carried on TASS International)

On 15 November the Sudanese Constituent Assembly adopted a law aimed at banning the activities of the Sudanese Communist Party and other democratic organizations. Events ... preceding adoption of this decision leave no doubt that the banning of the Sudanese Communist Party was part of a premeditated plan. ....

... the organizers of these anti-communist actions used the anti-religious utterances of a certain provocateur at the Omdurman teachers training college, who, without any basis, pretended to be a communist. Nothing would seem to be simpler than to see through this provocative idle talk by a single adventurist, who was immediately repudiated by the Sudanese Communist Party Secretariat and has nothing to do with the party.

However, certain leaders of the rightwing parties, particularly the Moslem Brotherhood known for its links with imperialist intelligence services and its participation in counterrevolutionary plots in the UAR and other Arab countries, and the al-Umma and National Unionist Parties which collaborate with reactionary forces began a widespread campaign against the Communist Party and other Sudanese democratic organizations.

To the accompaniment of anti-communist demonstrations and massacres that took place with obvious connivance of the authorities, the Constituent Assembly adopted a law previously prepared by deputies of rightwing parties aimed at banning the Communist Party and a number of other mass democratic organizations.

The Communist Party actively struggled against the military dictatorship and made a significant contribution to preparations for and implementation of the 21 October revolution. ....

.... Since the 21 October revolution, an important role in the country's internal life has been played, together with the Communist Party, by mass democratic organizations, namely trade unions, peasant organizations, the Sudanese Women's Union, the Sudanese Youth Union, and others. ....

.... A conference of representatives of ... Sudanese political parties and public organizations ... on 15 November unanimously condemned the decision of the Constituent Assembly banning the Communist Party as unconstitutional and a threat to democratic freedom in the Sudan. ....

Soviet communists and all Soviet people express their solidarity with Sudanese communists and all Sudanese patriots and democrats and are confident that national democratic forces in the Sudan ... (?will succeed in repulsing the attacks) of reaction and imperialism and maintaining the cause of democracy and progressive development in the Sudan.

24 November, Moscow TASS International:

... decided to defy the government's decision to ban the Sudanese Communist Party. The Central Committee considers ... that this decision is unlawful inasmuch as it is based on an unlawful change in the constitution. ....

.... It also considers that the government itself is illegal. Therefore, the Sudanese Communist Party will continue its activities and its struggle in defense of the constitution.

26 November, Moscow TASS International:

The Soviet Peace Committee issued a statement on 26 November expressing grave concern over the harrassment of democratic forces in the Sudan. .... "The Soviet Peace Committee expresses solidarity with all Sudanese democrats, peace fighters, and patriots and urges the Sudanese authorities to renounce their plans to ban people's democratic organizations, thereby contributing to the rallying of all peace-loving people against the forces of war and aggression."

27 November, Moscow in Arabic to Arab World:

Arabic newspapers have been carrying reports that intelligence agencies of imperialist countries, particularly U.S. intelligence, played a role in the anti-communist campaign recently waged by Sudanese reactionary forces. These statements have a strong basis in truth. ....

.... It is no secret that U.S. politicians received the 1964 Sudanese revolution with hostility. ....

The Sudanese people know very well how arms and ammunition poured in to the secessionists in the southern Sudan, together with a stream of anti-communist literature filled with fabrications and hostility against Sudanese democratic forces. The Sudanese authorities declared more than once that U.S. intelligence was participating in subversive activities in the country. ....

.... The Sudanese press cited proof of the links between U.S. intelligence and the reactionary Moslem Brotherhood, which gave the signal for the attack on the democratic rights and freedom of the Sudanese people.

30 November, Moscow TASS International Service:

"The conspiracy against the Sudanese Communist Party had been prepared long before the anti-Islam speech was made at the Omdurman Pedagogical College by a provocateur who pretended to be a Communist," said Sudanese Communist Party Secretary General ....

The Sudanese Communist Party secretary general said that, in its conspiracy against the Sudanese Communist Party, imperialism is trying to make use of the religious sentiments of the Sudanese. "The Sudanese Communists," he stressed, "are fully aware of the existence of the traditional concepts of the Sudanese. We do not propagate antireligious ideas either directly or indirectly. A majority of our party members are rank and file Moslems," ....

30 November, Moscow TASS International Service:

TASS correspondent N. Belyayev comments in PRAVDA on the persecution of democratic forces in the Sudan and Indonesia. He writes: "Desperate efforts by reaction in the Sudan and Indonesia prove that someone in the Asian and African countries is trying to make use of the present international situation to direct events into an anti-communist channel. Internal reaction in these countries is clearly determined to weaken forces coming out against imperialism."

Sudanese reaction is being pushed toward such a perilous step, according to the author, "First of all by fear of the growing authority and influence of Sudanese communists." They played the most important role in overthrowing the military dictatorship in October 1964. The Sudanese Communist Party is actively supported by the People's Democratic Party, trade unions, and other political and public organizations.

.... The persecution of democratic forces in Khartoum, the author continues, finds its echo in events in Indonesia. There reactionary-minded leaders also demand banning of the Indonesian Communist Party. The basic principle of the Indonesian revolution is threatened -- a principle of cooperation of nationalists, Moslems, and communists. Should this be destroyed, the author stresses in conclusion, those gratified will be "Only the imperialists, primarily the United States, who have lost a great deal as a result of the successes of the Indonesian revolution and are now trying to incite anti-communist hysteria in Indonesia.

3 December, Moscow Domestic (Dunayev Commentary)

The bill banning the Sudanese Communist Party was drafted long ago .... The impression is that a hand from behind the scenes is directing events in the Sudan.

.... A 70,000-strong protest demonstration in Khartoum and demonstrations by workers, students, teachers elsewhere were the Sudanese people's reply to attempts to decapitate the revolution. ... a student covered himself with gasoline and set himself alight in protest against the government's attempt to ban the Sudanese Communist Party. ....

.... (?The reactionary) government has decided not to immediately ban the Communist Party. From one day to the next, it has put off passing the unconstitutional bill foisted on it from outside. According to reports from Khartoum, pressure from the U.S. Embassy and CIA has now increased so much that the banning of the Communist Party can be expected any day.

4 December, Moscow TASS International Service:

Mohammed Ali Shawqi, a student at Omdurman Teachers College, was tried in Omdurman today. His recent anti-religious speech in the college gave Sudanese reaction a pretext for beginning an anti-communist campaign. Reaction hastily declared Shawqi a member of the Sudanese Communist Party and ascribed his pronouncements to the Communist Party in general.

His testimony at today's trial dashed the charges made against Sudanese communists. He said he was not a member of the Sudanese Communist Party and spoke only for himself.

Shawqi was sentenced to six years imprisonment.