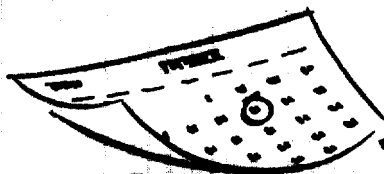


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# Significant Dates ▶

[ASTERISK DENOTES ANNIVERSARIES. All others are CURRENT EVENTS]

## SEP

- 1\* Germany invades Poland; World War II begins. 1939.
- 3-8 17th Pugwash Conference on "Scientists and World Affairs," Ronneby, Sweden.
- 7-9 International Organization of Journalists (Communist) Executive Committee meeting, Ulan Bator.
- 8 Summit meeting of Organization of African Unity, Kinshasa, Congo.
- 11\* Constituent Assembly election, South Vietnam. Despite Viet Cong threats, 80.8% of voters turn out. 1966.
- 17\* (Old Style: 4 Sept) Trotsky released from jail. Becomes head of Petrograd Soviet, sets stage for "October Revolution." 1917. FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY.
- 17\* Soviet Union invades Poland, proceeds to occupy eastern half of country. (See under 23 Aug and 1 Sept above.) 1939.
- 25 (to 1 Oct) Fourth General Conference of BITEJ (Travel Bureau of World Federation of Democratic Youth -- Communist) meets in Budapest in conjunction with FIYTO (Federation of non-communist commercial travel agencies).

## OCT

- World Federation of Trade Unions (Communist) Executive Committee meeting, Leningrad.
- 1-7 Scientists conference on European Security, Vienna, sponsored by World Federation of Scientific Workers (Communist).
- 1\* Indonesia Communist attempt coup, defeated by army. Sukarno's power reduced. 1965.
- 2\* Mohandas Gandhi born. (Assassinated 30 January 1948.) 1862.
- 4\* USSR launches first artificial earth satellite ("Sputnik"). 1957. 10th Anniv.
- 10\* Wuchang Uprising begins revolution, leading to end of Chinese monarchy. Chinese Nationalist holiday. 1911.
- 14\* Coup in Kremlin removes Khrushchev from power. Succeeded by Leonid Brezhnev as CPSU First Secretary and Aleksei Kosygin as Premier. 1964.
- 15-25 Conference on Portuguese Colonies, South and South-West Africa, Zimbabwe, and Rhodesia, Conakry, Guinea. Sponsored by the World Peace Council (Communist front).
- 16\* Communist China explodes its first atomic device. 1964.
- 22\* Cuban missile crisis. Presence of Soviet offensive missile sites confirmed. 28 October USSR agrees to withdraw missiles. 1962.
- 23\* Hungarian uprising begins when secret police fire on orderly student demonstrators. Spreads nation-wide against the Communist regime. Crushed by Soviet tanks November 4. 1956.
- 26\* Chinese Communist "volunteers" enter Korean War. 1950.
- 26\* Republic of Vietnam proclaimed. 1955.

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# WORLD COMMUNIST AFFAIRS

23 May-19 June 1967 50X1-HUM

## ICM AND "SOCIALIST CAMP" AFFAIRS

1. The outbreak of Israeli-Arab warfare finds all ruling CP leaders (except the Rumanians) on the side of Nasser and Co.; nevertheless, it exposes further cracks and conflicts in the Communist world, notably as:

a. The Chinese attempt to exploit the disappointment of the Arabs with the Soviet failure to take effective action to support them, branding the Soviets as "the number one accomplice" of the U.S. in "jointly plotting the Israeli attack," "secretly flirting with I. while publicly condemning her"; the Soviet clique is "the worst traitor to the Arab people," a "hangman" repressing their struggles; a Soviet ship was the first to enter the reopened Gulf of Aqaba, and the Soviets are trying to sabotage the Arab oil embargo by selling their oil instead; etc. As the cease-fire urged by the Soviets (after the magnitude of I. military superiority became apparent) is achieved, China calls on the Arabs to "plunge into redoubled, long-range, fierce struggle." And Peking reports warm reception of and gratitude for its support among the Arabs, with Arab papers republishing the above charges and calls.

b. The Soviets strike back in a lower, more defensive key, exposing Chinese "fabrications," ridiculing Peking's repeated reference to the support of its 700 million people so far away (why didn't they use them in neighboring Indonesia or Vietnam?), and accusing it of provocation and "objective" collusion with the U.S. and Israel.

c. The Soviets rally a Moscow summit of the European ruling parties (minus Albania, of course) to sign a statement patterned on the Soviet example, -- but the Rumanians refuse to associate themselves with it because of its denunciation of the Israelis as aggressors, -- though Tito does sign. The Rumanians on the other hand, call for a fresh start at solving the problems on the basis of existing realities and the necessity for peaceful coexistence of both sides, -- while Radio Bucharest in Yiddish describes its new April treaty with Israel for expansion of trade and cooperation! Rumania offers emergency wheat shipments to the UAR -- as does ComChina, while some of the other Communist states are reportedly joining the Soviets in emergency resupply of military hardware.

d. In Asia, the Mongolian Party subscribes to the Moscow Summit statement after it is published, while the N. Korean and N. Vietnamese parties are more sharply critical of U.S. "instigation and support" of the Israeli aggression than Moscow. Cuba denounces as "capitulation" the UNSecurity Council cease-fire resolution agreed to by the Soviets. Only the Albanians among the ruling CPs join the Chinese in charging Soviet complicity with the U.S.

e. A number of CPs, especially in the West, are reportedly torn between Soviet pressure for support and popular sympathy for Israel: the British CP reportedly

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suffers numerous resignations after it opts for the Soviet line, while the CPSUA avoids taking sides. The full story of such repercussions obviously remains to be told.

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2. Elsewhere, the Chinese further exacerbate their isolation in the ICM by engaging in new "diplomatic" feuds, involving personnel and property, with the Mongolians [ ] Bulgarians [ ] and East Germans [ ] 50X1-HUM and again scathingly attack the CPs of India [ ] and Japan [ ] 50X1-HUM. They also increase the intensity of their media attacks on the Soviet revisionists (even apart from the Israeli-Arab conflict), -- and draw increased Soviet response.

3. A Ceausescu-led Rumanian visit to Hungary before the Israeli-Arab outbreak [ ] produced the coolest communique yet seen in these EE bilateral meetings, without even any reference to a cordial atmosphere or fraternal friendship, and a scheduled mid-June visit of the same Rumanians to Yugoslavia is indefinitely postponed after the Moscow summit [ ] And the E. Germans 50X1-HUM still angry at the Rumanians for establishing diplomatic relations with Bonn, front-page, after the Moscow summit [ ] the story of the new Israeli-Rumanian treaty expanding trade and cooperation. 50X1-HUM

4. The Soviets keep up their pressure for a world CP meeting, calling for it jointly in a communique with the Finnish CP [ ] 50X1-HUM

5. And the Albanians continue to broadcast messages purportedly from an underground anti-Gomulka Polish CP, this time a communication to comrades in the purported underground "Bolshevik CPSU" [ ] 50X1-HUM

#### INTERNATIONAL FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

6. Both Soviet and Chinese media publicize statements (too numerous to record) by fronts under their respective wings and following their respective lines on the Israeli-Arab conflict; those based in Peking also accuse the Soviet revisionists of collusion with the U.S.

7. Chinese media heavily exploit a Peking seminar [ ] sponsored by 50X1-HUM their captive Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau to commemorate Mao's "Yenan Talks," -- and frankly acknowledge that it is "the first international meeting to publicize Mao's thought." (Most "foreign" names mentioned are readily identifiable as expatriates resident in Peking.)

#### COMMUNIST CHINA

8. As the first anniversary of the "outbreak" of the Cultural Revolution passes, the continuing welter of confused reporting indicates almost no

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"progress," with widespread violent or passive resistance -- or plain anarchy. The Army is ordered [ ] to assume full responsibility for cracking down on lawlessness and maintaining order, yet it seems to be strangely reluctant or unable to act. Large-scale mobilization of urban personnel for field work on the summer harvest is reported. Foreign observers, Communist as well as non-Communist, attribute the almost hysterically xenophobic regime actions described throughout our Chronology as designed to divert the people's attention from internal chaos and rally support under the banner of nationalism.

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9. Peking tries to continue to keep the Hong Kong unrest [ ] stirred up, repeatedly calling on the HK people to organize and prepare to overthrow British rule, with the support of the 700 million Chinese: however, a series of strike efforts fail and the situation seems to be stabilizing. [ ]

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10. Chinese media urge guerrilla "people's war" to overthrow the regimes in India [ ] the Philippines [ ] and Thailand [ ]

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11. In addition to their "diplomatic" feuding with Communist states [ ] the Chinese escalate feuds with Indonesia [ ] and continuing) and India [ ] to levels which would seem to verge on breaking relations -- if it were any country other than China.

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12. The explosion of China's first hydrogen bomb draws much the same reaction from the various Communist media as the earlier A-bomb explosions (a one-sentence report citing NCNA for Soviet output). Warm congratulations from Ho Chi Minh are worth noting.

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## SOVIET AFFAIRS

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13. Our Chronology details [ ] considerable evidence of the Soviet regime's current difficulties in coping with a rising intellectual ferment and demand for freedom by its writers, revealing the picture of bland conformity at the 4th Congress of the Union of Soviet Writers conveyed by media reporting was phony and misleading.

14. The first Communist attempt to explain the reasons for the disastrous Arab defeat known to us comes in a June 13 Soviet Radio "Peace and Progress" broadcast: it cites as the principal factor that the Arab armies were composed of uneducated peasants. It also implies that the Arab soldiers may not have been enamored of the "transformations taking place in their country." (Included under Israeli-Arab round-up.)

15. PRAVDA again warns W. German that W. Berlin is not a part of it but is "an independent political entity." [ ]

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WESTERN EUROPE

17. ITALY: The Italian CP suffers a significant setback in an election polling 3 million votes, largely to the benefit of the left-Socialist splinter PSIUP. while the ruling center-left coalition also gains slightly. [REDACTED] 50X1-HUM

18. E-W GERMANY: W. German Chancellor Kiesinger, replying to a May 10 letter from E. German Premier Stoph, proposes delegation of representatives for discussion of practical problems of the divided Germanies. [REDACTED] 50X1-HUM

ASIA

19. NORTH VIETNAM: HOC TAP's commemoration of Ho Chi Minh's birthday [REDACTED] seems to most observers to contain implicit criticism of Maoist deification and activities outside the Party framework. 50X1-HUM

20. INDONESIA: On the 47th anniversary of the I. CP (PKI), Radio Moscow to I. admits that PKI leaders erred in the coup attempt but argues that the Party cannot be held responsible for errors of individual leaders. Peking publicizes a meeting of I. expatriates in Peking declaring that the PKI will lead a "people's war" to conquer the country. [REDACTED] 50X1-HUM

21. JAPAN: Further splitting of the Japanese left as a result of the JCP-CCP conflict brings the formation of a new, rival "Japan-China Friendship Buddhists Council." [REDACTED] 50X1-HUM



AFRICA

22. GHANA: Accra expels two Soviet and two Czech representatives for "wanton espionage" and other activities aimed at restoring Nkrumah to power, -- and warns "others" of those two countries to cease and desist under an implied threat of a break in relations. [REDACTED] 50X1-HUM

LATIN AMERICA

23. BOLIVIA: Guerrilla activities cause growing concern, moving the President to declare a state of siege. The Army is holding Debray for trial (#14) 50X1-HUM despite an impressive French and international protest campaign -- including a plea by De Gaulle for Castro's theoretician of guerrilla warfare. [REDACTED]



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24. VENEZUELA: The OAS has appointed a committee to prepare to hear Venezuelan charges of Cuban intervention, while former president Betancourt warns that V. and its neighbors should take combined action against Cuba if it does not cease. 50X1-HUM

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WORLD COMMUNIST AFFAIRS  
CHRONOLOGY

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A. The first anniversary of the outbreak of the "Cultural Revolution" finds Peking regime propaganda trying to convey its message through "cultural" matters (literature and art), and acknowledging that "at this stage of the struggle to seize power, contradictions of various kinds remain complex." Meanwhile, wall newspapers and posters describe chaotic, bloody clashes on a growing scale throughout the country, seemingly confirmed by a 7-point June 7 directive banning all forms of violence and illegal action and giving the PLA (army) full responsibility for maintaining order everywhere (a mandate which seems to have made little difference as yet in the stance of local PLA commanders).

Noteworthy items include:

(1) May 23 opens (with a Lin Piao-led mass rally) a new propaganda barrage pegged to "the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's brilliant work 'Talks at the Yanan Forum of Literature and Art,'" and including repeated references to "the forum on literary and art work in the armed forces in 1966 (Shanghai, February 2-20)" which "Lin Piao entrusted to Chiang Ching (Mme. Mao)," -- a Mao-edited and -approved "summary" of which is published on the 28th. Also published for the first time are five of Mao's "militant documents on literature and art," three "letters" and two "instructions" over the period 1944-1964, all of which are distributed in pamphlet form beginning June-1.

(2) A June 1 joint RED FLAG/PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial commemorates the 1st anniversary of "the first M-L big-character poster to appear in China," -- "a great strategic measure ... a battle order issued directly to the entire Party and to the people of the entire country." This editorial admits that contradictions remain complex in the struggle to "force the enemy finally to lay down their arms."

(3) The 7-point June 7 "circular" cracking down on violence and giving the PLA responsibility for maintaining order, first reported on that date by Tokyo YOMIURI's Peking correspondent Seki, is signed by the CCP/CC, the State Council, the CCP/CC Military Affairs Committee, and the CCP/CC Cultural Revolution Group.

(4) On the day the circular appeared, a Peking poster by a visiting Yunnan group describes an uprising in that province of 30,000 "under the influence of a handful of power factionists within the Kunming Military Govt" who on 28-29 May besieged 2,200 members of the "Kunming Maoist Artillery Corps," killing 266 and injuring about 1,000. This is only one of a series of reports of similar nature by correspondents in Peking, and there is no indication of a slackening in the turmoil following the issuance of the directive to the PLA.

(WCA Chrono Cont.)

(5) Meanwhile, NCNA on the 11th announces that more than 29 million copies of THE SELECTED WORKS OF MAO TSE-TUNG came off the press in China in the first 5 months of 1967, a 20% increase over last year and "two and one-half times the total number of copies published in the 15 years preceding the GPCR."

(6) In contrast, PEOPLE'S DAILY on June 15 and 16 publishes "letters from readers" and editor's notes "in response to Chairman Mao's call": "Economy must be practiced in making revolution." Advocated are "such 'small things' as withdrawing broadcast vehicles, stopping the practice of sending presents, and using clay paste instead of starch as glue."

B. Concern with the summer harvest is expressed in a PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial of May 31 which calls it "an acute class struggle" and directs the immediate mobilization of the "poor and lower-middle peasants, all working people and revolutionary cadres" to work on it, -- and even more concretely by an NCNA report on the 15th: "In the past few days nearly 200,000 Red Guards, revolutionary teachers and students, commanders and fighters of the PLA, and cadres in govt. organizations have gone from Peking to the surrounding countryside to help bring in the wheat harvest, which promises to be excellent."

C. Personalities at the top: Mao is reported meeting with pro-Chinese Ceylonese Communist leader N. Sanmugathasan on June 6, shaking hands with 80 international seminar participants June 9, and appearing in public at the Peking Opera on the 17th. Lin Piao gains even further prominence as he heads for the first time a large public gathering in the absence of Mao, the May 23 rally on the 25th anniversary of the Yen-an talks, a performance which he repeats on June 9: his name is also on a newly-published book to be added to the Maoist classics, devoted to the 1966 forum which he "entrusted to Chiang Ching" (para. A1). Chou En-lai is less visible, but there is no evidence that he's in trouble. Chen Yi continues to carry out his Foreign Minister duties in the face of Red Guard attacks.

D. Internal failure hidden behind anti-foreign actions? Peking mobs demonstrate against the personnel and installations of eight foreign countries, four Communist and four non-Communist, including physical abuse and property damage in a number of cases (see details in subsequent chronology). A June 15 Tillman Durdin dispatch from Hong Kong to the NYTIMES cites "political observers here" as interpreting these "xenophobic demonstrations as exercises in self-stimulation and a substitute for achievement," used "to divert national attention from somber internal conditions and to keep students who are out of school and other revolutionary partisans in Peking excited and busy." Communist media also take this line: see Mongolian UNEN below, May 21-June 8.

Guerrilla insurgents cause growing concern in Bolivia, moving President Barrientos to declare a state of siege June 7, after a band of 40 to 50 inflicted casualties on a crack Army unit May 30. 50X1-HUM Also on the 30th, the old-line CPs of Chile and Uruguay issue a joint

declaration of support for the guerrillas. Meanwhile, the Army continues to hold Castro's French friend Debray for trial, to the accompaniment of French (and other) protests ranging from de Gaulle and the Papal Nuncio to the FCP newspaper L'HUMANITE.

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Highlights are:

-- A PEOPLE'S DAILY Commentator article on May 25, warning that the "debt of blood, accumulated over more than a century, which British imperialism owes the Chinese people" is "no small one" and "must be repaid."

-- PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial on June 3 calls on the HK people to organize and prepare to overthrow British rule:

"The evil activities and bloody persecution of our patriotic compatriots in HK by British imperialism absolutely cannot be tolerated by the 700 million Chinese people. Patriotic compatriots in HK and Kowloon, continue to mobilize and organize, fight on courageously against the wicked British imperialism, be ready at all times to respond to the call of the great fatherland, and smash the reactionary rule of British imperialism!"

May 17 (delayed): A Ho Chi Minh birthday commemoration article in N. Vietnamese Party theoretical monthly HOC TAP is interpreted as implicitly criticizing the Maoists as it warns against "deification" of a leader, compares Ho's correct policies with the practices of "a certain leader" who "acts in accordance with subjective views" while ignoring party councils. It emphatically warns against separating the workers from "the vanguard, the CP."

May 19 (delayed) and June 2: PEOPLE'S DAILY devotes a whole page to India: "Revolutionary Rebellion Is the Only Way Out," beginning:

"India is in chaos... The root cause of all these miseries is the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic and comprador capitalism, for which the Congress govt is the faithful instrument. It is this govt which has hired itself out to U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism.... The Indian people cannot build a new life for themselves if they do not rise in rebellion, overthrow the reactionary Congress rule and smash this man-eating social system....

At a time when the Indian people's struggle against Congress rule is surging forward vigorously, the traitorous Dange gang has come out chanting the charms of 'peaceful revolution.' ... It is benumbing the fighting will of the Indian people...." PD returns to the same theme on June 2.

May 21 (delayed): Radio Tirana broadcasts in Polish a purported summary of an April 1 letter from an anonymous anti-revisionist Polish Communist to

like-minded comrades in the "Bolshevik CPSU."

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May 21-June 8 [ ] The May 21 melee at the Ulan Bator railway station is inflamed to a major Mongolian-Chinese clash, with government notes and media exchanging mutual recriminations of provocation, abuse, and physical violence, and with anti-Mongolian demonstrations in Peking. PEOPLE'S DAILY Commentator on the 27th carries the attack to extremes of vituperation:

"Tsedenbal and his like are a handful of spineless sycophants at the beck and call of their masters. They fawn on the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, cringe before them in the most servile manner, and sell out lock, stock and barrel the state sovereignty and national interests of Mongolia...."

The last word on the subject to come to our attention is a June 8 article by UNEN's Commentator:

"... Their vile attacks and filthy slander on socialist countries, including the MPR, exposes the true face of the present Chinese leadership, the face of great-power chauvinists and petty-bourgeois adventurers.... explained by a wish to conceal from the Chinese people the bankruptcy of their adventurist policy, to distract the people from the serious situation at home...."

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May 22-27 [ ] The Soviet regime's difficulties in coping with rising intellectual ferment and demand for freedom by its writers are strikingly illustrated by developments of this period:

-- Published accounts of the 4th Congress of the Union of Soviet Writers indicate that it generally continued in bland conformity with the Party line as set forth in Demichev's opening message, with the single exception of Cossack Sholokhov's free-wheeling diatribe. However, subsequent reports state that the record was heavily edited to eliminate evidence of bitter controversy, especially over the question of literary freedom and the harsh treatment of Sinyavsky and Daniel. PRAVDA's text of the Sholokhov speech, although strictly "Party-line" and repeatedly denouncing those within and without who call for literary freedom: (a) deplores "the open desire of our writers' leadership to conduct this Congress by avoiding sharp corners at all cost"; (b) expresses concern that the average age of delegates is near 60 and that "abnormal mutual relations have developed with part of the young writers"; and (c) regrets the pointed absence (in Italy) of senior journalist Ilya Ehrenburg and implies that others have boycotted the Congress. The Western press gives heavy play to the following passage:

"Recently quite a few voices have been heard in the West militating for 'creative freedom' for us, Soviet Writers. These self-invited fans also include the CIA and some Messrs. Senators, inveterate White Guards, the turncoat Alliluyeva, and the not unknown Kerensky, who became a political corpse long ago. Look, into what amazing company our zealots of freedom of the press are falling.

French novelist Lanoux makes the most direct reference to the Sinyavsky-Daniel case (after Jean-Paul Sartre and Louis Aragon boycotted the Congress on this issue) -- "Recent steps taken in this country have rejoiced your enemies and greatly disturbed your friends. Maybe it was a personal affair, but you must realize that literature belongs to the whole world." -- but Soviet media omit this in their reporting. The Congress and media also ignore a written message of greeting by American playwright Lillian Hellman who attended the opening session: it called for literary freedom and open discussion of problems.

-- PRAVDA's report of the Sholokhov speech is the first Soviet media reference to Svetlana's defection since the brief March 13 TASS note that she had gone to India, but it triggers a series of subsequent attacks: (a) in an across-the-board May 27 PRAVDA editorial denunciation of U.S. "anti-Soviet provocations" ("... the Soviet citizen S. Alleluyeva, who was first taken by CIA agents from India to Switzerland and then recently brought to the U.S., is being used for the same unseemly purposes."); (b) May 31 KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's reprint of French CP's attack in May 28 L'HUMANITE DIMANCHE, with KP's own preface; and (c) three articles in June 7 LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, one original, signed "Valentin 008," and reprints of one from the French NOUVEAU CANDIDE and an Art Buchwald satire from NYPOST.

-- A notable absentee from the 4th Congress was Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, who became famous overnight in 1962 with publication of his account of life in a Stalin forced-labor camp: it was reported that he had addressed a message to the Congress which was circulating unofficially among delegates. On May 31, Paris daily LE MONDE publishes the text of this message (NYTIMES has English translation June 5). In it, he denounces "the oppression, no longer tolerable, that our literature has been enduring from censorship," reveals that he has been prevented from publishing the last 3 years, and charges that the State Security Committee (KGB, the secret police) confiscated some of his writings and his files in 1965 and that this material is now being used in a campaign to defame him. He lists 24 outstanding Russian writers whose works have been barred in some way in the Soviet Union, many of whom were persecuted and perished in prison camps, and reminds the Union of its constitutional duty to protect and defend the rights of its members. Western correspondents in Moscow in the next few days report a joint letter to the Union signed by some 80 prominent Soviet writers endorsing the Solzhenitsyn appeal and calling for a public discussion of the evils of literary censorship.

-- Moscow's two most famous young "rebel" poets, Yevtushenko and Voznesensky, figure prominently in the current turmoil. Y. was on a lone, free-wheeling tour of Spain and Portugal before the Congress, and was last reported seen in Lisbon May 16. TASS May 23 includes his name among several members who "returned from foreign travels" in time for the Congress, but he not subsequently reported or seen attending: moreover, Reuters and UPI reporting on the above item state that Y. had cabled his support of the Solzhenitsyn appeal. V. did attend the Congress but reportedly signed the joint letter supporting the appeal: at the close of our period he is forced to cancel out of a June 21 engagement to read his poetry at NY's Lincoln Center Summer Festival, cabling the New York sponsors: "can't come."

-- On the other side of the coin, the 75-year-old liberal writer Paustovsky, who had appealed for clemency for Sinyavsky and Daniel and was reportedly among the signers of the above joint letter, is awarded the Order of Lenin June 16. And Soviet youth monthly YUNOST, appearing a few days after close of the Congress, carries two calmly defiant poems ("Don't breathe down my neck") by leading liberal crusader Tvardovsky, editor of NOVY MIR.

May 23: The 47th anniversary of the Indonesian CP (PKI) is commemorated variously by Moscow, Peking and Hanoi. The latter, in a NHAN DAN May 23 article, lauds the PKI ("a main patriotic force in I."), deplores the persecution and massacre of I. Communists by "the I. reactionary forces," and "urges the I. authorities to set free" those still detained and "give up their policy of terrorism and repression." Peking gives low-key publicity highlighted by a May 28 account of a meeting of the Federation of I. Students in China addressed by Supeno, "a member of the PKI/CC delegation in the CPR," who declared that the PKI would "lead a people's war from countryside against the cities until all I. is conquered." Radio Moscow to I. on the 23rd admits that "a number of PKI leaders violated the political line laid down by the Party program" but argues that the Party "cannot bear responsibility if errors are committed by individual leaders."

May 23, 29, 30: Chinese media try to incite Communist-led revolution in the Philippines. Radio Peking in Tagalog on the 23rd broadcasts a purported "Statement by the Philippines CP" which "promises to launch a life-and-death struggle" against the American imperialists, their reactionary allies within the country, and the Soviet-led modern revisionists. NCNA on the 29th reports that "the P. People's Liberation Army led by the P. CP (PKP) has recently stepped up the guerrilla warfare on Luzon Island and has scored one victory after another." Next day Peking broadcasts a similar report in Tagalog and a PEOPLE'S DAILY commentary greets it as "heartening news." It concludes that "the P. revolutionary people will certainly win final victory after protracted arduous struggles if, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, they fight a people's war, establish revolutionary base areas, and encircle the cities from the countryside."

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May 23   Most Communist states are deeply involved in or intensely preoccupied with the Arab-Israeli struggle, which serves as a new subject for Sino-Soviet recriminations. Highlights include:

-- A May 23 Soviet Govt statement which cites Israel's war-like moves, with "the direct and indirect encouragement... from certain imperialist circles which seek to bring back colonial oppression to Arab lands," and asserts flatly that:

"Should anyone try to unleash aggression in the Near East he would meet not only with the united strength of Arab countries but also with strong opposition to aggression from the S.U. and all peace-loving states...."

-- A May 27 Chinese Govt statement denounces the US and USSR even more harshly than Israel:

"U.S. imperialism is at present hatching a big plot of aggression against Syria, the UAR and other Arab states by making use of Israel....

The Soviet revisionist leading clique (SRLC) is the number one accomplice of U.S. imperialism... Once again it is colluding with U.S. and British imperialism, busily working to strike a political deal with them and actively peddling its sinister ware of the 'Tashkent spirit' in a vain attempt to sabotage the just cause of the Arab people.... The Arab people ... will surely recognize the SRLC in all its ugliness as a betrayer of the interests of the Arab people and will never be taken in by it...."

-- NEW TIMES May 31 (after the UAR closes the Gulf of Aqaba) denounces, along with "imperialist provocateurs who would like to aggravate the crisis," "the Chinese leaders, who call themselves 'sincere friends' of the Arab nations, while at the same time urging them to 'fan the flames of struggle' in the Near East."

-- PEOPLE'S DAILY June 2 strikes back at the NEW TIMES article "virulently attacking China," calling it "babbling nonsense."

-- On June 6, the day after the armed conflict began, the SovGovt issues a fairly restrained statement condemning Israel for initiating aggression, blaming no one else for complicity, declaring "its resolute support for the govts and peoples" of the Arab states, demanding that Israel "stop immediately and unconditionally its military actions" and "pull back its troops beyond the truce line." In contrast, the Chinese Govt statement same day declares: "The SRLC has connived at the aggression committed by Israel at the instigation and with the support of U.S. imperialism, thus once again revealing its ugly features as a betrayer of the Arab people." As for support, it says:

"The Chinese Govt hereby solemnly declares: Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the 700 million Chinese people who are victoriously carrying on the GPCR absolutely will not allow the U.S. imperialists and their collaborators to ride roughshod and commit aggression everywhere. We firmly stand on the side of the Arab people and resolutely support them in their just war against U.S.-Israeli aggression. Victory will surely belong to the heroic fighting Arab people!"

PEOPLE'S DAILY same day goes much further:

"U.S. imperialism and its lackey have unleashed a war of aggression.... British imperialism is also an accomplice.... The SRRC is again playing the shameful role of number one accomplice.... A large number of Soviet war vessels have steamed into the eastern Mediterranean, exchanging fraternal greetings with the warships of the U.S. 6th Fleet on the high seas.... The SRC is bent on stamping out the flames of the Arab people's just struggle in collusion with U.S. and British imperialism. Its act of betrayal has added greatly to the aggressive arrogance of Israel...."



-- Indicative of the conflicting pressures on many CPs with sizable Jewish membership is the vacuous June 6 statement by CPUSA GenSecy Gus Hall, as reported by TASS:

"Whatever one's views on the crisis in the Middle East may be, there can be only one conclusion regarding the military struggle which has erupted between Israel and the Arab states. It is a wrong war. It is a war which benefits only the U.S. and British oil monopolies and no one else...."

And AP London reports on June 18 that the British CP's endorsement of Moscow's position "resulted in many resignations of Jewish members."

-- A June 9 Moscow summit of the chiefs of 7 European Communist countries (Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia) and the USSR produces a joint statement along the lines of the June 6 Soviet statement -- which Rumania refuses to sign, -- although Tito does, his first joint action with the Soviet Bloc since his split in 1948. Next day, the USSR, and Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia break relations with Israel (allegedly because the latter ignored the UN Security Council call for a cease-fire) followed by E. Germany, Poland, and Hungary on the 12th; and Yugoslavia on the 13th: Rumania refrains from taking the step. The premiers of these (except non-member E. Germany), including Rumania (and Mongolia) follow Kosygin to N.Y. for the Soviet-initiated UN General Assembly session beginning the 19th.

-- On June 11, as the shooting in the Mideast had practically ended, PEOPLE'S DAILY front-pages a call to the Arabs to renew their fighting, citing Mao's dictum: "fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again ... til their victory...." Again branding the Soviets as "a false and treacherous friend" which had "jointly plotted the frantic Israeli attack" with the U.S. as a "political maneuver to trap the Arab countries," PD declares that the Soviets were "secretly flirting with I. while publicly condemning it, stating that "a Soviet vessel was the first ship to pass the Gulf of Aqaba" after I. took command of the Tiran Straits.

"The Soviet revisionist clique is a heinous swindler specializing in double-dealings, the worst traitor to the Arab people, in collusion with U.S. and British imperialism, a hangman suppressing the Arab people's struggle against aggression."

It concludes:

"Arab people, unite! Make sustained and redoubled efforts! Plunge into long-term, fierce struggles! The 700 million Chinese people are behind you. So are all the revolutionary people the world over. Final victory will surely belong to the heroic Arab people!"

In a June 13 round-up of Arab "praise for China's genuine support and condemnation of Soviet betrayal," NCNA says that the Iraqi papers AL-JUMHUIYAH and AL-MANAR republished this editorial.

--- Beginning June 7, massive demonstrations of hundreds of thousands in Peking denounce the Soviet revisionists as well as the imperialists. TASS on the 13th reports a Soviet Foreign Ministry protest which demands that the Chinese "take measures to insure conditions necessary for the normal work and security of Soviet representatives in China."

-- IZVESTIYA begins a counter-attack in a Petrov article on June 12: Peking's declarations about its readiness to send the entire Chinese population of 700 million as armed assistance to the Arabs are an utter absurdity not to be taken seriously because of geographical, transport, or military considerations. The calls from Peking are either a provocation of politicians or a cry of despair from frightened-to-death petit-bourgeois who do not believe in the final victory of the liberation movement. Radio "Peace and Progress" to Asia on the 14th again brands the reference to 700 million Chinese supporters as "sheer nonsense" and asks: "if it were so simple to send 700 million people to the other end of the world, then why did Peking not send them to Indonesia or Vietnam which are much nearer?" It goes on to brand "the call to employ nuclear weapons in the Near East" as "nothing less than a criminal venture."

-- An interesting Communist effort to explain the reasons for the Arab defeat was made in a Radio "P & P" broadcast to in English Asia June 13:

"First of all, it is necessary to denounce as imperialist lies and slander that claim that the reason for the defeat was the social and economic transformations which were carried out in the progressive Arab countries...."

The Israeli forces represented a well-trained army of educated men, equipped with modern weapons.... The Arab armies were also equipped with modern weapons....

However, if we examine the ranks of the Arab armies, we shall see that they are composed of peasants, most of them with faulty education, not always able to make the best of modern weapons, not always understanding the significance of the social and economic transformations taking place in their country. This was the big difference...."

--- Algerian dictator Boumedienne flies to Moscow for secret talks June 12-13, and leaves without any word of pledges: however, his Foreign Minister Bouteflika in Kuwait for an Arab FM conference is reported by Reuters as stating on the 17th that the USSR had promised to compensate the Arab nations for the munitions lost in the lightning war. UPI correspondent Callcott moving to Athens from Cairo on the 17th reports new MIG fighters arriving in the UAR by air from the 15th on, apparently confirming a Belgrade June 17 report by NYTIMES correspondent Eder from "informed but unofficial Yugoslav sources and reliable Western diplomats" that the USSR "has flown approximately 100 MIG fighters to Egypt to replace aircraft destroyed in the recent fighting." He adds that "approximately 200 Soviet transport flights have been counted landing at Egyptian airfields over the past 10 days or so." Meanwhile, the Cairo authoritative newspaper AL AHRAM on the 11th reports

that China has offered the UAR an emergency loan of \$10 million in hard currency without conditions or repayment schedule and has offered to provide 150,000 tons of wheat --- about 10% of the UAR's annual import requirements --- also without conditions. A London ECONOMIST June 10 report lends substance to the wheat story by stating that the Australian Wheat Board revealed that China had diverted four shipments of newly purchased Australian wheat to Egypt in recent months.

-- On June 5, the day the Israeli-Arab fighting broke out, Bucharest Radio in Yiddish to North America describes increasing Rumanian-Israeli trade relations, especially the agreements concluded during April 9-16 talks. Rumanian Party daily SCINTEIA June 13 commentary by "V. Iliescu" avoids placing blame for the Near East fighting on either side and urges the necessity "to proceed in everything from the existing realities created as a consequence of the social and political evolution of the postwar world, and from the need of coexistence and cooperation between the Arab states and the state of Israel...." On the 16th, Rumania announces its offer to the UAR of immediate delivery of 50,000 tons of wheat, and 15,000 tons of corn, with "conditions of payment to be established later," plus unspecified food to Syria.

-- A Cuban Govt declaration made public June 7 denounces the UNSC cease-fire resolution, adopted with Soviet support, as a "scandalous capitulation." Public criticism of the Soviet course is reported by AP Cairo on June 10, and AL AHRAM is mildly critical on the 12th: next day, however, it charges "certain imperialist circles" with furthering "an intentional, premeditated, anti-Soviet campaign." And Reuters reports from Warsaw on the 19th that Gomulka attacked some Polish Jews who "applauded Israel's victory and even organized drinking parties to celebrate it."

-- NCNA June 16, on the basis of press reports, accuses the Soviets of "taking advantage of the oil embargoes carried out by the Arab countries against U.S. and British imperialism to sell its own oil to West European countries, thus sabotaging the Arab oil embargo and making profits in its own egoistic interest." TASS June 19 distributes a statement by Soviet Foreign Trade Minister Patolichev describing as "'sheer fabrication' the reports in the Western press that the S.U. is trying to take the place of the Arab countries in the oil market," the purpose of which is "to sow doubt in Arab countries about the position of their sincere friend, the S.U." He also asserts that the USSR sells no oil or oil products to Israel.

May 23 and continuing: In addition to the heavy new barrage on the theme of betrayal of the Arabs, as described above, Chinese media attack the Soviet revisionists heavily on other old and new subjects throughout the period: collusion with the U.S. in many fields, with Japan, and with India; degeneration toward capitalism; a new characterization of the CPSU leaders as "red compradors" pursuing an "open door policy toward foreign monopoly capital," etc. They also produced their first attempt at "Kremlinology" -- the first of the highlights which follow:

-- NCNA May 29 notes that "A change in leadership has suddenly taken place recently in the USSR State Security Committee (KGB), an important tool of fascist dictatorship in the hands of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique (SRRC)." (See #14, May 19.) It adds that at the same time KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carried an obituary on the unfortunate death, while executing "public duties," of Major General V. Lukshin, a leading member of the KGB responsible for armed forces security: moreover, it was "something quite abnormal" that the obituary was not accompanied by a photo and was merely signed by "a group of comrades." Also, on the same day, the celebration of the 45th anniversary of the Young Pioneers (Communist youngsters) in the 50th Anniversary year was not attended by a single member of the hierarchy, though the 44th last year was attended by them all. And on that same day "certain unusual things happened" in downtown Moscow, including the passage of "more than 20 trucks fully loaded with army men, etc."

--- NCNA May 28 accuses the U.S. imperialists and SRRC of collaborating to "cook up a new round of anti-China hullabaloo in connection with an 'interview' allegedly given by Premier Chou En-lai" which was a "sheer fabrication" by Simon Malley. Although the Chinese Foreign Ministry Information Department issued a statement on May 16 denouncing it as a fabrication, Soviet, Hungarian, and Czech newspapers published the alleged "interview." "As late as 24 May, the Soviet LITERATURNAYA GAZETA published it and coupled it with an unscrupulous anti-China attack."

--- PEOPLE'S DAILY Commentator June 5:

"Of late the U.S. imperialists and SRRC have been very active on the question of Indian-Pakistan relations. They have produced 50X1-HUM sively a program for negotiations on the Kashmir issue, a suggestion for I. and P. to establish 'joint enterprises,' a proposal for 'arms reduction' by both countries, and so on. These multifarious proposals are motivated by the same aim: to coax and coerce P. into abandoning its independent foreign policy and allying itself with the I. reactionaries against China. This is part of the U.S.-Soviet conspiracy to build an anti-China ring of encirclement in Asia...."

May 23 Soviet media respond to the increased intensity of Chinese attacks, commenting frequently on: the "fierce struggles" going on inside China; repression of minority nationalities; increasing austerity, reduction in food production and wages; charges of outright lies; and the continuing charges of collusion with the U.S. -- especially pegged to the 133rd regular "secret" meeting of Chinese-U.S. ambassadors in Warsaw on June 14, after the Israelis had overrunning the Arabs. Noteworthy items include a broadcast by Radio Moscow in Mandarin to China on June 5, less than 2 weeks before the first Chinese hydrogen bomb explosion, discusses the heavy cost to the Chinese people of Mao's needless program of nuclear testing: in the huge economic burden, in the serious fallout risk to Chinese children (and those of its neighbors), and in increasing isolation of the Chinese "from the progressive people." 50X1-HUM

May 24-26: A Ceausescu Maurer-led Rumanian CP delegation visits Hungary:

the completely non-committal communique does not even mention a cordial or fraternal atmosphere, to say nothing of any agreement.

May 25-June 14: New feuding breaks out between Chinese and Bulgarians in Peking and Sofia:

-- Sofia May 30 reveals that the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry protested to the Chinese Embassy the "unprecedented and arbitrary arrest of First Secy of the Bulgarian Embassy Nikola Mulchanow in Peking on May 25 ... as well as ... the indecent attitude of the official Chinese authorities toward him," and "insisted that immunity and safety of Bulgarian diplomats be secured according to international norms and that conditions for normal activities of our Embassy be provided...."

-- NCNA June 10 reports a Chinese FM note to the Bulgarian Embassy of that date "protesting strongly against the Bulgarian Govt for crudely wrecking the Sino-Bulgarian agreement on the exchange of students and deliberately aggravating relations ... by unreasonably declaring three Chinese students in Bulgaria 'personnae non gratae (on May 29)."

"... What is more infuriating is that some members of your Politburo and other responsible person of your Party, Govt, and Army have more than once openly and viciously attacked Chairman Mao by name, the great leader of the Chinese people and the red sun which shines in our hearts....

... We must tell you in all seriousness that the Bulgarian revisionist ruling clique headed by Zhivkov has gone too far down the anti-China road. If you insist on serving as an anti-China clown of the Soviet revisionists and being hostile to the 700 million ... you will surely come to no good end."

-- NCNA on June 6 bitterly reports Bulgarian troop and police protection of the U.S. Embassy against "Arab and African students" demonstrating "against the armed aggression...."

-- Sofia BTA June 13 reports violent, slanderous demonstrations by thousands of Red Guards at the Bulgarian Embassy in Peking on the 11th and 12th: on the 14th it reports a Bulgarian FM "most energetic protest against the vicious anti-Bulgarian campaign and organized provocations" in Peking, with a "demand that the CPR Govt take urgent measures" to stop the provocations and insure safety.

May 27  Chinese-Indonesian feuding continues, with 50X1-HUM highlights:

-- I. Foreign Dept. note May 27 to C. Embassy charges CPR "neglected its responsibilities," to provide protection and security for I. diplomatic personnel and property, particularly in connection with the April 24 expulsion of two I. diplomats  and requests assurances of future 50X1-HUM.

-- Tokyo KYODO May 30 reports a statement issued by the I. Embassy there accusing NCNA of disseminating "slandorous news about I. atrocities against Chinese citizens" -- and going on to describe Chinese treatment of the above I. diplomatic personnel.

-- NCNA reports three new Chinese Embassy protests to the I. Foreign Ministry charging as many new cases of I. persecution of Chinese nationals: dated May 27, June 5, and June 9, respectively.

--- NCNA June 15 reports a June 13 Chinese Embassy note to the I. FM refuting the (above) May 27 I. note, which "smeared the C. Govt," and rejecting it as "a gross insult to the C. Govt and people."

The note concludes:

"... You have not only failed to carry out your responsibility but have instead stubbornly intensified your acts, pushing relations of the two countries to the verge of a complete break. Before an abundance of facts and ironclad proofs, this account must be settled."

--- Djakarta Radio June 16 reports Parliament's passage of a draft resolution which, "among other things, urged the Govt to take positive and firm steps in its diplomatic relations with the CPR, and, if necessary, to sever diplomatic relations with the CPR." It adds that Premier Malik said that "we would sever diplomatic relations as a last resort and that the Govt would try to force the CPR Govt to repatriate its citizens from I."

May 30: Tokyo ASAHI EVENING NEWS reports that "repercussions are being felt in Japanese Buddhist circles from the various problems created in the Japan-China friendship movement by the confrontation between the CPs of Japan and China," resulting in the formation of a new Chinese-aligned "Japan-China Friendship Buddhists Council" in opposition to the old JCP-aligned council of the same name.

May 30, 31, June 1: Prague CTK reports from Peking May 31 that on the previous day two East German Embassy officials were surrounded by Red Guards and later taken to a police station "for reading public posters and leaflets" and "provoking the revolutionary masses." That evening the Chinese FM protests to the GDR Embassy against the conduct of the officials who "disturbed revolutionary order." East Berlin ADN June 1 reports a strong GDR FM protest to the CPR Embassy against "a new violation of diplomatic immunity and the hindering of normal diplomatic activity of the GDR diplomats in Peking." It demands insurance that such incidents not be repeated.

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May 31-June 5: Chinese media heavily exploit a Peking "seminar sponsored by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau to commemorate Chairman Mao's 'Talks at the Yen-an Forum ...' (see China, above)." Kuo Mo-jo's closing address acknowledges that it is "the first international meeting to publicize Mao Tse-tung's thought." "Over 80 friends from 32 countries and regions" who had participated are received June 9 by Mao, Lin, Chou, and the remainder of the hierarchy in good standing. Most of the names mentioned can be readily recognized as persons residing in Peking.

June 1: PEOPLE'S DAILY (according to NCNA) "hails the growth of the Thai people's armed struggle in a commentary entitled: 'Fire Is Raging Ever More Fiercely.'

June 1, 2, 5: On June 1, Venezuela formally calls on the Organization of American States to schedule a meeting of foreign ministers to deal with the charges of Cuban intervention in her affairs and those of other nations. (See #14, May 12, for Cuban Army landing attempt.) The OAS Council on the 5th appoints a 9-member committee to prepare for such a meeting. Meanwhile, former V. President Betancourt in a June 1 V. telecast, foresees the time when V. and other neighboring countries should take combined action against Cuba unless Castro ceases his aggressive policy. And V. Interior Minister Leandro announces that one of the 3 Cuban captives hanged himself in his cell on the 2nd.

June 3: NCNA London reports: "Inspired and instigated by the British official quarters and bourgeois propaganda machine, a handful of provocateurs in the service of B. Imperialism this morning made trouble in front of the office of the Chinese Charge d'Affaires here. They overreached themselves in conducting another brazen provocation against the great Chinese people." It adds that the Chinese "lodged a strong protest with the B. Foreign Office against these shameless provocations."

W. German Chancellor Kiesinger, replying to E. German Premier Stoph's May 10 letter 50X1-HUM sends a letter offering to name a deputy to discuss practical problems of the divided Germanies with an equivalent representative of the E. German regime. The E. Germans bridle at K's avoidance of the use of their name for the E. German regime and Stoph's official title, but indicate that they will give further consideration to his proposal.

June 6: Reuters reports from Accra: "Ghana today expelled two Soviet journalists and two Czechs, a journalist and a diplomat, for what the Govt described as activities aimed at bringing former President Nkrumah back to power." The Govt statement said they had engaged in "wanton acts of espionage" and warns "other diplomats, representatives and citizens of these two countries engaged in similar activities to stop or else the Govt would be forced to review its relations with (them)...."

June 6-7: A visit of a top-level Finnish CP delegation to Moscow produces a lengthy communique which includes a call for a new international CP conference.

June 10: NCNA reports that on June 6 Arab and other foreign students demonstrating before the U.S.I.S. reading room in Belgrade "were subjected to savage repression by the armed police of the renegade Tito clique." Arab students are reported "seriously wounded" after they "hailed down the U.S. flag and burned it."

June 11: The Italian CP, suffers a significant setback as 3 million voters, mostly in Sicily, go to the polls in Italy's last major election before the national parliamentary vote next spring, as reported by WASHINGTON POST's Rome correspondent Wollemborg. Most Communist losses appear to benefit the left-wing Socialist splinter, PSIUP, but the ruling center-left coalition also manages slight gains.

June 12: PRAVDA commentator Grigoryev, condemning recent W. German political activity in W. Berlin (visit of President Luebke and plan to conduct Bundestag sessions there in late June), warns: "W. Berlin has never been, is not, and will not be part of the Bonn state. It is an independent political entity."

Same day E. German party daily NEUES DEUTSCHLAND front-pages a report of the new Rumanian-Israeli "treaty on the expansion of mutual trade and on the intensification of economic, technical, and scientific cooperation" (see also Rumanian item under Near East fighting, above). "The Rumanians have reportedly been generous in allowing the Israelis to establish branch offices in Rumania. Allegedly, Israel is the first country to open a trade office in R. in which private I. firms will participate."

And Bucharest announces indefinite postponement of a scheduled mid-June visit of a Ceausescu-led delegation to Yugoslavia.

June 12 [ ] A sharp Chinese-Indian "diplomatic" feud 50X1-HUM out:

-- June 12 Peking apprehends two Indian diplomats, with charges that on J 4 they drove to the western suburbs of Peking "where, in brazen violation of China's laws and decrees known to all, they surreptitiously peered at and took photographs of a prohibited military area in the vicinity."

The note strips R. of his diplomatic status and forbids him to leave China "before Chinese judicial organs take sanctions against the crimes according to law."

-- Indian External Affairs Ministry next day protests to C. Embassy, demands no interference with diplomatic status, and requests withdrawal of charges and apology. Peking, however, conducts a "public trial" of R. (in absentia) before "more than 15,000 revolutionary people of various circles, army men, and Red Guards." He is found guilty, stripped of diplomatic status, and ordered expelled, together with his colleague.



-- The two depart Peking on the 14th, with brutal maltreatment at the airport, as described by TANYUG's veteran Peking correspondent Saranovic. "Before some 20 foreign diplomats and a group of foreign correspondents, over 300 Red Guards maltreated the two Indians and kept them for an hour before allowing them to enter the plane." They are badly beaten and tortured by arm-twisting, and I. personnel who accompanied and tried to protect them are also beaten and had their autos covered with paint and posters.

--- In New Delhi on the same day (14), the I. Govt strips a C. Embassy first secy of diplomatic status and forbids him to depart, with similar charges, and a mob of 500 demonstrates before the C. Embassy.

--- Chinese FM on 15th protests the Indian "unjustifiable acts" as "serious provocation."

-- In New Delhi on the 16th, several hundred I. students storm the C. Embassy, climb the walls, and assault 8 C. officials while 200 I. police stand aside. NCNA's lurid account quotes a "semi-conscious" comrade as "shouting":

"Be resolute, fear no sacrifice. If I die, there are 300 rupees in my truck: please take it as my party dues."

NCNA reports a second storming on the 17th.

-- In Peking, beginning with the 17th hundreds of Chinese besiege the I. Embassy, cutting it off from outside contact.

-- An I. note on the 18th demands lifting of the siege in Peking under threat of "appropriate counter-measures." As it continues, New Delhi on the 19th announces the imposition of similar "siege" restrictions on the C. Embassy there.

June 16: PEOPLE'S DAILY commentary, "This Rebellion Is Excellent," congratulates the M-L Japanese Communists who have rebelled against "the handful of revisionists" in control of the JCP, who "want no revolution themselves; moreover, they forbid others to make a revolution. They practice fascist rule within the Party, and they go so far as to collude with the J. reactionaries...."

June 17: The Chinese explode their first hydrogen bomb. Reaction among other parties is similar to that for the earlier A-bomb tests, ranging from wild rejoicing in China to a factual, one-sentence TASS announcement citing NCNA, though Tokyo KYODO on the 19th reports visiting Soviet Red Cross President Miterev as saying that the explosion was not conducted in the interests of peace. The N. Vietnamese are notably warm in praising it.

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5 July 1967

NORTH VIETNAM'S TREATMENT OF POWs

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The 12 June repatriation of 39 North Vietnamese sick and wounded prisoners by the South Vietnamese government provides an opportunity to keep attention focused on Hanoi's refusal to permit the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to inspect North Vietnam's prison camps and its failure to repatriate sick and wounded U.S. prisoners. Although American POWs in North Vietnamese prisons probably total over 300, it is difficult to estimate with any precision because Hanoi has refused to provide the ICRC with definitive lists of the prisoners and because the limited number of foreign journalists and others permitted to "interview" U.S. fliers had no opportunity to visit the prison camps but have talked with, or seen the POWs only under constant guard in pre-selected rooms in Hanoi. The strictly controlled nature of the so-called interviews and the sometimes eerie behavior of the U.S. airmen has led even observers unfriendly to the U.S. to question the type of treatment Hanoi is giving American prisoners and has raised the specter of brainwashing -- at least in the broad sense that coercion was used to obtain statements.

Despite Hanoi's claim that it treats the prisoners "humanely," it continues to refuse offers by the ICRC and other neutral observers to visit the prisoners. Hanoi has not even allowed the designation of a Protecting Power for the prisoners -- a non-belligerent agreeable to all belligerents to serve as a mediator in matters concerning prisoners. Hanoi has not only failed to repatriate seriously sick and wounded POWs but has declined to meet with the ICRC to discuss the matter. Most of the POWs are not permitted to send or receive mail as required by the Geneva Conventions.

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THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY YEAR OF  
THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION: The Year

The Kremlin's hopes for improving its image abroad and enhancing the regime's prestige and leadership at home during the 50th Anniversary Year have been deflated by lackluster pre-Anniversary events, unexpected developments, accumulated unsolved problems, and political uncertainty. The burden of the over-all adverse situation is such that, at the least, this year's celebrations will probably be considerably constrained.

Soviet Preparations and Objectives: On 1 July 1965 the Soviet regime began a campaign to prepare for the celebration on 7 November 1967 of the 50th Anniversary of the October\* Revolution. On 4 January 1967 the Central Committee of the CPSU accelerated this campaign by widely publicizing an 8,500-word resolution on "Preparations for 50th Anniversary of Great October Socialist Revolution." (See extensive excerpts attached). The resolution, a poorly written piece, made extravagant claims of Soviet achievements, omitted large portions of Soviet history in its survey, and virtually ignored the existence of contemporary problems. As expected, the resolution called for a series of events and a press campaign to build up enthusiasm for the celebration, and exhorted Soviet citizens to express their patriotism and to work hard to increase the economic and military might of the USSR.

Fulfillment of the program to date: A survey of the Soviet press shows that the resolution has been obeyed: all media have chimed in to urge greater effort, to preach tighter discipline and, implicitly, to forget the past and look ahead.

\*Called the October Revolution because, according to the old Russian calendar, 7 November 1917 fell on 25 October.

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A series of gatherings for Soviet and international groups have taken place or are scheduled. On 28-31 March, for example, a "scientific" conference on the international significance of the October Revolution was held in Moscow.

Other gatherings, past and future, include: On 17-19 April, a national "scientific-theoretical" conference in Leningrad to discuss "Great October -- the triumph of Lenin's theory of the socialist revolution;" on 22-27 May, in Moscow, The Fourth Soviet Writers Congress, the announced concern of which was to be the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution and "the role of Soviet literature in its celebration" (see below); in late July in Leningrad, an international youth congress to celebrate the 50th Anniversary year.

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The effect of the pre-Anniversary meeting and of the press campaign cannot be ascertained. It is noteworthy, however, that at two international meetings, strong and possibly major emphasis was given to propaganda themes attacking the Chinese Communists and calling for an international congress, probably at the expense of the planned discussion of the October Revolution. Also noteworthy, though hardly unexpected, is the virtual absence in the Soviet press of evidence that the Soviet people are entering into a genuinely joyful, festive spirit in observation of the 50th Anniversary of CPSU rule.

Other events believed to have been scheduled in conjunction with the Anniversary include space feats, such as the Venus shots and the test flight of a new space ship. The latter feat, which ended in the tragic death of Col. Komarov, is generally thought to have been the first on the schedule of a series of manned space shots; the balance of the series has now, apparently been cancelled.

Unforeseen Developments: If the Kremlin is not exuding optimism and fueling its Anniversary celebrations with cheerful bulletins, the explanation may well be largely in the unusual events which have blackened the Soviet calendar so far in 1967.

First, the early March defection of Svetlana Alliluyeva (nee Stalin) which, though played down in the Soviet press for more than two months, when finally surfaced gave ringing evidence that the regime had been seriously shaken. Second, on 24 April (coinciding with and adversely affecting the conference of European CP's at Karlovy Vary) the above-noted space tragedy which took the life of Col. Komarov and led to voluminous rumor-mongering and speculation which was not put to rest by belated and unconvincing explanations in the Soviet press. Third, in late May, the Writers Congress, which had been postponed so often that the Soviet leadership probably was reluctant to risk postponing it again, appeared from Soviet press accounts to be an almost totally insipid affair, but on the basis of incomplete reporting of suppressed and behind-the-scenes actions by liberals and moderates, actually turned out to be

an expression of deep disaffection by many Soviet writers. (See Chronology). Fourth, the recent Mideast crisis, which delivered such a blow to Soviet prestige that no amount of Soviet bluster and propaganda can conceal its seriousness.

Prospects for the balance of the Anniversary year: The uninspiring nature of the Central Committee resolution of 4 January, the absence of evidence that the objectives of the resolution are being carried out effectively, and the effects of the above-cited unforeseen developments combine to indicate that the Kremlin's hopes for a joyous Anniversary celebration have been considerably dampened. To these reasons there may be added an accumulation of gnawing unresolved problems and the reported political divisions at the top levels of Soviet leadership.

The unresolved problems include the allocation of economic resources, the relationship of the military to the political leadership, the direction and speed of economic change, and the ever-present question of how to deal with Stalinism. (See summaries of these problems, attached). The most obvious of these problems, that concerning economic allocations, is seen in the failure to prepare and ratify the present five-year plan, which covers the period started 1 January 1966. The 1½-year delay now almost equals the time by which the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1951-1955) was delayed; it is interesting to note that that plan was interfered with by the substantial demands placed on the Soviet economy by the Korean War and by the uncertainties that war created.

The existence of significant political divisions among USSR leaders has been suspected by Kremlinologists for some time. Recent reports by Harry Schwartz of the NEW YORK TIMES (NYT 28 May) and AP Moscow correspondent Henry Bradsher (WASHINGTON POST 12 June) have surface some of the rampant speculation. Schwartz discerns three basic factions headed by: Kosygin and Podgorny (liberal); Suslov and Shelepin (conservative-reactionary); Brezhnev (alternating between the two extremes). These factions are, according to Schwartz, engaged in disputes over a broad range of policy issues which he discusses. Bradsher reports from Moscow that observers believe the Soviet Union's collective leadership may be shaken up early next year. He emphasizes the significance of economic indecision. The Schwartz and Bradsher articles are attached.

The prospects, in summary, are that the Kremlin will have to overcome some rather substantial obstacles or else, as now appears likely, the 50th Anniversary celebration will be a constrained affair.

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June 1967

## COMMUNIST REACTION TO ARAB-ISRAELI CRISIS

Bloc Countries

From the start of the Arab-Israeli crisis, bloc officials excepting Rumanians, have supported the Soviets in condemning Israel as an aggressor against her Arab neighbors. Rumania refused to sign the trumped up declaration which Moscow had prepared for the quickly called summit in Moscow on 9 June. The Rumanian government was reportedly offended at being called to Moscow to sign an already prepared declaration without benefit of prior consultation. Reporting from various sources (summarized below) indicates that public opinion in most of these bloc countries strongly disagrees with the official government position.

Yugoslavia

Pres. Tito's strong support of the Arab cause has evoked the most open disapproval of any foreign policy issue in several years. Many Yugoslavs identify themselves with the Israelis whom they consider the underdogs and express satisfaction with Israeli successes. There has apparently been official disagreement over Tito's policy, but no evidence that he will fail to get support for his endeavors even though the Federal Executive Council has met twice on the Mideast situation without issuing a statement in support of his policy.

Poland

At a foreign affairs debate in the Sejm, several deputies spoke out against breaking diplomatic relations with Israel. One deputy stated it would be a shameful act for a country in which so many Jews had been murdered. Newspapers, radio, and TV stations have reportedly been swamped with angry telephone calls protesting the government's action and "false" reporting. Jewish newspapermen came under particularly strong attack for their anti-Israeli articles.

On June 19, Party Chief Gomulka denounced those Poles who welcomed the Israeli victory over the Arabs. He said: "We do not wish a fifth column to be created in our country.... We cannot remain indifferent towards people who, in face of a threat to world peace-hence also to the security of Poland and the peaceful work of the Polish nation - express their support for the aggressor and the disturbance of peace.... We take the position that all Polish citizens should have one fatherland: People's Poland.... Let those who feel that those words are addressed to them draw the proper conclusions." The Associated Press reported that the subsequently published official text omitted the fifth column reference and added the comment that "The huge majority of Polish citizens of Jewish nationality share the one fatherland position." This speech was obviously aimed at Polish Jews and Gomulka's well-known anti-Semitic feelings must leave Jews in the Polish Communist Party in a vulnerable position.

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Czechoslovakia

The contrast between the official position and public attitudes was highlighted by the unprecedented number of comments conveyed to westerners during the crisis period. These included outspokenly pro-Israeli comments by workers and middle level managers of various mining communities, a virtually unanimous anti-regime attitude on the part of students and faculty at Charles University and the refusal of many students to participate in demonstrations before the US and UK embassies. Speeches of senior faculty members in a recent meeting at the Prague Military Academy displayed a markedly pro-Israel attitude. President Novotny's strident speech at Lidice on June 11 seems to have provoked normally disenchanted Czechs to view even more skeptically their leaders' pronouncements on foreign policy. Many people felt he debased the Lidice Anniversary and stated that his attacks on the US as an aggressor in the Middle East were totally baseless.

Other reports indicate that Czech trade officials are displeased with their governments position, being afraid exports of certain goods to America and Canada will be affected as Jewish merchants are their largest purchasers.

Rumania

A Rumanian diplomat stated that the position his country has taken in the Arab-Israeli conflict has evoked great Soviet displeasure and the Soviets have charged Rumania with breaching socialist solidarity. He stated: "They just can't understand our right to take such a position if we feel, as we do, that it is in our national interest".

Another Rumanian compared Israel's position to that of Finland in the 1939-40 Winter War. He admitted that it was difficult to maintain an impartial stand in the face of tremendous Soviet and Arab pressure. He confided that the Rumanian position had been covertly praised by several bloc officials. He maintained that the Soviet vote for a weak UN resolution after its pugnacious attitude toward Israel made the USSR an object of ridicule.

USSR

To judge from the apathetic demonstrations in front of the US and UK embassies, Soviet citizens simply did not have their hearts in the exercise. The apathy may be partly due to the fact that the Arabs have never been popular in the Soviet Union. Many citizens are resentful of the large amounts of aid invested in Arab countries and feel that the money should be used at home.

There are also three million Jews in the USSR, many of whom are sympathetic to the Israeli cause. An Israeli diplomat indicated that

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his Embassy had received telephone calls from Soviet citizens, wishing them well. A Jewish Soviet citizen indicated that thousands would volunteer to fight for Israel if they could.

### Bloc Journalists

Several bloc journalists stationed in Western countries have indicated they disagree with their countries' policies and are using various pretexts to avoid filing stories on the Arab-Israeli conflict and the discussions before the UN. Jewish bloc newsmen have indicated sensitivity over having to write anti-Israeli articles and are afraid that speeches such as Gomulka's will unleash a wave of anti-Semitism in East European countries.

### Cuba

A Cuban diplomat in a Western country said his government was disgusted with Soviet failure to support the Arabs. He stated that his country realized that the Soviet Union would not help Cuba in any confrontation with the United States any more than it had helped the Arabs.

### Western Europe

#### Italy

Luigi Longo's initial all-out support of the Soviet Arab position brought severe criticism from such members as Umberto Terracini, a Jewish member of the PCI Directorate who recently visited Israel and is reported to have sent a letter to an Israeli paper which denounced the Arab states. Some party "liberals" even accused the Soviets of inciting the Arabs.

In Turin and Rome local Communist committees issued strong statements of support for Israel. Longo is reported to have said that the party position was very unpopular and had caused an enormous upsurge of anti-Soviet feeling at all levels both because of the Soviet's black and white approach to Israel and because many militants felt that the Soviets let the Arabs down. Longo felt that the PCI had an obligation to the CPSU to help prevent collapse of Soviet prestige in the Middle East.

#### France

The strong pro-Soviet statement by Party Secretary Waldek Rochet has been very unpopular within the PCF and has almost ruptured its alliance with the Left Federation. Leftist intellectuals such as Jean Paul Sartre, Pablo Picasso, Pierre Mendes-France and many others have signed petitions giving total support to Israel. Guy Mollet castigated the PCF position calling L'Humanite's editorial "preposterous" and rebutted UAR arguments on which Soviet Union has publicly based its support for Arabs.

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### Belgium

The two elements of the PCB have taken opposing stands on the Near East crisis. The orthodox PCB INFORMATIONS contained a remarkably pro-Israel line while the pro-Chinese Grippist CP has gone beyond the Soviet stand and even accused the Soviets of appeasement.

### Austria

VOLKSSTIMME, official organ of the KPOe called for an immediate ceasefire in tones of neutrality and compromise. One report states that seven Austrian Communists had signed a resolution on "Israel's right to exist."

### Spain

While party leadership seems to support the Soviets, rank and file seem to have different reactions ranging from sympathy for Israel to antipathy towards Nasser, who is considered a fascist, and criticism of the Soviets for letting the Arabs down.

### Brazil

#### Latin America

Many PCB intellectuals support Israel. At least two are known to have signed a pro-Israel manifesto. The Arab-Israeli conflict is viewed by some as being confrontation between US and USSR. Some members feel the USSR failed the Arabs in their hour of crisis and the USSR has lost prestige as a consequence.

### Panama

A well-known leftist politician bitterly criticized the Soviets for their poor performance and especially for inferior arms they shipped to Mideast. The CP cautioned the politician against taking such an anti-Soviet line.

### Chile

An official of the Socialist Party issued a statement condemning Israel without consulting the PS leadership. This statement was published by both Communist EL SIGLO and Socialist ULTIMA HORA. The statement brought irate protests from PS members and was later amended. Pro-Cuban Socialist leader Allende defended the Tri-Continental statement and said it condemned Israeli government for its pro-imperialist policies but did not advocate annihilation of one state by another.

### Colombia

It has been reported that the UAR offered a sum of money to the Communist Youth group to conduct an anti-Israel campaign. Youth leaders

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appear divided over question, some in open sympathy with Israel.

### Argentina

The PCA is highly concerned about the effect Soviet position will have on Jewish members of the Party. It is afraid many will defect and wealthy Jewish sympathizers will withdraw financial support. The PCA has been trying to persuade members that the Soviets are supporting UAR because it is anti-imperialist.

A bloc diplomat said that 3000 Argentines have volunteered for service in Israel, including members and functionaries of the PCA. He stated this could be explained by the fact that a number of top functionaries are Jews who believe that Israel has a right to exist and that development of the Israeli state has been supported by the entire progressive world.

### Uruguay

The Anti-Israeli position taken by the party and the Soviets is causing strong reaction. The party is afraid of losing a valuable source of income from wealthy Jewish sympathizers. It hopes to counteract this by propagating the line that the US is interested in gaining control over Arab oil supplies and Israeli war is part of US policy for instigating "local wars".

## Middle East

### Egypt

The managing editor of AL AKHBAR stated that he would like to have poisoned the leaders of "a big power which he believed was a friendly state which would support us" as well as the leaders of Israel, the US, and the UK. He chided USSR by name in a later editorial. Voice of the Arabs broadcast warned listeners not to depend on the East or West. AL AKHBAR moderated its tone later and LA ALHRAM of 13 June noted that the USSR had extended "colonssal economic and military aid" to the Arabs and that "reactionary circles" were trying to alienate the two.

### Lebanon

The CP initially gave mild approval to role of USSR in war. Reportedly Kamal Jumblatt, leader of the Progressive Socialist Party, and front groups rebuked the Soviet Ambassador in Beirut for lack of Soviet support. The pro-Chinese organization issued a pamphlet attacking the USSR as a partner of Anglo-American imperialism.

### Syria

The CP of Syria emphasized the large amount of Soviet support to Arab countries. The ruling Ba'ath Party line seems to have varied. One

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newspaper queried why USSR had not stopped Anglo-American intervention while another emphasized how the "socialist camp", especially the USSR, stood by the Arabs "during the battle".

### Iraq

The government controlled press and radio in Baghdad made little comment on the Soviets in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The CP of Iraq's Voice of the Iraqi People broadcasts, originating in East Germany, initially paid scant attention to the Soviets while a later broadcast stressed the great amount of political, economic and military aid the "socialist camp" has furnished the Arabs and noted that "imperialists, Zionists, and reactionary agents" were maneuvering to weaken Arab-Soviet friendship.

### Israel

No CP statement has been noted since the outbreak of hostilities. On 3 June Dr. Moshe Sneh, Pro-Soviet leader of one faction of Party, issued a strong condemnation of Arabs, defended Israel's right to exist as an independent nation, and said the people of Israel are determined to fight for their country. The anti-Zionist element of the Party stressed the "aggressive nature of Israeli policy" in contrast with the Soviet "policy of peace."

### South Asia

#### India

The CP India (right) praised the USSR as "the guarantor of the sovereignty of peoples standing guard against the neo-colonialist offensive of US imperialism." The CP (left) generally sympathized with the Arabs, although it singled out the "Israeli working class" for its warm sympathy.

#### Ceylon

The pro-Moscow wing of the CP in its newspaper FORWARD of 14 June replayed a pre-crisis statement of the leader of the anti-Zionist CP Israel which called for a change in Israel's imperialist orientation. The newspaper feebly reported there were two Communist parties in Israel.

#### Pakistan

Newspapers have generally followed an anti-Soviet line on the Arab-Israeli war. KOHISTAN (Rawalpindi) accused the Soviets of collusion with the US and the Karachi newspaper HURRIYAT indicted the Soviets for betraying the Arabs. The PAKISTAN TIMES stated that "China has replaced the Soviet Union as the advocate of just causes and friends of victims of aggression."

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### Indonesia

Indonesian Communists feel that the Soviets suffered a defeat in the Mideast and are pleased, yet they regret Nasser's loss as he was useful to the progressive forces. They felt the war was engineered by the imperialists and revisionists (Soviets) to remove world attention from Vietnam.

### Africa

#### Nigeria

The Socialist Workers and Farmers Party (SWFP -- the Nigerian CP) Secretary General Otegbeye said on 14 June that he and most members of his party were elated over the Israeli victory over the Arabs. He described Nasser and other Arab leaders as "Fascists" who persecuted Communists and furthermore Nasser had always supported the reactionary Muslims in the northern region of Nigeria. Another Central Committee member stated that the Party would refrain from publicly criticizing Nasser as all Communist activities in Nigeria are funded by the Soviet Union or other bloc countries.

#### Sudan

The CP of Sudan has been critical of the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc. SCP Secretary General stated that the position of Socialist countries cannot be explained by any "reasonable revolutionary."

The SCP made the following decisions: (a) to contact Soviets and other socialist countries and demand decisive intervention to save Arab socialism, and (b) to work to direct the masses' anger against the USA and the UK in order to divert their attention from their discontent with the socialist countries until these countries rectify their stand.

10 June 1967

**LE MAUVAIS CHEVAL**

En décidant de s'incliner devant l'ordre de cessez-le-feu du Conseil de sécurité, le président Nasser a choisi finalement la voie de la raison, bien que nul ne sache ce que seront les réactions d'une armée et d'une opinion cruellement déçues dans les espoirs qu'avait entretenus une propagande abusive.

Ce n'est pas seulement en Egypte que des remous risquent de se produire. Soudain reconstitué contre Israël alors que la victoire paraissait en vue, le front arabe commence à donner, à l'heure de la défaite, des signes évidents de division. Le prestige personnel du Raïs sort durement éprouvé de l'affaire et aussi celui de M. Choukeiri, chef de l'Organisation de libération de la Palestine, qui avait vu son heure de gloire arrivée et voyait déjà deux millions de juifs disparaître de la terre qu'ils ont fécondée.

Le désastre subi par les Arabes est encore souligné par le retard qu'ils ont mis à accepter le cessez-le-feu. En s'y pliant tout de suite, ils auraient paru se ranger à un appel des Nations unies, ce qui n'aurait rien d'humiliant. Aujourd'hui, il est évident qu'il s'agit d'une quasi-capitulation. Le mot a d'ailleurs été employé par les représentants aux Nations unies de divers Etats progressistes du « tiers monde », pour qui ce jour est celui d'une profonde amertume. Il est peu probable en effet que les Israéliens se hâtent d'évacuer les territoires qu'ils contrôlent. Tout indique qu'ils sont décidés à profiter de leur victoire pour obtenir une reconnaissance de leurs frontières et une garantie imprescriptible de la liberté d'accès à Elath. Le moins auquel ils puissent prétendre, c'est à la reconnaissance par ses voisins de la réalité d'un Etat qui, par trois fois, à l'heure de vérité, a fait la preuve de son existence, et à celle du droit pour ses navires d'emprunter le canal de Suez. Ils doivent savoir cependant que s'ils veulent parvenir à une paix durable sur leurs frontières il leur faut dominer leur victoire et montrer qu'ils sont capables de générosité. En cédant hier sur le problème des réfugiés palestiniens, ils pouvaient paraître céder à la force et compromettre la sécurité intérieure de leur Etat. Aujourd'hui, s'ils se prêtent à des concessions sur ce point, alors que rien ne les y force, ils ont une chance de s'ouvrir enfin le cœur de voisins qu'ils ont assez humiliés, quand

ce ne serait que par le simple fait de leur réussite, pour qu'à défaut le désir de vengeance ne continue de les habiter.

Cette position de force où l'Etat juif se trouve aujourd'hui, il la doit pour une part aux maladresses de la diplomatie soviétique. Celle-ci eût été mieux avisée de faire comprendre aux dirigeants arabes, avant la crise, que le Kremlin ne pourrait pas, en cas de hostilités, leur porter secours. Elle aurait dû s'employer auprès du Raïs pour le mettre en garde contre le risque qu'il courrait en bloquant le golfe d'Akaba. Elle aurait dû accepter de parler avec les Américains avant le déclenchement des hostilités pour essayer de le prévenir. Elle aurait dû encore adopter dès lundi le cessez-le-feu sans conditions proposé par les Etats-Unis au lieu de faciliter la progression des troupes juives dans le Sinai en refusant un texte auquel elle allait se rallier quarante-huit heures plus tard.

Comme hier à Cuba l'U.R.S.S. a montré aujourd'hui en Méditerranée qu'elle se refuse à un affrontement direct avec les Etats-Unis. C'est évidemment la sagesse. Il serait plus sage encore que les deux grandes puissances cherchent une bonne fois les moyens de désamorcer les situations plus ou moins explosives à propos desquelles elles risquent à tout moment de se trouver en conflit.

LE MONDE, France

8 June 1967

**MANOEUVRE  
EN RETRAIT**

Mardi, plusieurs gouvernements d'Europe orientale dénonçaient « l'agression israélienne » et exigeaient le retrait des forces en présence sur les positions qu'elles occupaient le 4 juin. Les rédacteurs de ces textes ne semblaient pas prévoir que, quelques heures plus tard, M. Fedorenko signerait un appel au cessez-le-feu qui s'abstient de condamner Israël, et de réclamer le retour au « statu quo ante ». Une fois encore l'U.R.S.S. a placé dans une situation difficile ses amis, qui se bornaient pourtant à reprendre à leur compte ses déclarations antérieures. Une fois encore, elle a donné l'impression d'abandonner « in extremis » des protégés qui croyaient, à tort, que le soutien soviétique leur était acquis en toutes circonstances.

Les mythes ont la vie dure. Pendant des années on a répété

que le Kremlin menait à sa guise le jeu diplomatique, qu'il déclenchait et arrêta les crises comme il l'entendait et qu'en fin de compte il était toujours bénéficiaire des opérations entreprises. Une telle analyse était sans doute fondée échec militaire. Mais la dernière crise a confirmé que la direction collective actuelle cherchait moins à maîtriser les événements qu'à les utiliser. Le moment n'est-il pas venu pour elle, aujourd'hui comme en 1962-1963, de réexaminer sa politique, afin de l'adapter aux moyens qu'elle veut et peut mettre en œuvre pour l'appliquer ?

Dès le début de la crise actuelle on pouvait déceler une contradiction fondamentale entre l'attitude des Soviétiques et celle du président Nasser. Pour les dirigeants arabes, il faudra tôt ou tard — et le plus tôt sera le mieux — effacer Israël de la carte. Mais, pour les Russes, l'existence de l'Etat juif ne peut être remise en cause, même si les gouvernants de Tel-Aviv sont les « instruments de l'impérialisme ». Il faut d'ailleurs reconnaître que Moscou avait adressé des mises en garde à ses amis au Proche-Orient. Lors d'une visite en Egypte, quatre mois avant sa destitution, M. Khrouchtchev déclarait en substance : « Nous vous enverrons les armes dont vous avez besoin pour vous défendre. » Il ajoutait toutefois : « Il est bien évident que les armes fournies par l'U.R.S.S. ne pourront jamais être utilisées à des fins d'agression. »

Il n'empêche que l'Union soviétique s'est trouvée prise dans un engrenage qui pouvait l'entraîner jusqu'au point de non-retour. Mais allait-elle prendre en faveur du président Nasser des risques que, jusqu'à présent, elle se refuse à prendre en faveur du communiste Ho Chi Minh ?

Le résultat en tout cas est clair. Les Egyptiens et les Jordaniens ont proclamé que les Américains et les Britanniques avaient bombardé leurs territoires. De la sorte, ils espéraient peut-être embarquer l'U.R.S.S. dans leur galère. Le Kremlin n'avait-il pas laissé entendre qu'il se tenait prêt, en seconde ligne, et que son intervention serait proportionnée à celle des puissances impérialistes ? Il faut d'ailleurs remarquer que l'U.R.S.S. n'a jamais dit quelle pourrait être sa participation. Mais surtout, lorsque les Etats arabes ont lancé leurs accusations, l'Union soviétique a montré qu'elle faisait davantage crédit aux démentis des Anglais et des Américains qu'aux affirmations de ses amis.

NEW YORK TIMES

20 May 1967

## Red Cross Pleads for P.O.W.'s And Civilians in Vietnam War

Special to The New York Times

GENEVA, May 19—The leaders of the International Red Cross appealed today to all sides in the war in Vietnam to assure "proper and humane treatment" of prisoners and to conclude a cease-fire to end the civilian population's "intolerable burden of human misery."

The appeal was made by the presidents of the three central bodies of the International Red Cross as concern mounted in the United States over the fate of downed pilots and other Americans held prisoner by North Vietnam and the Vietcong.

In a seven-point statement, the Red Cross officials also urged the warring parties to "refrain from all deliberate attacks upon innocent civilians in Vietnam, whether by aerial or ground weapons, or by torture or wanton murder."

They asked that every effort be made to avoid causing death or injury to civilians during all ground, air and naval operations.

Under international law, they stressed, the right to choose the means of injuring the enemy is "not unlimited."

The statement was issued by Samuel Gonnard, president of the all-Swiss International Committee of the Red Cross; José Barroso-Chavez of Mexico, president of the league to which 106 national Red Cross societies belong, and the Countess of Limerick, a former president of the British Red Cross who now

heads the nine-member International Standing Commission of the Red Cross.

The three officials said that, during one of the periodic meetings that they had just held here, they had "viewed with deep concern the mounting tide of human suffering and loss of life in the tragedy being enacted in Vietnam."

They said it was the traditionally humanitarian role of the Red Cross that led them to solemnly call on all concerned in the Vietnam fighting in an effort to reduce the human suffering it was causing.

The three officials urged that the distribution of medicines and other urgently needed relief supplies be permitted unimpeded throughout Vietnam.

At the same time, they asked that representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross be permitted to visit "all parts of Vietnam" so that they might carry out the humanitarian function assigned to the traditionally neutral body by the Geneva Conventions.

These international treaties entrust the committee with the duty of checking the observance of the rules they lay down on the treatment of prisoners and civilian war victims by belligerents.

Despite repeated appeals to Hanoi, the committee has never been permitted to send representatives to North Vietnam although the North Vietnamese signed the treaties.

NEW YORK TIMES

13 June 1967

## Saigon Releases 39 Prisoners in Gesture to the North

Hopes Hanoi Also  
Will Free Sick  
and Wounded

By JONATHAN RANDAL

Special to The New York Times

SAIGON, South Vietnam, June 12 — South Vietnam today released 39 seriously sick and wounded prisoners of war in a gesture intended to persuade North Vietnam to reciprocate.

The North Vietnamese prisoners, and a captive Vietcong woman entertainer and her 3-

at noon at the bridge over the Benhai River, which separates the North and South Vietnamese sectors of the six-mile-wide demilitarized zone.

In Quinhon, Premier Nguyen Cao Ky released four Vietcong prisoners in a ceremony at Binh Dinh Province headquarters attended by Vietnamese generals, Eugene M. Locke, the Deputy American Ambassador, and other allied diplomats.

Informed sources said that the release had been prompted by the United States Government, which has become increasingly worried over reports and photographs of American

NEW YORK TIMES

17 June 1967

## FOE THREATENS TO EXECUTE G.I.'S

Pledges to Kill P.O.W.'s if  
Three Terrorists Die

SAIGON, South Vietnam,

June 16 (AP) — The Hanoi radio said today the Vietcong had warned that they would execute some American prisoners of war as "our due re-

pay" if the South Vietnamese Government put to death three Vietcong agents in its custody.

The Vietcong did not say how many American prisoners might be killed. According to the United States State Department, 21 Americans were known to be in Vietcong hands May 31, and 128 others were listed as missing, and believed captured.

The Vietcong warning, attributed to the guerrillas' high command, was said to have been dated June 12. The North Vietnamese broadcast said the three Vietcong agents were sentenced to death by a special military tribunal in Saigon May 29.

"Should the U.S. aggressors and their Saigon stooges execute three Vietnamese patriots sentenced to death by a so-called special military tribunal in Saigon May 29, 1967, the liberation armed forces would mete out due punishment to a number of American aggressors captured by them, including a major," the Vietcong said, according to the Hanoi radio.

Only one of the three sentenced in the Saigon trial that ended May 29 was condemned to die. He is 37-year-old Bui Van Chieu, who was convicted of "high treason, unlawful possession of war weapons and destruction by explosives with a view to infringe upon national security."

A confessed member of the death Sept 24, 1965.

Vietcong, he is said to have commanded a sabotage platoon in the bombing of the National Police headquarters and the Metropole Hotel in Saigon.

At the same court proceedings, two women were sentenced to five years' in prison on charges of having caused a "breach of public security."

They were Pham Thi Thieu, a nurse accused of being a Vietcong liaison agent, and Nguyen Thi Nhao, described as a member of the Vietcong Liberated Women's Association.

However, two other guerrillas — Le Minh Chau and Truong Thanh Danh — were sentenced June 5 to death on charges of treason, illegal possession of weapons and attempted murder. They were accused of having hurled grenades at policemen, American civilians and others.

Listed as prisoners in North Vietnam, are 158 servicemen—four marines, 70 air force men and 84 navy men. These are men who have written to their families who have been reported captured by Hanoi or have been seen by visitors, including journalists.

The statistics also list 300 who are believed to be captives—234 air force men, 62 navy men and four marines. These include men who were seen parachuting over North Vietnam or who were spotted on the ground by fellow pilots. In some cases, contact was made with the men through radio signals.

Two years ago, the guerrillas killed three American captives in reprisal for the execution of Vietcong terrorists by the South Vietnamese.

A 25-year-old army sergeant, Harold George Bennett of Perryville, Ark., was killed June 25, 1965, after three terrorists were put to death in Saigon.

Capt. Humbert Versace, 28, of Baltimore, and S. Sgt. Kenneth M. Roraback, 33, of Fayetteville, N.C., were shot to

over North Vietnam and paraded through the streets of Hanoi.

It was hoped that the moves today would persuade the North Vietnamese Government to release seriously sick and wounded American prisoners in accordance with Articles 109 and 110 of the Geneva Convention, which require direct repatriation in such cases, the sources said.

No Repatriation by North

North Vietnam has failed to repatriate any American prisoners and has labeled captured American aviators as "war criminals."

Moreover, for the Hanoi regime to accept the principle of reciprocity in releasing prisoners

nam has consistently denied that any of its troops were fighting in the South.

Unlike previous prisoner releases, today's was not announced in advance.

The release at the Benhai bridge followed what has become a ritual over the years. In a brief ceremony at Dongha, the prisoners were offered the

option of remaining in South Vietnam. Three prisoners made such a choice earlier at the Bienhod prisoner of war camp, 20 miles north of Saigon.

Driven from the ceremony in a Vietnamese Army convoy, the prisoners were released at the bridge. Many of them ripped off their clothes as they crossed the 300-yard steel span and



NEW YORK TIMES  
9 May 1967

## DISPLAY OF P.O.W.'S PROTESTED BY U.S.

Flagrant Violation by Hanoi  
of Geneva Rules Charged

By JOHN W. FINNEY  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 8—The United States protested to North Vietnam today against its "flagrant violation" of the Geneva convention on prisoners of war in parading three captured United States Air Force pilots through the streets of Hanoi.

The protest was handed to the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva for transmission to the North Vietnamese Government.

In announcing it, the State Department expressed concern over news reports from Hanoi over the weekend that the three pilots, shot down over Hanoi, were paraded through angry, shouting crowds on the streets of the North Vietnamese capital on Friday and then were put on display before newsmen at the International Press Club in Hanoi.

Robert J. McCloskey, State Department spokesman, quoted Article 113 of the 1949 convention: "Prisoners of war must at all times be protected, particularly against acts of violence or

intimidation and against insults and public curiosity."

The North Vietnamese actions, the State Department said, are "especially disturbing in light of indications that one or more of the Americans were wounded or unwell."

Reports from Hanoi on Saturday by Agence France-Presse, the French news agency, said that one of the pilots, identified as Lieut. Col. James Lindberg Hughes, bore wounds on his face and head and seemed to have a back injury. A second pilot, Lieut. Col. Gordon Albert Larson, was reported to have shown no signs of physical injury but to have appeared weak and to be suffering from the effects of severe shock. The third pilot, Lieut. James Richard Shively, appeared well.

All three pilots were based in Thailand and apparently were shot down during a heavy strike by Thunderchief fighter-bombers on Thursday against targets six miles east of Hanoi.

North Vietnam signed the Geneva convention, establishing international rules of conduct for handling prisoners, in 1957. But Mr. McCloskey, in elaborating on the formal statement, said the North Vietnamese "don't seem to give a damn" about their responsibility to adhere to it.

Behind the strong protest was a concern over Hanoi's motives in exposing the prisoners to public display and humiliation.

Hanoi's action, it was said, may have been nothing more than a triumphant display to

demonstrate the success of North Vietnam in shooting down and capturing three American pilots on one day. But there was also concern that the display might represent a new propaganda build-up for "war trials" against captured American fliers.

The State Department has on two previous occasions lodged formal protests through the International Committee, a group of Swiss citizens charged with supervision of the Geneva convention, over treatment of American prisoners of the North Vietnamese.

NEW YORK TIMES  
11 April 1967

## Western Visitors Speak With Two U.S. War Prisoners in Hanoi

North Vietnamese military authorities have permitted two more United States prisoners of war to meet Western visitors and report that their treatment at the hands of their captors was "humane."

A French physician and an American biochemist, both associated with the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and International War Crimes Tribunal, described in interviews their meeting with the captured airmen in Hanoi last month. The tribunal has no official standing and is supported by persistent critics of United States policy in Vietnam.

Though both prisoners were said to be in reasonably good health and lucid in conversation, the visitors reported, they performed the same strange gesture—a low and deliberate bow of greeting—that has led the United States Government to charge the North Vietnamese with brainwashing.

This charge was made by the State Department on April 3 after the magazine *Life* had published a picture of one prisoner, Lieut. Cmdr. Richard A. Stratton, in an act of bowing. The *Life* photographer, Lee Lockwood, said he had found it "thoroughly distasteful."

### "Disagreeable Moment"

Jean-Michel Krivine, a surgeon on the staff of a public hospital in Paris, called the appearance and deep bow of the American prisoners "the most disagreeable moment" of his trip to North Vietnam.

One prisoner, identified as Maj. Jack Williamson Bomar of San Antonio, Texas, was said to have performed this gesture greeting even though he was standing with crutches. He said his ankle had been injured when he parachuted out of his aircraft. He was captured on Feb. 4, 1967.

Dr. Krivine said Major Bomar "looked puzzled" when one of the Western visitors held out his hand.

"For a second he did not seem to know how to respond," Dr. Krivine said.

Only when the visitor, Professor John B. Neillands of the University of California at Berkeley, explained that he simply wanted to shake hands did Major Bomar extend his own hand in return.

Interviewed by telephone, Dr.

Neillands said "I didn't see any evidence of brainwashing," but he added, "It's a relative term—it all depends on what you mean by it."

Dr. Neillands, who is 45 years old, has been on the biochemistry faculty of Berkeley for the last 15 years.

### Meeting on March 16

The meeting with the two prisoners took place on March 16 in Hanoi. Beside Dr. Krivine and Dr. Neillands was a third visitor, Maurice Cornil, a Belgian lawyer. Mr. Cornil is directing a team of jurists investigating the war in Vietnam. He is not associated with the war crimes tribunal headed by the British philosopher, Lord Russell.

This tribunal intends to convene a "trial" of President Johnson for war crimes in Paris later this month.

Though Major Bomar did not object to being identified, the other prisoner asked that his name not be given. This officer was quoted as making statements critical of the Johnson Administration, and then as having said, "I don't want my name published, I don't want to go from a Vietnamese jail into an American one."

Major Bomar refrained from political criticism during the two-hour conversation, according to the two visitors, and was quoted as having said at one point, "With us, it's one hundred missions and go home." He was identified as having been attached to a United States reconnaissance unit based in Thailand.

Dr. Neillands said Major Bomar told the visitors he was "amazed at the humane treatment he had received." The professor said he had the impression there was very little contact among the American prisoners, but he said the two men he saw were "fairly happy there, and the food was tolerable."

"The amount and range of reading material available to them, though, was not very wide," Dr. Neillands added.

There are now believed to be more than 380 American prisoners of war in North Vietnam. A precise figure cannot be given because the Hanoi Government has not provided the Red Cross with definitive lists.

State Department officials

have interpreted a number of indications as evidence that the prisoners are being subjected to brainwashing. Most spectacular, officials said, is the strange bowing by the American officers when greeting visitors.

"This is hardly a greeting they teach you at West Point," said one American analyst.

Mr. Lockwood, the photographer, reported that the prisoners he had seen, Commander Stratton, had bowed in response to sham commands from a North Vietnamese officer at his side.

Dr. Neillands said neither of the two prisoners he had seen appeared to consult his Vietnamese guard before speaking or bowing. One, however, looked questioningly at the guard before accepting a cigarette from Dr. Krivine.

More than 20 American prisoners have been named by the North Vietnamese with propaganda statements or "confessions" attributed to them. Japanese television cameramen were allowed to photograph one prisoner, Cond. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr., in May, 1966.

The American Broadcasting Company reported earlier this month that lipreading specialists who had examined Japanese films of another prisoner had found that the words heard on the sound track did not coincide with the lip movements seen on the screen.

Most of the "confessions" are phrased in the stilted language of North Vietnamese propaganda statements, American officials said.

American visitors to Hanoi, before Dr. Neillands, including Harrison E. Salisbury, an assistant managing editor of *The New York Times*, were unable to hold interviews with any captured Americans. Mr. Lockwood was allowed to photograph one prisoner, but was not allowed to speak with him.

No foreigners are known to have visited any prisoners in their camps. Dr. Neillands and Dr. Krivine were said to have met the two prisoners in a villa in Hanoi, to which the prisoners were brought from their camp outside the capital.

NEW YORK TIMES

28 May 1967

## Russia

## New Grist for the Kremlinologists

By HARRY SCHWARTZ

The recent shift in the leadership of the Soviet secret police, perhaps the most sensitive single post in the Moscow bureaucracy, has given Kremlinologists around the world a shot in the arm. From Washington to Peking the effort to analyze the meaning of the change and its impact on the future of Soviet leadership is now in high gear.

Only the most myopic of the analysts believes that the appointment of Communist party secretary Yuri V. Andropov to replace Vladimir V. Semichastny as chief of the State Security Committee (better known by the initials of its Russian name as the K.G.B.) is primarily the result of recent intelligence blunders. At most such recent K.G.B. setbacks as the escape of Svetlana Alliluyeva may have provided an excuse for the change, but the basic reason is the ceaseless struggle for advantage among the Kremlin leaders and factions.

At the height of its power under Stalin a decade and a half ago, the Soviet secret police was the major instrument by which Russia was ruled. It dominated and kept a sharp eye on the Communist party, the Soviet Army and every other instrument of power in the country. It had spies everywhere, and its files contained damaging material on millions of persons. The secret police could and did curb Soviet citizens from the lowest ranks up to and including all members of the Politburo who worked directly under Stalin.

It was precisely because the secret police was so powerful that its chief in 1953, the late Lavrenti P. Beria, thought he could use it to become Stalin's successor as dictator of Russia. He came close to succeeding before Nikita Khrushchev and other of the post-Stalin ruling clique tricked Beria into a trap and had him killed.

With Beria gone, the secret police was purged ruthlessly and

reduced sharply in powers, personnel and money. Instead of being the most powerful institution in the Soviet Union, it was cut back to a normal intelligence and counter-intelligence agency, one whose domestic functioning was sharply watched in order to make sure it did not regain its old position.

But the possibility remains that the secret police may make a comeback. Already now it is clear that in recent years there has been a careful campaign to raise the K.G.B.'s prestige and to recruit able new personnel. It is this more powerful agency that Mr. Andropov has taken over. What this may mean must be studied against the background of the broader factional struggle.

## Different Views

Three basic factions can be discerned in the present Soviet leadership. The most liberal is headed by Premier Aleksel N. Kosygin and President Nikolai V. Podgorny. The most conservative—the term Stalinists sometimes use—is the group headed by Mikhail A. Suslov and Alexander N. Shelepin. In the middle and often holding the balance of power are Communist party Secretary General Leonid I. Brezhnev and his supporters.

Basically the Kosygin-Podgorny group believes in the primacy of efforts to improve the Soviet economy, raise Soviet living standards, and avoid as far as possible dangerous foreign entanglements that would threaten internal needs. These Soviet isolationists are perhaps the most comparable with Americans who oppose the Vietnam war because it diverts attention and resources from the war against poverty and from the effort to improve the conditions and status of American Negroes.

The Suslov-Shelepin group, on the contrary, believes that the threat of attack from the United States must still be the prime Soviet concern abroad, while do-

mestically it wants a retightening of political discipline and an end to the slackness produced by the Khrushchev era. This group demands higher military appropriations, first priority for heavy industry, and tries against all difficulties to keep the door open for healing the split with Peking. It would like much greater efforts to rehabilitate Stalin's reputation and position in Soviet history.

The Brezhnev faction tends to alternate between the two extremes. Thus the Communist party chief identified himself with consumer interests two years ago when he announced the most extensive program in Soviet history for raising production of food and consumer goods. On the other hand, Mr. Brezhnev has also made plain his backing for at least a partial major rehabilitation of Stalin. Most of all, however, Mr. Brezhnev, as party boss, has been concerned with trying to revitalize Communist party control of all areas of Soviet life.

Actual Soviet policies since the purge of Nikita Khrushchev two and a half years ago have tended to be compromises among these factions. Typical has been the Soviet policy toward Vietnam, where vast amounts of weapons have been sent, but where a direct involvement of Soviet military personnel in the fighting has been avoided. Against this background the substitution of Mr. Andropov for Mr. Semichastny as boss of the secret police looks like a gain for the Brezhnev faction and a loss for the Suslov-Shelepin group. Mr. Semichastny has been for many years a close subordinate of Mr. Shelepin, whom he succeeded as boss of the K.G.B. in November, 1961. There is reason to believe both men worked closely in aiding the anti-Khrushchev conspiracy of 1964, and both men initially were among the chief individual beneficiaries of that shift at the pinnacle of Kremlin power.

WASHINGTON POST

12 JUNE 1967

## Kremlin's Problems

MOSCOW—Observers believe the Soviet Union's collective leadership may be shaken up early next year. Henry Bradsher of the Associated Press reported observers point to indecision on how government funds

ious programs as indicating disputes among the Soviet hierarchy similar to those that culminated in the ouster of Premier Khrushchev two and a half years ago. A five-year economic plan that should have begun Jan. 1, 1966, still has not been written, efforts to improve relations with Communist China after Khrushchev's

icy, based on supporting the Arab states, was given a rude setback by last week's Israeli victories. Finally, there is disagreement over channeling resources to heavy industry, agriculture, consumer goods, the space program and the military.

JANUARY 27, 1961

# Party Resolution on 50th Anniversary of Soviet Rule

ON PREPARATIONS FOR 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.—Jan. 4, 1967, Resolution of C.P.S.U. Central Committee. (Pravda and Izvestia, Jan. 8, pp. 1-2. 8,500 words. Condensed text:) Nov. 7, 1967, will be the 50th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. ...

The October Revolution opened the way to solving the fundamental problems posed by the entire course of the previous development of world history: the future of society, the nature of social progress, war and peace and the fate of world civilization.

The victory of October confirmed the Leninist theory of socialist revolution. The test of history has been withstood by the Marxist-Leninist teachings on:

the inevitability of the fall of capitalism and the affirmation of socialism;

the vanguard role of the working class, guided by the Communist Party, in revolution and the building of a new society; the dictatorship of the proletariat and its role in the struggle for the triumph of socialism;

the Soviets as the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat and as organs of genuine popular rule of socialist democracy; the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and other strata of the working people, under the leadership of the working class, as the decisive force in the struggle for social liberation;

the industrialization of the country and the socialist transformation of agriculture;

the ways of deciding the national question; raising the living standard of the working people and effecting a cultural revolution. ...

During the days of October and the years of the Civil War and the foreign intervention, the high revolutionary spirit and heroism of the working class and the toiling peasantry manifested itself with particular force. The Soviet republic, like an island, was surrounded by an ocean of hostile forces, and its enemies prophesied its inexorable and early death. They all did everything they could to strangle and destroy the young Soviet republic. Enormous effort was required to break the ring of fire of the White Guards and interventionists, to overcome the economic blockade, famine and economic devastation. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, workers and peasants and the Red Army defended the gains of the revolution and routed the enemies. The country set about economic construction.

The mass heroism of the working people in the years of the restoration of the national economy and the first five-year plans is one of the unforgettable pages in the history of our society. The Soviet people spared neither efforts nor means, consciously chose deprivation and labored stubbornly, displaying models of courage in the name of overcoming the country's backwardness and turning it into a powerful socialist state.

The feat of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War against the fascist invaders is immortal. This war was long and bloody, and the victims it claimed innumerable. But the Soviet social and state system, created by the October Revolution, withstood the cruelest trials. ...

The strength of the socialist system clearly manifested itself in the postwar years as well. Cities and villages were raised from ashes and ruins in a very short time. The economy, destroyed by the war, was completely restored, new successes in the development of economics, science and culture were achieved and the country entered the period of full-scale communist construction. ...

Our people will always hold sacred the memory of the revolutionary fighters and Leninist Bolsheviks who perished in Tsarist prisons and in exile, the memory of the national heroes of the Socialist Revolution and the Civil War. Our land was soaked with the blood of millions of the best sons and daughters of the people, who perished at the hands of White

Guards, interventionists and fascist invaders. The glory of the sons and daughters of the people who defended the freedom and independence of our homeland will not fade. The courageous builders of new plants and collective and state farms under the first five-year plans will never be forgotten. The deeds of those who through their labor multiplied the material and spiritual wealth of Soviet society will live forever.

The path of our people is great. Their exploit is great. They will be an eternal example for future generations, for all who have chosen the road of freedom.

The red banner of socialism has been flying triumphantly over our land for half a century. For half a century the Soviet people have been realizing the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. They have done much, achieved much. The complete and final triumph of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the transition to the building of communism are the most important results of the revolutionary reforms in our country.

Fifty years of October means the creation of large socialist industry with a steady rate of development, supplied with the newest technology and capable of solving the most complicated scientific and technical problems and national-economic tasks. ...

Fifty years of October means implementation of the Leninist plan to organize the countryside into cooperatives, the creation of large-scale socialist agricultural production. As a result of the triumph of the collective farm system, a social revolution has occurred in the tenor of rural life. ...

Fifty years of October means a rise in the living standard of the people. The rights to labor and recreation, to free education, medical services and pension security have become natural and normal for the Soviet people. ...

Fifty years of October means the carrying out of a cultural revolution. Socialism has brought the Soviet people education and enlightenment, it has elevated and enriched the spiritual life of the society immeasurably. ...

Fifty years of October means a growing social, political and ideological unity of the people. On the basis of a community of vital interests among the working people, the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, which formed and grew strong in the common struggle to build socialism and communism, has become firmer. ...

The experience of the development of the U.S.S.R.—a unified socialist multinational state—discloses the essence of socialism and its importance in deciding the age-old national question and represents a triumph for the ideas of proletarian internationalism in practice.

Fifty years of October means the birth of the man of the new world, the new morality. The triumph of the October Revolution launched a vigorous struggle against the morals and prejudices of the private-property world, against its individualism, egoism and selfishness. The years of socialist construction fundamentally changed the nature of relations among people in our country. The bourgeois ideologists' reckoning that socialism would not overcome the forces of inertia and the individualistic morals of the old world proved wrong. During the years of Soviet rule a generation of people has grown up with a highly developed political consciousness and a new attitude toward labor, people reared in the spirit of collectivism and comradeship, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The new nature of man as a revolutionary and fighter for our great cause has been forged.

Our country gave birth to and established the democracy of socialism—the most extensive, the most representative, the most just. The rule of the Soviets, born of the Revolution—rule by the people and for the people—opened wide possibilities for the participation of the working people in the administration of state, production and public affairs. Socialist society raises the civic dignity and honor of the person, places before people the most noble goals and brings about all the conditions for the conscientious creativity of the masses in the name of communist construction. ...

The results of the October Revolution and the lessons of history are irrefutable evidence of the advantages of socialism over capitalism. The development of the Soviet socialist society and the results achieved by it are a practical demonstration that socialism is the social system that guarantees the planned and efficient development of social production, growth in national prosperity and culture, democracy and true freedom for the working people.

The experience of the building of socialism has shown what a complex and creative matter the revolutionary reconstruction of society is, and what new problems, tasks and historical changes it comes across in its development.

Soviet society was created, grew and became strong in bitter class battles. In solving the highly complicated task of the practical embodiment of the ideals of scientific socialism, our people, guided by Lenin's party, took a new path, never before traveled by anyone. In the struggle for Soviet rule, for the victory of socialism, the working class and all working people had to overcome many obstacles and barriers and to bear the burden of incredible difficulties. ...

Along the 50-year path traveled, the Party and people have known both the joy of great victories and the bitterness of losses, temporary failures and mistakes. Our party emerged from all trials even more tempered, stronger and with unshakeable revolutionary optimism and confidence in the triumph of the great communist cause.

Even now we have many unsolved problems. The Party soberly evaluates the state of affairs, sees the urgent problems and takes all steps toward their solution. ...

Socialism is a constantly developing society, which in its progressive development discloses ever newer reserves and possibilities. These possibilities and advantages of socialism are realized not by themselves, not automatically, but as a result of the conscientious labor of millions. ...

During the most difficult times—the years of struggle for Soviet rule, the days when the working people experienced the pain of the loss of Lenin, and during the period of the grave trials of the Great Patriotic War—remarkable sons and daughters of our people entered Lenin's party in order to struggle within its framework for the victory of the workers' cause. Communists have always and everywhere taken on the heaviest share of struggle and construction. In the course of the revolutionary struggle and socialist reforms, the Party trained numerous cadres of workers in all branches of the economy and culture. The Communist Party is of one flesh with the working class, the toiling people, the creative people, it constantly feels their unanimous support; the confidence of the working people is dear to the Party, it has no other interests but those of the people.

The C.P.S.U. approaches the 50th anniversary of October fully armed with its rich experience in the management of communist construction and the country's foreign and domestic policies. The Party defended its general line in a relentless struggle against Trotskyites, petty-bourgeois adventurists, right-wing opportunists, national deviationists and other anti-Leninist schools and groups.

Firmly and consistently guided by Marxist-Leninist principles and constantly developing and enriching the theoretical heritage of Marx-Engels-Lenin, the C.P.S.U. is confidently leading the Soviet people along the path of communist construction and is successfully fulfilling its role of organizer and political leader of the Soviet people.

The experience of the C.P.S.U. as the party of the Great Socialist Revolution, as the guiding force of a socialist society built in a country where formerly there had existed the most diverse socio-economic structures—from patriarchal tribalism to capitalism—has enormous international significance.

The Communist and workers' parties and peoples of fraternal countries study carefully and make extensive use of the experience of socialist and communist construction in the Soviet Union in the creation of a new life. The valuable experience of fraternal parties in the building of socialism is widely used in our country. Mutual support and assistance and the mutual exchange of experience have become a powerful factor in our successful movement forward along the path 2

The Soviet state has proclaimed and is putting into practice new principles of relations between peoples and countries, principles of equity, sovereignty and noninterference in internal affairs. The Soviet Union, beginning with Lenin's Decree on Peace, is following a foreign policy that is in keeping with the most vital aspirations of the peoples. This is the policy of ensuring favorable conditions for the building of socialism and communism, of strengthening unity and solidarity among the socialist countries, supporting in every way the struggle of peoples for national and social liberation, consistently following the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems and struggling to deliver mankind from a new world war. ...

The building of socialism and communism in the U.S.S.R. is a most important component part of the world revolutionary process. Socialism now influences world developments primarily through the positive force of its example. The might of our state, its example, prestige and activeness in the international arena, which have been placed in the service of the ideals of socialism, are taking on more and more significance in the solution of world problems in the interests of the working people of all countries.

The Great October Socialist Revolution has immense international significance. It has accelerated the course of historical events in the world. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism and October have spread over the entire earth, they have roused peoples to the struggle against their oppressors, for freedom and independence. The gains of the October Revolution have been a mighty base for revolutionary reforms in all parts of the world. ...

The October Revolution was the turning point in the development of the national-liberation movement. It demonstrated the real possibility of complete national liberation for peoples, began the crisis of the colonial system and opened realistic prospects for national-liberation revolutions. The smashing of colonial empires, the entrance of formerly enslaved peoples into international life as an active and independent force, their striving toward social progress—all of this is inseparably connected with the October Revolution, the successes of socialism and the class and anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the world.

The Great October Socialist Revolution:

united in a single current the struggle of the proletariat and other revolutionary forces for socialism with the struggle of oppressed peoples against national colonial oppression. It disclosed the urgency and necessity of an alliance between the workers' movement and the national-liberation struggle of peoples in the name of victory over imperialism, in the name of the triumph of national and social freedom;

exerted an immense revolutionary influence on the peoples of the world, strengthened the fighting determination of the proletariat of all countries, awakened oppressed nations and aroused broad social strata to an active political life;

to an enormous extent, furthered the strengthening of the organization of the working class and the working people throughout the world, which has found its expression in the growth of Communist Parties and in the rapid development of trade unions, women's and young people's organizations and all the progressive forces in society. ...

The strategic line of the modern Communist movement was defined in the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow Conferences of representatives of Communist and workers' parties, and fidelity to these is an inalienable feature of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

A half century of history has proven the correctness and vitality of Marxism-Leninism and the impotence of reformism and social democratism. The experience demonstrates that success is achieved by those Communist Parties that are steadily guided by Marxism-Leninism, and any attempt to replace Marxism-Leninism with pseudo-revolutionary phraseology and dogmas will inevitably suffer defeat. ...

American imperialism, having assumed the function of world policeman, is intensifying provocations in various areas of the world. U.S. imperialists have unleashed a piratical war against the Vietnamese people and are trying to strangle the freedom and independence of the peoples and establish their



This requires strengthening of unity among all revolutionary and progressive forces for a vigorous rebuff to the aggressors, for the struggle against imperialism.

A half century of experience demonstrates graphically the unshakability of the Marxist-Leninist position on the indivisibility of the national and international tasks of revolutionary forces. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism is the foundation for the successful motion forward of the revolutionary cause in every individual country and on an international scale. ...

The 23rd C.P.S.U. Congress was an important milestone in the movement of our country toward communism. On the basis of a profound scientific analysis, the Party Congress determined the main tasks of the modern stage of communist construction. The Party worked out and is implementing highly important steps toward establishing and developing Leninist norms of Party and state life, improving the principles of collectivity in work, developing inner-Party democracy, expanding criticism and self-criticism and improving the methods of managing the national economy.

The tasks and plans for coming years outlined by the 23rd Party Congress awaken new forces and new energy in the Soviet people. ...

The C.P.S.U. Central Committee resolves:

To celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution as the great holiday of the working people, the glorious holiday of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and as the triumph of the ideas of October, the ideas of communism.

Recalling the words of V. I. Lenin that the best way of celebrating the anniversary of the great Revolution is to concentrate attention on unsolved problems, the C.P.S.U. Central Committee recommends to Party, Soviet, trade union, Y.C.L. and economic organizations that they expand even more the struggle for realization of the plans outlined by the 23rd C.P.S.U. Congress and direct the efforts of the working people toward solving the following highly important tasks:

- a further significant growth in industry, an increase in the efficiency of social production on the basis of the comprehensive utilization of the achievements of science and technology, an increase in labor productivity, an improvement of the system of planning and economic incentives and the perfecting of social relations;

- ensuring high, steady rates of development in agriculture and a significant increase in the output of agricultural products on the basis of the intensification of agricultural production;

- a further substantial rise in the material and cultural level of the life of the people, the expansion of housing, cultural and service construction in the city and the countryside;

- the further improvement of socialist democracy, a raising of the role of the Soviets, full exercise of their powers in carrying out the tasks of economic and cultural construction, the development of activeness among the working people in all spheres of public life, an increase in the responsibility to the people of executive agencies, Deputies and officials;

- the strengthening of the socialist norms of life, the enrichment of the revolutionary traditions of our society and the comprehensive rearing of the people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, proletarian internationalism and friendship among peoples.

To recommend to the Central Committees of Union-republic Communist Parties; territory, province, city and district Party committees; and primary Party organizations that they launch widespread organizational and political work in connection with the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. ...

The preparations for and celebration of the 50th anniversary of October are called upon to promote the further development of the revolutionary and labor traditions of the people and of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, the fostering in the working people of high moral qualities, devotion to communist ideals, a civic attitude, implacability toward bourgeois ideology, the ability to place the interests of the socialist homeland above all else, and the readiness to defend with weapons in hand the achievements of socialism.

There should be wider enlistment of Old Bolsheviks, participants in the October Revolution, veterans of the Civil and

Great Patriotic Wars and veterans of labor for active participation in the preparations for celebration of the anniversary. ...

To establish as symbols of labor valor commemorative banners of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee, the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Central Council of Trade Unions in honor of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, as well as all-Union prizes.

To establish that after the tabulation of the results of the socialist competition in honor of the 50th anniversary of October the commemorative flags will remain in the permanent possession of collectives of industrial enterprises, construction organizations and collective and state farms that have achieved the highest results in the fulfillment of their pledges.

To recommend to the Central Council of Trade Unions and trade union committees and councils that they work out and implement measures for the extensive participation of trade union organizations in the preparations for and celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Soviet regime. ...

To recommend to the Y.C.L. Central Committee that it work out measures for the participation of Y.C.L. members and young people in the preparations for the 50th anniversary of October. ...

To approve the initiative of local Soviets and collectives of working people, which have outlined an extensive program of civic improvements, the planting of greenery in streets and squares and the establishment of public gardens and parks in honor of the 50th anniversary of Soviet rule.

During the days of the preparations for and celebration of the 50th anniversary of October, to honor nationwide the memory of those who fell in the struggle for the cause of the Revolution, for the establishment and strengthening of Soviet rule, and to pay tribute at meetings to Old Bolsheviks; active participants in the revolution, the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars; veterans of labor; heroes of the five-year plans; and active participants in the building of socialism.

The editors of the newspapers Pravda, Izvestia, Ekonomicheskaya gazeta, Selskaya zhizn, Sovetskaya Rossia, Trud and Komsomolskaya pravda; the editors of the magazines Kommunist, Partinaya zhizn, Agitator, Politicheskoye samooobrazovaniye; the editors of central, republic, territory, province, city and borough newspapers and magazines; and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' State Committee on Radio and Television Broadcasting and its local agencies are to give extensive coverage to preparations for the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. It is necessary to represent in the press, on radio and on television the glorious revolutionary activity of our party, the achievements of the Soviet state and social systems, the advantages of socialist democracy, friendship among the peoples of the U.S.S.R., the courage and heroism of the people; to show the selfless labor of the Soviet people and to arouse them to new labor feats.

The U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' State Committee on Science and Technology and the Union-republic Councils of Ministers are to demonstrate extensively the achievements of the Soviet republics, using exhibitions and other opportunities for this purpose.

To recommend to the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, the C.P.S.U. Central Committee's Marxism-Leninism Institute, the C.P.S.U. Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences, the C.P.S.U. Central Committee's Higher Party School, the Central Council of Trade Unions, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Culture, the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' Committee for the Press, the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' Cinematography Committee, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' State Committee on Vocational and Technical Education, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Communications, the board of directors of the All-Union Knowledge Society, the boards of directors of the U.S.S.R. Writers' Union, Artists' Union, Composers' Union, Cinematographers' Union, Journalists' Union and Architects' Union, the Central Council of the Union of Sports Societies and U.S.S.R. organizations that they implement measures in preparation for the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, in particular:

- the preparation and publication of scientific and popular historical, socio-economic, political, military, artistic and chil-

dren's literature, enlisting as authors Old Bolsheviks, veterans of the Revolution and the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars, heroes of labor, prominent scholars and public figures, ensuring the high ideological and artistic level of the publications;

the widespread offering of lectures, reports and discussions, theoretical conferences and meetings with veterans of the Revolution, labor and wars; the organization of excursions to historical revolutionary sites and friendship and international solidarity evenings for the working people;

the preparation and issuance of historical-revolutionary, scientific-documentary and feature films and television programs;

the holding of contests for the best scientific and technical achievements, scientific work and works of literature and art devoted to the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution;

the preparation of anniversary productions, exhibitions of works of fine art and folk art, the holding of ten-day literature and art festivals, the organization of inspections of amateur art works;

the holding of anniversary scientific sessions and conferences;

the holding of mass athletic competitions, physical-culture hikes to historical sites, Spartakiads among the peoples of the U.S.S.R., etc.

For the purpose of perpetuating the events of the October Revolution and the memory of the fighters for Soviet rule, to recommend to the Central Committees of Union-republic Communist Parties and the Union-republic Councils of Ministers that they put in order existing monuments, obelisks, mass graves and the resting places of revolutionaries by widely enlisting the public in this matter.

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The C.P.S.U. Central Committee exhorts the men and women workers of the Soviet Union to mark the forthcoming anniversary of the Soviet regime with new successes in the

development of socialist industry, construction and transportation, in the improvement of the production activity of enterprises, in raising labor productivity and multiplying the labor traditions of the glorious working class.

The C.P.S.U. Central Committee exhorts the toilers of the countryside to mark the anniversary of October by further strengthening the economies of collective and state farms, increasing the harvest yield of all agricultural crops and by increasing the output of livestock products and all the products of agriculture.

The C.P.S.U. Central Committee exhorts the intelligentsia of the Soviet Union to struggle still more vigorously to accelerate the scientific and technical progress of our homeland, to develop further the spiritual culture of socialist society.

The C.P.S.U. Central Committee exhorts Soviet women—tireless laborers—to continue to apply their energy and initiative in solving the problems of communist construction and to show unflagging concern for the upbringing of the younger generation.

The C.P.S.U. Central Committee exhorts Soviet young people to be loyal continuers of the cause of the October Revolution, active builders of the new world, to master knowledge and to preserve and multiply the gains of older generations.

The C.P.S.U. Central Committee exhorts the warriors of the U.S.S.R. Armed Forces persistently to master combat techniques and weapons, to keep sacred and multiply the revolutionary and battle traditions of the army and navy, to guard vigilantly and reliably the sacred borders of the Soviet state, born of the October Socialist Revolution.

The C.P.S.U. Central Committee expresses firm certitude that Communists, Y.C.L. members and all the working people, through their creative labor, will multiply even more the economic and military might of the country, will implement still more energetically the great plans for communist construction defined by the Party Program and the decisions of the 23rd C.P.S.U. Congress, and will give a fitting reception to the glorious 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

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