COMPROMISE SEEN IN TRIESTE CRISIS

Yugoslavs May Be Allowed to Remain If They Accept Peaceful Solution

)CCUPATION IS TEMPORARY

Tito Orders Withdrawal of Troops From Territory West of Isonzo River

By JOHN MacCORMAC

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, May 16—If Yugo-
lavia accepts the principle laid
own in the identical American
nd British notes to her—that ter-
itorial claims cannot be settled
y conquest in advance of the
eace conference—she will be al-
owed to continue to occupy the
astern part of the Italian prov-
ice of Venezia Giulia, it was said
ere tonight.

As this would include the port
f Fiume, it might prove a wel-
ome compromise, since Gabriele
'Annunzio's seizure of Fiume for
taly after the first World War
as always rankled in Yugoslav
emories. After that war, Italy
laimed Trieste and the Istrian
eninsula from the old Austro-
ungarian Empire. President Wil-
m suggested that Italy be satis-
ed with Trieste and Pola and
hat Fiume go to Yugoslavia.

Actually, Italy was allowed to
imp the claim and get away with
iume as well. This left the suc-
ession States of the old empire—
zechoslovakia, Austria and Hun-
ary—without a port. They will
without one still, except through
ugoslavia, if Marshal Tito's am-
itions are satisfied. In this, Yu-
slavia apparently counts on the
pport of Moscow.

)pen Russian Support Doubted

Vladimir Popovitch, the new Yu-
slav Ambassador to Russia, made
is clear today before departing
om Belgrade. He said: "I believe
at we shall meet with full un-
rstanding in official circles in
oscow and that the USSR will
pport all our justified aspira-
ns." The view expressed in
ndon, however, was that Mos-
w would give no more open sup-
rt to the ambitions represented
the Yugoslav occupation of Tri-
ste in Italy and Klagenfurt in
ustria than it did to the revolt
the [redacted]unist-dominated Eam
Athens.

No reply has yet been received from Belgrade to the American and British notes. Marshal Tito ordered his men west of the Isonzo River to withdraw to the east side today. This will stop the infiltration of Yugoslav elements that had gone as far west as Udine, but it will not end the Yugoslav occupation of Trieste, which is east of the Isonzo. However, Vice Premier Edward Kardelj of Yugoslavia was quoted by the Belgrade radio today as saying that the presence of Yugoslav armies in Trieste, Istria and the Slovene littoral was intended as the final shifting of Yugoslav frontiers. He emphasized his country's willingness to accept the decisions of the peace conference.

Meanwhile, in Austria, where the Yugoslavs still occupy Klagenfurt, the American, British and Russian forces, by mutual arrangement, have occupied zones that do not correspond with those originally planned. The American troops are said to have halted along the line from Linz to Salzburg. The British and Russian armies are facing each other along a line running south from Liezen to Judenburg, southeast to Koflach and then due south to the Yugoslav frontier.

It is understood that the original agreement was that the Russian zone should comprise lower Austria, the Burgenland and northern Styria; that the British should have the rest of Styria, the whole of Carinthia, the Tyrol and the Vorarlberg, and that the Americans should have upper Austria, adjacent to their occupation zone in Germany. All these matters, it is expected, will receive the early attention of Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, who is expected home from Washington today with the latest American views on these and other complications of victory.

Italian Leftists See Fascist Trap

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, May 16—The leaders of two of Italy's most influential parties—the Socialists and the Communists—have adopted a similar line on the Trieste question by declaring that a good share of the present tension has been created by reactionaries and die-hard Fascists here and abroad who hope to stir up trouble between the Anglo-Americans and the Russians.

While both Pietro Nenni, the Socialist, and Palmiro Togliatti, the Communist, again affirmed Italy's claim to Trieste in separate statements today and reiterated that the boundary of this nation as well as those of others must be determined by negotiation and not by seizure, they warned the Italian people to beware of false steps that would lead them into the mire of nationalism.

Saying that the warning applied also to Marshal Tito, an editorial in Avanti by Signor Nenni declared that it was extraordinary that the Marshal did not seem to realize "what a striking argument he furnished to anti-Soviet circles by acting as he has acted at Trieste and by letting it be understood that he is backed by the Soviet Union." At home, according to Signor Nenni, the Trieste problem is being used by those who took Italy into the war in 1940 and who backed the campaigns against Greece and Yugoslavia as a passport into the political arena, where they hope to use Marshal Tito as a means of striking at Premier Stalin.

Yugoslavs Expand Risk

TRIESTE, May 16 (U.P.)—In this city and in the inland cities of Monfalcone and Gorizia Yugoslav troops marched the streets, continuing to occupy all administrative buildings, with little or no regard for the Allies' soldiers.

The Allies' naval headquarters in Rome issued a formal statement to counter rumors that units of the British fleet, which steamed into the harbor yesterday, had been dispatched to force Marshal Tito to comply with notes from Washington and London. "In the course of their normal duties and for opening of the heavily mined port, an Allied naval force is now operating in Trieste," the announcement said.

Even as American heavy bombers flew over and as Sherman tanks, manned by New Zealanders, patrolled the streets here yesterday, the Yugoslavs installed their own prefect in Trieste Province, placed Trieste on Yugoslav time and renamed one street Corso Tito. They afterward notified the British of their action.

Conscription policies were initiated and men from 15 to 50 were whisked away from their homes. They can be seen drilling in the countryside under Yugoslav officers. At least 1,000 Italians were arrested. Their offenses were not specified.

This is a clipping from page 7 of the New York Times for May 17, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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INVITATION TO STALIN

Both President Truman and Prime Minister Churchill have now expressed publicly their earnest wish for a meeting with Marshal Stalin to discuss the problems of victory and peace in Europe. It must be assumed that these public statements are echoes of previous diplomatic moves, and it is to be hoped that Marshal Stalin will see his way clear to accept the invitation. The end of the European war has lifted from his shoulders the tremendous burden of directing the Russian armies. It should be easier for him to leave Moscow now than during the days of battle. And since both Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt traveled far and repeatedly to confer with him, either in or near his own country, he may now wish to return their courtesies.

There can be no doubt of the need of such a meeting. At the conferences in Moscow, in Teheran, and, only three months ago, in Yalta, detailed and elaborate plans were laid down by the Big Three for winning the war and securing the peace. Thanks to their united efforts, of which these conferences were the visible symbols, the first part of their tremendous program has been carried out. The war has been won. And even the second part has made an auspicious start with the United Nations Conference in San Francisco. But the security organization now being built in San Francisco can be only the superstructure of a peace that must find firm foundations in the actual peace settlements. The construction of these foundations has scarcely begun. Moreover, in such small beginnings as have been made, the various victor nations tend to follow their own separate blueprints.

One reason for this is to be found in the Europe that is emerging from the war—a chaotic Europe of indescribable wreckage, which to a large extent has become a power vacuum, with populations morally and physically exhausted and in no position to resist the attempts of minorities to impose their will on the whole. But an even greater reason is the fact that the end of the European conflict has found the democracies as ill prepared for peace as its beginning found them ill prepared for war. Mr. Churchill was frank in admitting this when he declared that "it would be very odd if such a long, fierce war ended without any settlement even among the victors." As a result, numerous problems are beginning to appear in Europe, and the most disturbing of these is the possibility that Europe itself might be split in two along a line from Lübeck to Trieste, with Russia dominating the eastern half and the other Allies the western half.

The main cause for this is the absence of any hard and fast commitments among the principal Allies themselves, and the further fact that, of such commitments as were made in the various conference declarations, some have been sidetracked in the pursuit of national self-interest. Since that is so, President Truman has been well advised in suggesting that the meeting should be held neither immediately nor in the very distant future. To postpone the meeting too long would merely increase the divergencies of Allied policies. On the other hand, the experience of previous conferences has already demonstrated the danger of too general pronouncements, which each nation then interprets according to its own views.

Such general pronouncements served a purpose during the war, when a demonstration of Allied unity was of the utmost importance for its effect on the enemy. They can serve no very useful purpose in the preparation of a real peace, which will require much diplomatic spade work before the principals can give their final assent to it. It is to be hoped that such spade work is now under way, and that the diplomatic preparation of a new meeting among the Big Three will be more adequate than was possible during the war itself. Only then will it be possible to accept the conference pronouncements with full confidence that they can and will be carried out.

COMM PARTY

Russia

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NOT RECORDED
87 MAY 18 1945

This is a clipping from page 18 of the New York Times for May 17, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

ASSERTS RUSSIA AIMS TO PREVENT INVASION

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Soviet Russia prefers to create "a firm, unshakable peace" rather than to fight an enemy invasion, and the Soviet people "have made up their minds to take effective measures to prevent a repetition of the history of the past years," Boris Izakov, Soviet journalist and commentator said in a broadcast over the Moscow radio, reported by the Federal Communications Commission yesterday.

The Russians "do not want to have to fight again in another two decades" and it was "just this determination that was in Molotov's mind when he stated in San Francisco that the Soviet people know how to fight and also to defend the cause of peace," the commentator said in his broadcast, as directed in English to Europe.

Mr. Izakov said that it was "not surprising" that the Russians were now "particularly anxious to assure themselves security after the war" and pointed out that the English and Americans, because of their water barriers, had "a much greater security even in our century than the nations on the continent of Europe or Asia." He added.

"That is what is forgotten by those people who have a tendency now, on the very day after our common victory, to criticize the Soviet Union's efforts to organize a firm peace in eastern Europe, and in particular those people have forgotten it or are pretending to forget it who are raising a rumpus about the so-called Polish question.

"It is said German imperialism cannot rise again after this defeat. The same thing was said in 1918, but German militarism flared up again all the same. Of course, things are somewhat different now. Now the whole of Germany is occupied by Allied troops and many German cities including Berlin, lie in ruins. The Germans have been taught a lesson that they will probably not forget for a very long time to come, but it would be rash to count on German common

Russia

This is a clipping from page 21 of the New York Times for May 17, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SHAEF'S ATTITUDE TO RUSSIA SCORED

Correspondents Say Enough 'Kowtowing' Has Gone On and Demand Action

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, May 15—The view that American officials "have done enough kow-towing to the Russians" on the entry of the Allies' war correspondents into Russian-occupied territory in Germany was expressed today at a SHAEF correspondents' meeting.

The meeting adopted a resolution protesting the disaccreditation—and ejection from this theater—of several correspondents who made unauthorized visits to Berlin. It appointed a committee to confer with SHAEF's public relations division about reviewing the penalties—the same as those imposed on Edward Kennedy for the more serious offense of prematurely releasing the news of the German surrender.

The committee was also instructed to review with SHAEF the whole question of the circulation of correspondents in the Russian zone. So far, only nine have been allowed in on an authorized one-day trip and none has regularly been with the Russian armies during the whole war, although a half dozen Russian correspondents have been circulating in SHAEF's territory for months.

The issue recalled the first American shuttle raid to Russian bases from England a year ago, when, it was understood, the Russians balked at having the Allies' correspondents on the flight. The only accounts reaching the United States, while written by American correspondents from Moscow, were filtered through stiff Russian censorship.

The meeting of fifty correspondents voted to withdraw the previously proposed motion of "no confidence" in the regime of SHAEF's public relations director, Brig. Gen. Frank Allen Jr., agreeing that the mounting troubles between his department and the correspondents could be resolved better by another approach. The rapidly mounting dissatisfaction of the majority of the correspondents with SHAEF's journalistic negotiations with the Russians was epitomized by a New Zealander, Lawrence Fairhall, a correspondent for the British Kelmsley newspapers, who, criticizing the "kowtowing," said:

"I think we've had enough nonsense from our Russian Allies. We are not allowed in Vienna or Prague or Budapest. It's time something was done about it."

The resolution asked that SHAEF postpone the deportation of the latest two correspondents disaccredited for visiting Berlin, Seymour Freidin of The New York Herald Tribune and John Groth of The American Legion Weekly, pending a review of the circumstances. It was pointed out that "practically all the correspondents with the Ninth Army tried to get to Berlin and got various distances and are equally guilty of technical violation of SHAEF's regulation about crossing the Army boundary, which virtually every correspondent has done at some time or other."

Two disaccredited "Berlin" correspondents, Virginia Irwin of The St. Louis Post Dispatch and Andrew Tully of The Boston Traveler, has already returned to the United States. Mr. Kennedy issued today a supplement to his statement replying to SHAEF's deportation order yesterday, but it did not add anything to what had already been said on his behalf.

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87 MAY 18 1945

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for May 16, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

CZECH PROVINCE WOULD JOIN RUSSIA

Ruthenia Forms Autonomous Regime—Prague Willing to Permit Change

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The Czechoslovak Premier, Zdenek Fierlinger, announced yesterday that an autonomous government had been formed in Ruthenia, the easternmost province of Czechoslovakia, the British radio said.

It added that the final settlement of "their desire to join the Soviet Union" will be taken up with Moscow "in the most friendly atmosphere." The broadcast, reported by the Office of War Information, quoted the Premier as saying:

"The population of the Carpathian Ukraine are Ukrainians speaking the language of the peasants of the Poltava and Kharkov regions. They have now formed their own autonomous government, which expressed their desire to join the Soviet Union but in the meantime still recognizes the authority of our Government.

"President Benes and our Government wish to settle the question of the Carpathian Ukraine with Moscow in the most friendly atmosphere, taking into consideration the true wishes expressed by the local population, who have been liberated by the Red Army since last January."

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for May 16, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

MOSCOW INFORMED

Allies' Warships at Port, Held Still Subject to Control by AMG

ITALY WARNS OF DANGER

Says Yugoslav Persistence Will Evoke Strong Reaction—Belgrade Defends Act

By JOHN MacCORMAC

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, May 14—The American and British Governments, it was said here tonight have sent similar notes to Marshal Tito saying that the Italian port of Trieste must remain under the Allies' control until its future has been decided at the peace table and proposing that Yugoslavia should meanwhile withdraw the troops with which she occupied it.

Moscow, it is understood, has been notified of this action. Meanwhile the British cruiser Orion and the destroyers Cleveland and Lauderdale have arrived at Trieste. It was emphasized that the American and British notes were not an ultimatum, but their tone is unequivocal. They make it clear that Trieste and the Istrian Peninsula formed part of Italy when the Italian armistice was signed and are therefore legally still under the Allies' military control.

British and American Troops There

This being so, the Allies cannot tolerate the present situation, under which the Yugoslavs have occupied Trieste, taken over its civic administration, dealt with some officials on the spot and removed almost all its civil servants. There are British and American troops in Trieste, but only by agreement with the Yugoslav commander, to repair the port facilities and establish a line of communications to the Allies' forces in Austria.

[The State Department would not comment on the London reports of notes to Marshal Tito except to refer to the statement issued by Acting Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew on Saturday. In view of that, unofficial observers believed, it is probable that the notes have been sent.

[The Italian Foreign Minister, according to The United Press, said that if Yugoslavia tried to hold Trieste by force the inevitable result would be a "strong nationalistic and reactionary government in Italy, which, he said, is ready to accept a peaceful compromise on an ethnographic basis at the proper time."]

Britain is understood to be taking an equally firm attitude toward the reported French attempt virtually to annex part of the Riviera and Piedmont border district and what looked like the Greek intention, under the cover of a visit by the Regent, Archbishop Damaskinos, to assert rights over Rhodes and the Dodecanese Islands. It is understood that the British opposition to any summary action to change the map of Europe before the general peace

Continued on Page 6, Column 2

Continued From Page 1

settlement was determined at an urgent meeting of the War Cabinet over the week-end.

The Belgrade radio denounced "libelous reports" that Yugoslavia was trying to face the world with an accomplished fact by the occupation of Trieste and Istria, which, it said, "are not foreign soil but our own sovereign land snatched from us in the past." The radio quoted a Government spokesman as denying any intention of holding Trieste by force and asserting willingness to submit the question of Yugoslavia's ultimate frontiers with Italy to the peace conference.

Predicts Strong Italian Reaction

ROME, May 14 (UP)—Foreign Minister Alcide de Gasperi predicted today that if Marshal Tito disregarded Mr. Grew's warning and continued to hold Trieste by

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for May 15, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

force the inevitable result would be a "strong nationalistic and reactionary Government in Italy."

He said that Italy was willing to accept a peaceful compromise. "If there are purely Slovene towns in Istria, let them become Slovene," he said. "Italy will accept a pacific, fair compromise carried out in the proper manner at the proper time."

Dr. de Gaspari praised Mr. Grew's "just and unequivocal statement aligning the United States on the side of fair settlement for the Trieste question." [Mr. Grew said that the United States did not approve of a settlement of the Trieste problem now.]

Dr. Gaspari said that Italy must insist on a neutral administration of Trieste by the powers with whom Italy signed the armistice because Premier Pietro Badoglio had surrendered all Italy, including Istria, to the Allies and it was their responsibility to govern the territory until the peace settlement. He said that the present Yugoslav methods of maintaining control in the city by imprisoning Italians "or just whisking them out of sight" would make any plebiscite in the city "a farce."

Dr. de Gaspari suggested that the Allied Military Government take over Trieste and the position formerly held by the Italian Government, under which Rome appointed officials to only the most important positions in the cities and districts. Italy is willing to have Slovenes in local offices in any area with a majority of Slovenes, he said, but he emphasized that the general administration must be neutral to "protect the citizens of every racial origin."

Under such an arrangement, Yugoslavia would be better off than Italy, he said, because the former is represented on the United Nations' consultative committee that advises the Allied Commission, while Italy is not.

Informed sources believe that Italy would accept a border drawn roughly down the middle of Istria, giving Italy Pola at the southern tip, Trieste in the middle and Gorizia in the north, thus relinquishing Fiume and the Dalmatian coast islands as well as Zara, all of which were Italian before the war. It is also believed that eventually the Italians would accept an internationalized Trieste as a port for all the Danube countries.

Yugoslavia Views Italy as Enemy

By MILTON BRACKER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, May 14—The Yugoslav position in the Trieste controversy does not stem in any way from the nation's disagreement with the principle of the peaceable settlement of territorial disputes as outlined in Mr. Grew's statement, a spokesman attached to the Yugoslav delegation to the Advisory Council for Italy emphasized today.

He said that his Government wholly subscribed to this principle and expected to live up to it. But Yugoslavs do not feel that that implies backing down on their present occupation of the port.

The Yugoslav position stems largely from the fact that Yugoslavia never signed the armistice with Italy—and at the same time considers herself one of the Allies. The Yugoslavs argue that they crossed the border of an enemy nation rather than a friendly or neutral neighbor.

Narrow Definition Disliked

Moreover, since the "Allies" had decided on the occupation, the Yugoslavs cannot see why that does not apply to them if they got there first. They dislike the narrow definition of "Allies" that tends to mean only the United States and Britain.

The Yugoslavs concede that the city of Trieste proper is predominantly Italian but they say that Istria is predominantly Slovene. The criticism that Marshal Tito started a "liberation committee" in Trieste to take control of the city was denounced as a deliberate effort by the Italians to confuse the issue. This committee, he said, was originally formed in the village of Ajdoiscina, not in Trieste, and was intended not for Trieste but for Slovenia.

Yugoslavs here concede that the situation is most delicate, but they do not feel that it will come to a clash of arms between the Allies. Field Marshal Sir Harold R. L. G. Alexander, the Allies' Supreme Commander in this theatre, conferred with Marshal Tito again a few days ago and the basis of a settlement was worked out, it is believed. This ofrmula may involve the Allies' taking over the control of the port proper an dexercising all the AMG's funtions within it while the Yugoslavs administer the rest of the city.

Direct Agreement Urged

BELGRADE, May 14 (AP)—Edvard Kardelj, Second Vice President of the Yugoslav Government, denied today that they sought to "present the world with a fait accompli" in pre-war Italian territory.

He suggested that the frontier issue should be solved by a direct agreement between Yugoslavia and Italy. "The Yugoslav Army liberated the Slovene littoral, Istria and Trieste at the cost of many lives," his statement said. It was published in both Politika and the Communist party organ, Borba.

Mr. Kardelj, without reference to Mr. Grew's statement, added that, "from the formal point of view, it is only natural that the Yugoslav Army enjoy at least the same rights on the territory that it has occupied as other Allied armies, since the matter concerns territories not alien to us but our own national soil that in the past was forcibly snatched from Yugoslavia."

Politica, which reflects the Government's views, laid claim to the entire Austrian Province of Carinthia for the Yugoslavs, whose forces have entered the province in the Fifteenth Army Group's occupation zone. The newspaper said editorially that there was "an important link" between Trieste and Carinthia. The Carinthian Slovenes definitely became part of the newly formed Austrian Republic in 1920 after a plebiscite conducted by the Allies.

Italians Accuse French

MILAN, May 14 (UP)—The Committee of National Liberation reported today that French military authorities had "taken over" three Italian border areas and that the border situation might lead to serious friction in newly established Italian-French relations.

The committee said that the situation had arisen when French troops occupied the border areas of Val di Tenda, Val d'Aosta and Val di Susa and began to run them as if they were French territory. French military authorities arrived with a large number of civil administrators, mostly of Italian extraction, who immediately issued French ration cards in exchange for Italian ones, imposed French currency after having withdrawn Italian curency and distributed voting sheets asking the population whether it desired to embrace French citizenship.

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Proposals on Trusteeship

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Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SAN FRANCISCO, May 11—Following is the text of the American proposals as amended by the Russian's deletions being set in capital letters and additions being put in parentheses:

1. The organization should establish under its authority a system of international trusteeship for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequest agreement.

2. The basis objective of the trusteeship system should be: (A) to further international peace and security, (B) to promote the political, economic and social advancement of the trust territories and their inhabitants and their progressive development toward self-government (and self-determination with active participation of peoples of these territories having the aim to expedite the achievement by them of full nation independence) and (C) to provide for non-discriminatory treatment in trust territories with respect to the economic and other appropriate civil activities of the nations of all member States.

3. The trusteeship system should apply only to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship arrangements: (A) Territories now held under mandate: (B) territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of this war; and (C) territories voluntarily placed under the system of states responsible for their administration. It would be brought under a trusteeship system (and which states would be authorized to take over this trusteeship) and upon what terms.

4. The trusteeship arrangements for such a territory to be placed under trusteeship should be agreed upon by the states directly concerned (which were or are concerned in this matter) and should be approved as provided for in Paragraphs 7 and 8 below.

5. The ~~trusteeship~~ arrangements in each case should include the terms under which the territory will be administered.

6. There may (On recommendation of the Security Council, there should) be designated, in the trusteeship arrangement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the territory to which the arrangement applies.

7. All functions of the organization relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the trusteeship arrangements and their alteration or amendment, should be exercised by the Security Council.

8. The functions of the organization with regard to trusteeship arrangements for all other areas should be exercised by the General Assembly.

9. In order to assist the General Assembly to carry out those functions under the trusteeship system not reserved to the Security Council, there should be established a trusteeship council which would operate under its authority. The trusteeship council should consist of specially qualified representatives, designated (A) one each day by the States administering trust territories (and by permanent members of the Security Council not administering trust territories) and (B) one each by an equal number of other States named for three-year periods by the General Assembly.

10. The General Assembly, and under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, should be empowered (in respect to the territories having no strategical importance) to consider reports submitted by the administering authorities, to accept positions, to institute investigations, and to take other action within their competence as defined by the trusteeship arrangements.

1. The administering authority in each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly should make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of a questionnaire formulated by the ~~Trusteeship~~ Council.

6 MAY 24 1945

COMMENTARY
Russia
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161-16-4
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87 MAY 16 1945

This is a clipping from page 9 of the New York Times for May 12, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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FILE

Shcherbakov, Soviet Leader, Dies After Long Illness

MOSCOW, May 11 (UP)—Alexander S. Shcherbakov, one of the key men in the Soviet Government, died Wednesday of heart paralysis after a long illness.

Shcherbakov held five important posts simultaneously. He was a member of the Communist Party's political bureau, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, chief of the Red Army's political department, head of the Soviet Information Bureau and secretary of the Moscow Committee of the Communist Party.

Soviet newspapers devoted their front pages today to his death, lauding him as the man who mobilized and organized the country's manpower and resources in the grim days of 1941-42.

RECORD

EX-14

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87 JUL 7 1945

EX-14

This is a clipping from page 12 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 5-12-45

Clipped at the Seat of Government

FILE

Stalin Chum Dead

MOSCOW, May 12—Alexander S. Shcherbakov, friend of Stalin and one of the key men in the Soviet government, died Wednesday of heart paralysis. He was a member of the Communist Party's Political Bureau, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, chief of the Red Army's Political Department, head of the Soviet Information Bureau and secretary of the Moscow Committee of the Communist Party.

File

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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NOT RECORDED
87 MAY 17 1945

Washington Daily News - 5-12-45

SOVIET ASKS PART IN THE SUPERVISION OF COLONIAL AREAS

Russia Informs Parley That She Should Have Rights in the Award of Trusteeships

URGES 'SELF-GOVERNMENT'

Drive to Widen the Authority of New Assembly Keeps On—Regional Talks Pushed

By JAMES B. RESTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SAN FRANCISCO, May 11—Soviet Russia served notice on the United Nations today that she intended to take an active part in the allocation and supervision of colonial areas and strategic bases under the new League of Nations.

After two weeks of listening in the Big Five trusteeship meetings, the Russian delegation distributed today its own plan which declared that the Soviet Union should be a permanent member of the proposed Trusteeship Council of the new League that the Security Council, on which Soviet Russia would also be a permanent member, should receive a larger role than had been assigned to it by either the United States or Great Britain.

The Russian plan, furthermore, went beyond the American or British plans in arguing not only that the colonial peoples of the world should receive an opportunity to work toward "self-government" but that the aim should be "full national independence."

"The basic objectives of the trusteeship system," the Russian draft stated, "should be to promote the political, economic and social advancement of the trust territories and their inhabitants and their progressive development toward self-government and self-determination, with active participation of the peoples of these territories having the aim to expedite the achievement by them of full national independence."

Progress in Some Fields

The listing of "full national independence" as an aim for all peoples under the new league's trusteeship scheme raises another complicating factor among the Big Five, but in other fields there was evidence of progress toward the solution of outstanding problems. Among the developments today at the UNCIO were the following:

First, the Latin-American countries held a joint meeting on the question of giving the Pan-American system some independence within the framework of the new League of Nations, and after an afternoon-long discussion on the same subject among the United States delegation, the Big Five took it up in a late evening meeting.

Second, the "middle powers" continued their attempts to widen the authority of the General Assembly and to prevent the Security Council from having power to order into action troops of nations which did not have a vote on whether they favored such action.

Third, the Argentine delegation arrived in San Francisco and will probably take its seat in the conference tomorrow as the forty-ninth member.

Fourth, the Big Four amendment instructing the General Assembly to take into account the power and geographic position of nations before selecting the six non-permanent members of the Security Council was passed in committee stage with only a few dissenting votes.

It is, perhaps, significant that

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the Russians, who had not sided with either the United States or Britain in their controversy over the structure and procedure of the trusteeship machinery, chose the United States plan as the basis of their own charter. They made six amendments to this charter, however, which will undoubtedly complicate negotiations on this subject and prolong the conference.

After emphasizing that "full national independence" should be an aim of the new league for peoples under its control, the Russian plan emphasized that the question of who should get colonial territories and strategic bases should definitely be a subject for future discussion.

The change made by the Russians in the American draft on this point is interesting. The American plan stated it should be "a matter for subsequent agreement" as to which territories would be brought under the trusteeship system. The Russians at this point added that it was also a matter for "subsequent agreement" which States "would be authorized to take over this trusteeship."

The next Russian amendment seemed to emphasize this same principle: that the allocation of any colonial territories or strategic bases was a matter of concern to the Soviet Union. The American draft stated that the allocation of these areas should be "agreed upon by the States directly concerned." The Russians, however, crossed out the words "directly concerned" and wrote into the chater the stipulation that allocation of these territories should be agreed upon by the States "which were or are concerned in this matter."

Russian Desires Awaited

The other Russian amendments stressed the desire of the Soviet Union to be part of all negotiations on this topic and to continue this interest through the Trusteeship Council which Washington wants to see established. The American plan called for a Trusteeship Council composed of one member from the States administering trusteeship areas and an equal number from States elected by the General Assembly. The Russians amended this so that it would include all permanent members of the Security Council not administering trusteeship areas—in short, Russia.

Another proposed amendment would give the security council, on which the permanent members have the power to veto, the sole right to designate a "strategic base" within a colonial area, and a final proposed amendment would limit the jurisdiction of the General Assembly to those areas "having no strategic importance."

56 MAY 24 1945

61-16-A
NOT RECORDED
87 MAY 16 1945

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for May 12, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

What'sit?

While the rest of the world was celebrating VE-day yesterday, the Moscow Radio broadcast a Russian fairy tale. Not until the official deadline of the war's end, 6:01 p.m. Tuesday (Washington time) did the Russians finally kick in and admit Germany is licked. And even then, nothing from Stalin. The official Soviet proclamation came from a Russian Throttlebottom by the name of Kalinin, whose name isn't news even in his own home town. Now, what's this all about?

Stalin

One Washington rumor has it that Stalin wouldn't accept the German surrender until his son, who has been a Nazi prisoner, was delivered up to him. That is a significant Oriental touch, all right, but whether it is a fact we have no way of knowing.

Another story out of London was that Stalin wouldn't budge until the surrender papers were delivered into his hands so he could read them himself to see that the Germans have crawled as ordered.

That follows the line of thought behind the request of Russian Ambassador Gromyko here, to see the late President Roosevelt's body. The Russians are suspicious of all the world, and accept nobody's word for anything.

There was even a theory that Stalin still wants to see Hitler's corpse before admitting anything drastic.

But all the above is only guessing.

The only standout *fact* in the whole VE-day business was that Stalin, by his peculiar performance, managed to turn attention from victory over Germany to wonder about him. He was working the old "inscrutable Oriental" gag overtime, again. This is a standard part of Communist practice in dealings with the outside world. And going even further back, it is a habit of Russian potentates, who have long known how to make personal despotism work.

The "Inscrutable Oriental" Gag

For instance, one of the throne rooms of that very Kremlin in which Stalin now reigns has doors only about three feet high. The czar who thought that one up wanted to remind all the visiting *boyars* and ambassadors who was boss. So any seeking his company had to drop down, for all their fur robes and emeralds, and crawl into his presence like dogs.

Clipped from Wash. Times Herald May 9, 1945

RECORDED - 20

61-16-A

Communist Party - Russia

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The Communists have modernized this system of attention getting and never fail to enforce it any way they can. Let a Communist fraction worm its way into an American labor union or even a small-bore local political project and there is trouble, invariably. The Reds distinguish themselves not by contributing to its improvement, but by ructions and uproars cold bloodedly intended to nag and annoy the majority into giving in to them.

Standard Red Routine

That same routine has been applied in the grand manner by Stalin throughout this war.

Back in 1939, he attached so many conditions to any system of agreeing with Britain and France about Germany that in the end nothing was accomplished and he made a last-minute switch to alliance with Hitler.

And even when Hitler turned on him, he never really came all the way over to our side. Americans and Britons in Russia on war work have found themselves bumping into stone walls on every side, which kept them uneasy and worried about the very people they had come to unpleasant Russia to help.

Note that the Russian tie-in with us has been so vague that Churchill, yesterday, had to describe the German surrender as to "the Allied Expeditionary Force and simultaneously to the Soviet high command."

And as this was written, Russia was still the "inscrutable Oriental" on the fence between us and Japan.

As in war, so in diplomacy. The Russians managed to glom up the world conference at Chicago on postwar aviation early this year by refusing at the last minute to sit down with such ferocious so-called Fascist states as Switzerland—though the list of invited guests had been known for months and no kick made.

And at Yalta Stalin made a promise about cleaning up the Polish situation. But at the moment this was written it was so much worse that 16 London Poles sent to help clean it up are in the Russian jug.

At San Francisco, Russian Foreign Minister Molotov has managed by familiar Communist kicking over the traces to switch attention from the business of the peace conference to Molotov.

Such is the celebrated "Oriental Mind." Stalin has managed to make himself the Great What'sit of this war, so that now victory over Germany is won and victory over Japan is on the way, everybody is asking—not how to enjoy the coming peace, but—"what does Stalin want?"

How to Get Along With Anybody

We don't claim to be experts on Oriental psychology, but we do think one fact is obvious, and it is that the U.S.A., at this moment in history happens to be the world's strongest and richest power.

We don't need to worry about Stalin half as much as he needs to worry about us. So let's stop crawling on all fours through a three-foot door into the Kremlin.

Let's play our own game, and if Joe is half as bright as his admirers say he is, he'll make allowances accordingly. We can't lose as long as we stand on our own feet, whether we're dealing with "inscrutable Orientals" or anybody else.

BRITAIN STIFFENS VIEWS ON RUSSIA

Reported Soviet Demands on Formosa and Dardanelles Arouse Opposition

By CLIFTON DANIEL

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, May 10—As the Allies prepare to discuss the peace settlement in Europe and collaboration in the Pacific, some plain talking is being done in London about the attitude of the Soviet Union toward the Polish and other issues, and British opinion seems to be coming around to a policy of hard bargaining with Moscow.

The need for firmness is emphasized by reports that the Soviet Union is making ready some highly controversial post-war demands. One of these, according to reports from a responsible statesman, is that the Soviet Union wants favored treatment in the use of the Dardanelles as well as occupation of the Japanese island of Formosa, which is on the fringe of that sphere of influence which American admirals have staked out for United States sea power.

The accuracy of these reports cannot be confirmed officially, but they are typical of what London political circles are discussing.

Meanwhile, statements made in Parliament this week and by Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden in San Francisco, plus events in Austria and Yugoslavia, might be taken as the first evidence of the hardened attitude with which Britain, in partnership with the United States, might meet the Soviet Union at their next conference.

Britain More Confident

British commentators are perturbed that the war should have ended under the cloud of the worst tri-power disagreement yet, but the victory naturally has given Britain a confidence that she has not felt since 1933.

This confidence is bolstered by the firmness of her alliance with the United States, which Prime Minister Winston Churchill has called the greatest military, naval and air power in the world.

Among ordinary Britishers there also is a pride in the country's close relationship with the Soviet Union and unbounded admiration for the Red Army, but many people are disturbed that there does not seem to be a reciprocal regard for Great Britain on the part of the Soviet Union.

"There is a widespread feeling," The Economist will say this week, "that the Anglo-American approach to the problem of cooperation with Russia must have been mistaken if its fruits have been so small and so sour, and the time has come to adopt new methods."

Harold Nicolson, Member of Parliament, writing in The Spectator, speaks of the Russians as being "intoxicated by their own triumphs," and says "they have not realized yet that even their best friends in this country will be unable much longer to preach confidence in Russian honesty or to dismiss their many deplorable actions as being due to boyish mischief or le charme slav."

The Tribune, the left-wing labor weekly, uses the term "provocative and strikingly unjust deeds" in writing about the Soviet Union's imprisonment of sixteen Polish underground leaders.

British opinion almost unanimously urged Poland to accept the three-power tems for the settlement of its quarrel with the Soviet Union, but now there is a growing feeling, particularly among Conservatives that Britain has been made an unwitting accomplice in an injustice to Poland. British labor urged its colleagues in the Polish underground to reveal themselvese to Soviet authorities, and the names of the leaders who did come forth were forwarded to Moscow by the British, it is understood.

Notwithstanding the quarrel over Poland, cooperation with Russia now is a fixture in British policy and there is no sign of any intention to abandon it. Still, a change in the basis of cooperation is being considered, if it is not already taking place.

Allies Hold Some Cards

The Economist remarks that friendship does not seem to prevent the Soviet Union from driving hard bargains, and points out that British and Americans hold several bargaining counters in the form of food supplies, transport and the bulk of the able-bodied Germans who are wanted to rebuild the Soviet Union.

There seems to be a growing inclination to uose these countries in negotiating on such questions as the reported Russian proposal to place the Dardanneles under the control of an international commission with a Russian as chairman, and to give the Red Fleet the right to use the Dardanneles in the event of the war, no matter who its enemy may be.

The reported Soviet bid for Formosa, which is off the coast of China between Japan and the Philippines, is in addition to the previously reported Soviet proposals for the occupation of Manchuria, a protectorate over Korea and the return of territories and properties ceded to Japanese. No one here thinks the United States would be free-handed in such matters as the occupation of Formosa unless the Soviet Union should at least enter the war against Japan.

COMM PARTY

Russia

NOT RECORDED
87 MAY 16 1945

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for May 11, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIA POSES AIM OF 'INDEPENDENCE' FOR ALL COLONIALS

Objective Proposed at Meeting of Big Five Puts New Factor in Trusteeship Controversy

TREND TO CURB ON VETO

In Regional Disputes Support Gains in Our Delegation for Change in Voting Procedure

5/11

By JAMES B. RESTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SAN FRANCISCO, May 10—Soviet Russia has suggested in a Big-Five "trusteeship" meeting that all colonial peoples placed under the new world security organization should have the opportunity to achieve "ultimate independence."

This objective is not opposed in principle by the United States, Britain and France, but all three have hesitated to list independence as an ultimate objective for dependent peoples in case this promise should eventually jeopardize the plan to create strategic bases in these areas.

It remains to be seen how far the Russians will press for inclusion of this objective in the charter, and nothing is known about whether they raised it in the "trusteeship committee" tonight, for the discussions in this committee, as in all others, are still secret, despite promises by Secretary Stettinius that they would be open as at the Mexico City Conference.

Proposal Presented Orally

But it is known that Arkadi A. Sobolev, assistant to Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff, raised the question at the last meeting of the Big Five on this subject. Indeed, this is virtually the only proposal that the Russians have made ~~in the~~ trusteeship meetings.

The specific proposal Mr. Sobolev is understood to have made was that the general principles and purposes of the new league charter should apply not only to the sovereign member states of the new world organization but also to the dependent peoples under the supervision of the new league.

The Russians did not reduce this suggestion to paper and have not introduced any other written proposals on the subject, but this statement by Mr. Sobolev, and Mr. Molotoff's adherence to the same principle at his last press conference, have created considerable interest among experts dealing with the trusteeship question.

Other developments today as the conference went into its third week were these:

Some progress was made toward resolving the problem of reconciling the world and regional security systems. There were indications of growing support in the American delegation for a simple formula whereby the voting procedure in the Security Council would be changed to stipulate that regional disputes should be settled by a vote of any seven of the eleven member nations. This would deny the right of veto on these regional questions to the five permanent members.

Bid to Labor Group Reversed

The steering committee of the UNCIO overruled the economic and social committee's decision that the World Federation of Trade Unions should be allowed to sit in on committee meetings of the conference. The technical committee had voted unanimously yesterday to invite the group to send representatives, but on protests of Belgium and Canada this morning the steering committee voted 32—10 that no international non-government organizations should be allowed to attend committee meetings.

The United States completed a "joint trusteeship" draft and took it to the "trusteeship committee" for examination tonight. This paper included the principal ideas of the American, British and French trusteeship plans, though it does not contain Russia's suggestion that independence be made an ultimate objective for colonial peoples.

Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, who will probably leave San Francisco in a few days, told a press conference that he thought the recent conversations among the Big Four had assured the United Nations of a better charter than had come out of the Dumbarton Oaks conference and that ~~most of the~~ major problems raised here had been resolved.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for May 11, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIET POLICY SEEN AS LIBERAL IN REICH

Russians Said to Oppose Mass Permanent Punishment of German Civilians

By ROBERT REUBEN
Staff Correspondent

WITH THE RUSSIAN ARMY, in Germany, May 9—The Soviet military government in occupied cities of Germany is following a liberal policy toward civilians, and many Russian officers today told a group of newspaper men that they were opposed to mass permanent punishment of the German people.

"The German people basically are not bad," one Russian colonel said with surprising moderation. "They have been infected with the virus of fascism and I attribute their fascistic policies to oppression as well as to propagandization of the people. When fascism is removed there is no reason why the Germans cannot become a normal, decent nation."

This does not mean that the Russians are mollycoddling German civilians, who live in mortal fear of their conquerors. The Soviet policy is one of stern retribution, but the emphasis is on fairness and in the occupied cities the Germans are allowed to select their own Mayors to serve with appointed officials of the Soviet Military Government. By contrast in territory occupied by the western Allies, a German Mayor is appointed by the Allied military government.

Populace Cleans Up Debris

In most cities held by the Soviet Army the entire populace is rounded up indiscriminately and required to clean up wreckage and debris and reorganize the place physically so that it is quickly habitable. I saw many groups, including women, vigorously wielding shovels. One woman wore a mink coat.

Contrary to German propaganda, we saw many Russians playing with German children, and officers told us they had somewhat of a problem to prevent fraternization between the troops and German women—a problem that also bothers the American and British Armies.

Endless columns of horse-drawn buggies and other vehicles, as well as herds of dairy cattle driving down military highways, are part of the incredibly great Soviet Army which roads unchallenged in the heart of Germany to the Elbe River.

Down these highways charge tremendous Russian tanks which dwarf anything I previously had seen in the war. They spread over most of the roadway, pointing their long, huge guns in front. But this army is an enigma—for while boasting thousands of great armored vehicles and capable of historic, fast sweeps that isolated entire German armies, it still appears to be supplied mainly by miles of animal caravans, reminiscent of the American covered-wagon treks.

A Forest of Horror

With these nomadic supply columns travel herds of dairy cattle tended by uniformed men and women soldiers, the women being part of the thousands of Soviet women in the front line areas of occupation.

As we passed one Russian column we drove into a forest of horror, where one of the great Soviet-German battles to the death had just ended. The forest was as devastated as are most German villages, with smashed trees falling into huge craters. Dead littered the area, and everywhere you looked or turned bodies testified to the ferocity of the fighting. The Soviet Army paid a price for victory. Scores of its large tanks, destroyed by German bazookas, littered the sides of the highways.

In cities occupied by the Russians every front yard showed a similar scene—well-kept horses, both cavalry and vehicle animals, were grazing while soldiers carried fodder and water to them.

Most of the Soviet troops are billeted in German homes and there are no separate sections for their women soldiers. "Our women are brave and can take care of themselves," said Lieut. Vsevolod Altaev of Moscow. "They do not need special treatment."

Interested In Americans

The Russians showed great interest in American Army food, pay and living conditions and their soldiers do not differ much from the American GI. They have the same complaints and are remarkably similar in their type of humor.

Universally the greatest respect and affection for the late President Roosevelt could be observed. "We think he was a great humanitarian," one officer told us quietly.

Our small party lived for several days with advanced Russian units, probably the first American newspapermen yet accorded this opportunity to become acquainted with our Red Army allies informally and extensively. [The writer of this article is an American who has been employed by Reuter for some time.]

In the evenings we sat, with Soviet soldiers as they played on their accordians and sang familiar Russian folk ballads and war songs. We also lunched with them on their typical meal of heavy dark bread, cabbage stew and strong liquor. They do not have a "chow line" but are served from a large, horse-drawn stove and kettle which ladles out stew as it moves along the bivouac area.

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for May 10, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Premier Stalin's Speech

LONDON, May 9 (U.P.)—Premier Stalin's victory speech, as broadcast from Moscow tonight, follows:

Comrades, my countrymen and women: The great day of victory over Germany has come. Fascist Germany has been brought to her knees by the Red Army and the troops of our Allies, has acknowledged herself beaten and has declared her unconditional surrender.

On May 7 the preliminary act of capitulation was signed in Reims. On May 8, in the presence of the staff of the Russian High Command and in the presence of representatives of the Supreme Command of the Allied Forces, the final act of capitulation, which came into force at 2400 hours May 8, was signed in Berlin.

Knowing the wolflike actions of the Germans, who consider treaties and agreements as so much paper, we have no reason to believe their word. However, since this morning German troops, in fulfillment of the act of capitulation, began laying down their arms and surrendering to our troops.

That is no longer an empty scrap of paper. That is the real capitulation of Germany's armed forces. It is true, one group of German troops in the area of Czechoslovakia still avoids capitulation, but I hope the Red Army will succeed in bringing it to its senses.

We now have all the ground for declaring that the historic day of the final rout of Germany has come—the day of great victory of our people over German imperialism.

The great sacrifices that we have made in the name of the liberty and independence of our motherland, the innumerable exertions and sufferings that our people had to bear in the course of the war, the strenuous work in the rear and the front that they have brought to the altar of the fatherland, have not been in vain. They have been crowned by complete victory over the enemy.

The centuries-old struggle of the Slav peoples for their existence and their independence has been concluded by victory over the German invaders and over German tyranny. From now on, over Europe will fly the banner dear to us—the banner of victory of the peoples and of peace among nations.

Three years ago Hitler publicly declared that his plans included the carving up of the Soviet Union and depriving it of the Caucasus, the Ukraine, White Russia and the Baltic States and other districts. Hitler said openly that "we shall destroy Russia so that she will never be able to rise again."

That was three years ago. But Hitler's insane ideas were not destined to be fulfilled. In the course of the war they were blown into dust. In actual fact, the opposite happened to that which the Hitlerites threatened. Germany is completely destroyed. German troops are capitulating and the Soviet Union triumphs in victory, although it does not intend either to dismember or to annihilate Germany.

Comrades: The great patriotic war has ended in our complete victory. The period of war in Europe has ended. The period of peaceful development has begun.

Glory to our heroic Red Army, which has defended the independence of our motherland and achieved victory over the enemy!

Glory to our victorious people.

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in battle against the enemy and gave their lives for the freedom and happiness of our motherland!

STALIN'S ORDER OF DAY

Marshal Stalin's victory order of the day, as broadcast from Moscow and reported by the Federal Communications Commission:

Order of the Supreme Commander in Chief to the troops of the Red Army and Navy:

On May 3, 1945, an instrument of the unconditional surrender of the German armed forces was signed in Berlin by representatives of the German High Command.

The Great Fatherland War waged by the Soviet people against the German-Fascist invaders has been victoriously completed. Germany has been completely routed.

Comrades, Red Army men, Red Navy men, sergeants, warrant officers, officers of the army and navy, generals, admirals, marshals: I congratulate you upon the victorious conclusion of the Great Fatherland War.

To mark the complete victory over Germany, today, May 9, on the day of victory, at 10 P. M., the capital of our motherland, Moscow, on behalf of the motherland, will salute the gallant troops of the Red Army and the ships and units of the navy who have achieved this brilliant victory with thirty artillery salvos from 1,000 guns.

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the battles for the freedom and independence of our motherland!

Long live the victorious Red Army and Navy!

Supreme Commander in Chief, Marshal of Soviet Union STALIN.

May, 9, 1945.

COMM. PARTY Russia

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for May 10, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

MOSCOW GOES WILD OVER JOYFUL NEWS

Throngs Mill in Red Square to Celebrate First Tidings of Complete Soviet Victory

6

5/10

By C. L. SULZBERGER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, May 9—At the end of the greatest day of celebration in the history of modern Russia, the skies above Moscow were split apart tonight as 1,000 Red Army guns fired thirty rounds each to signalize the end of the European war in "complete and total victory."

Moscow and its people greeted the news of their magnificent victory with a spontaneous and unprecedented demonstration of joy.

Thousands of Moscow's policemen were called out to try to maintain some semblance of order in the weird mass of humanity that wandered by some strange instinct from place to place.

But this was of no avail. The Russians, and Muscovites particularly, are a very disciplined people and they respect their police. But the police in this merry contest were definitely the underdog. No matter how many hundreds of reserves were called out, they had no effect.

Laughter and Tears Mingle

Michelangelo once wrote that "the people are a great beast." In this he was conclusively confirmed today; but it was an unusual beast: both happy and sad, both laughing and crying, both subdued and demonstrative. One thing it had in common in its massed brain and that was good-will.

One must appreciate that today for Muscovites—and, it may logically be presumed, for all Soviet citizens—was the first V-Day, the first real and authoritative news that Russia's greatest and most horrible, but most successful war had ended.

No news had been reported here, save through the few foreign-geared radios available and by word of mouth through foreigners, about the signature of the surrender at SHAEF in Reims.

For that reason yesterday was in fact a humdrum day, dreary and wet, occupied with the usual day-to-day tasks. The people were by no means excited about the extraordinary number of salutes shot off in honor of the victories in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere because they had known that with Berlin's fall the war was virtually over. But there was not yet anything official about it.

An All-Day Celebration

Hundreds and thousands of men, women and children began to gather in the streets, alleys and squares not long after the news of the unconditional surrender in Berlin was broadcast over the state radio at 2 A. M. Dressed in strange deshabille — pajamas, nightgowns, overcoats and hurriedly-donned suits—they formed little groups on doorsteps to discuss this news in wonderment and rushed to one another's rooms to quaff long-hoarded stocks of vodka.

Before the sun had set on this beautiful May day, these small initial gatherings had swollen to immense size. Groups, solidly formed in thousands and thousands, by some strange crowd instinct would wander into Red Square and out again, to the American Embassy and away, cheering, dancing and singing or just silently looking, their eyes often brimming over with tears.

There may in the past have been demonstrations of similar size: when the revolution first began—but that was confused and bewildered; when Lenin died—but that was sad. Never in the memory of the oldest Muscovites has there been such a sincere and utterly spontaneous show of joy.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for May 10, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

MOLOTOFF STARTS FLIGHT TO MOSCOW

British and American Envoys, to Resume Polish Talks There, Confer With Secretaries

By RUSSELL PORTER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SAN FRANCISCO, May 9—The exodus of important diplomats from the World Security Conference because of the Nazi surrender, began today with the departure of Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotoff of Russia. Gen. Alphonse Juin, chief of the French general staff, and Rene Pleven, Minister of Finance and National Economy, also left. Tonight W. Averell Harriman, United States Ambassador to Moscow, and Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, British Ambassador to Moscow, are to take leave. The British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, is planning to depart, possibly Frday.

mean that the conference is breaking up or anything like it. They simply indicate, aside from the demands of heads of governments for the presence of their foreign ministers at a time like this, that all those major political problems that can be solved here, have been settled.

Meanwhile, the remaining delegates, together with their advisers, consultants, experts and technicians of various kinds, are perfectly capable of dealing with the remaining problems of drafting the charter of the new world security organization, especially as all delegations are in constant radio communication with their home governmemnts.

Polish Issue Unsettled

One of the big problems still unsettled when Mr. Molotoff left was the reconstruction of the Polish Provisional Government as agreed upon at Yalta by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin. Negotiations on this issue were broken off by the United States and British Governments last week after Mr. Molotoff admitted that the Red Army had arrested sixteen Polish underground leaders they had invited to Moscow for "consultation" on the new government.

At that time Secretaries Stettinius and Eden demanded "a full explanation" from Moscow before resuming the negotiations. It was learned today that Mr. Molotoff had not transmitted any further information to the United States and Great Britain at the time of his Departure, and the signs were that both these Governments were standing firm.

Soon after Mr. Molotoff left, Messrs. Stettinius and Eden went into conference with Ambassadors Harriman and Clark Kerr, members with Mr. Molotoff of the three-power commission which is to resume its deliberations on the Polish issue in Moscow after the question of the sixteen Poles is settled.

Charles E. Bohlen, the State Department's Russian expert and liaison officer with the White House, also attended the conference before returning to Washington. Presumably the Ambassadors received final instructions on the conduct of negotiations in Moscow.

Ambassadors Harriman and Clark Kerr are flying to Moscow by way of Washington and London. It is understood that the British Ambassador requested permission of Prime Minister Churchill to stop in London for the purpose of talking with former Prime Minister Mikolajczyk of Poland, whom the British are said to want included in the new government.

Molotoff Takes Siberian Route

Mr. Molotoff's flight to Moscow will be made by way of Siberia. This is longer than the Atlantic route, but most of the way is over Russian territory. He said goodbye to Secretary Stettinius last night, urging the latter not to go to the airport to see him off this morning because his presence was needed at the conference to complete its agenda as quickly as possible.

Ambassador Harriman saw him off, as did James C. Dunn, Assistant Secretary of State, and Mr. Bohlem.

Members of the White Russian and Ukrainian delegations, which recently arrived to fill separate seats at the conference, in accordance with the Yalta agreement to give Russia three seats in the General Assembly, and Mr. Molotoff's own delegation were also at the airport.

The Russian leader took off from Hamilton Field, an Army airport, about twenty-five miles north of this city. He was accompanied by his interpreter, Pavlov, and the bodyguard which was with him during his visit here. Another passenger was Lieut. Gen. Sreten Ujovic, Finance Minister and member of the Yugoslav delegation, who plans to go on to Belgrade from Moscow.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for May 10, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

MOLOTOFF 'CHARMS' AT PRESS MEETINGS

Of the Three He Has Held in San Francisco, Each One Has Pleased the Reporters More

By RUSSELL PORTER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SAN FRANCISCO, May 7—Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotoff has now held three press conferences in San Francisco. They have all been mutually advantageous in that they have provided highly valuable information on the Russian position and attitude toward the problems of peace or war in the world of tomorrow, and the same time, they have afforded a world-wide sounding boarding for the criculation of the Soviet point-of-view.

The press conference is a typical American institution. There is nothing like it in Russia, where the press is controlled by the Government, but the short, stocky little man from Moscow with the Teddy Roosevelt smile handles himself with adroitness and humor that, despite the barrier of language, would do credit to the late Franklin D. Roosevelt, himself, the master of the press conference art.

Each Conference Improves

At each successive conference Mr. Molotoff shows a progressive improvement in his technique. He puts on a better show every time. He smiles, beams all around, gestures disarmingly, and answers right to the point—when he wants to. When he does not, he can parry a question with the bewildering finesse of an expert fencer. If it can be said that he is doing his bit to "Sovietize" the thinking of millions of Americans. It may be suggested at the same time, that, in a sence, he is becoming "Americanized" himself.

Of course, some critics say that he is merely "putting on an act," but that would also be in the American tradition. It is true that ther are two Mr. Molotoffs, one is the "stubborn" Mr. Molotoff of the conference rooms, where, according to all acounts, he lives up to his name, which means "hammer" in Russian, and frequently casts aside all the diplomatic niceties and even some of the ordinary human courtesies. The other is the "charming" Mr. Molotoff of the press conferences, all good manners, good humor and good will.

Today's show brought out the usual packed house.

Mr. Molotof was seven minutes late. With fellow-delegates and Russian Army officers sitting on each side of him, Mr. Molotoff stood.

After a brief greeting, he started reading a prepared statement in Russian. Every now and then he would stop, and his interpreter, a slight clean-shaven young man named Pavlov in a grey suit, would pop up at his side and repeat his words in English.

An Unofficial Interruption

Early in the statement Mr. Molotoff looked up with a startled expression and ceased reading when some one cried out "sit down" in a loud voice. But it turned out that the command was directed at the photographers in front of the table.

When this was explained by the interpreter, Mr. Molotoff smiled in a relieved manner and went on with his reading. At the end of his prepared statement, he volunteered to answer questions.

He had received applause for his statement on unity in the conference; and he elicited appreciative laughter by his quick wit in dealing with embarrassing questions. He side-stepped queries on Russian policy toward Japan and Korean independence, and called one about inviting Franco's Spain to San Francisco as so "simple" as not to call for any answer.

The "$64 question," as usual, was on the Polish issue. He was ready for it, and drew a typewritten note from his pocket with the side remark: "It seems we cannot do without the Polish question here." Before he could read his answer, however, some one asked whether it was true, as reported in a "society" column that he could actually speak and understand English but pretended not to. To this he replied good-naturedly: "When I am able to confirm this, I will do so."

Then he doggedly got back to the point, declaring:

"I am going to reply to the Polish question," and read the typed memorandum, which was brief, and successfully evaded answering the question. He had been asked for comment on the case of the sixteen Polish underground leaders arrested by the Russian Army after accepting Moscow invitation to "consult" on the reconstruction of the Polish Provisional Government.

The Foreign Commissar then cut off all further questioning by saying abruptly:

"Permit me to conclude my press conference," and walked rapidly out of the room behind his bodyguard. He had said what he wanted to say, and no more, and the interview had lasted exactly twenty-six minutes.

The net result was confirmation of the general feeling that Mr. Molotoff has made a very good diplomatic record here, but that it has been marred somewhat by Moscow's handling of the Polish issue.

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This is a clipping from page 15 of the New York Times for May 8, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

The Molotoff Statement

SAN FRANCISCO, May 7 (AP)—The text of the statement by the Soviet Foreign Commissar, Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff, at a news conference today is as follows:

Now we can sum up the results of the first phase of the conference.

The four co-presidents of the conference have concluded their consulations on amendments to the decisions adopted at Dumbarton Oaks. As a result a unanimity has been achieved which is essential for the success of the conference. The various committees and subcommittees, in which representatives of all United Nations will consider numerous old and new proposals and amendments, have begun their work.

The Soviet delegation attaches the greatest importance to the following amendments adopted at the consultations of the four:

First. Chapter "Purposes" expressly provides now for the observance of the principles of justice and international law. It also contains a reference to the necessity of respecting the principles of equality and self-determination of nations to which the Soviet Union has always attached first-rate importance. The principles of justice and self-determination of nations proclaimed by the International Security Organization will draw particular attention of the populations of colonies and mandated territories; this will help realize the sooner those great principles, which is so vital.

Interprets Anti-Bias Stand

Besides, Chapter "Purposes" now provides for the encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, language, creed or sex. Such a program is incompatible with the membership of Fascist countries in the organization of international security. But then this is quite natural, for Fascist countries are known to be not only centers of sinister reaction, but of war as well, and so they cannot serve the cause of peace and security of nations.

The Soviet delegation did not insist on its proposal to the effect that reference should be made to the right to work and the right to education as some of the most important human rights. It has been pointed out that it would be unadvisable to mention any specific rights. But is it not clear that the right to, say, work is of vital importance to working men and women in the transitional period from war to peace when the danger of mass unemployment will be particularly grave?

Second. Suggestions are known to have been made in the press about the desirability of revising treaties that have been concluded during the war. It seems that treaties are implied which have been signed by defeated aggressors, as well as treaties concluded between some of the United Nations with a view to averting renewal of aggression in the post-war period by defeated Axis countries.

Must Thwart Enemy Nations

It is obvious that a reference to the necessity of revising the above mentioned treaties would play into the hands of enemy countries, which would certainly like to undermine and emasculate these treaties. One cannot fail to see, either, that an attempt to submit these treaties to the international organizaion for consideration would be tantamount to violating the sovereign rights of the signatory states. Besides, this would run contrary to the Dumbarton Oaks principles recognizing forcefully the sovereign rights of the members of the international security organization.

Naturally, the idea of revising treaties was rejected as untenable.

Third. The problem of treaties was also studied from a different angle. The Soviet Union for one has concluded treaties of mutual assistance with Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland. These treaties have been signed for a term of twenty years and are intended to prevent renewal of aggression on Germany's part. Similar treaties are feasible between other countries, such as between Britain and France.

It was agreed that such treaties should remain in force until such time as the Governments concerned felt that the international security organization was really in a position to undertake the accomplishment of the tasks of preventing aggression laid down in these treaties.

It seems to me that a solution has been found which is in full keeping with the interests of the security of nations.

Evidence of United Thinking

Fourth. The fact that no proposals have been put forward regarding the security council changing the latter's role and position within the organization is noteworthy. It demonstrates once again the unanimity of the leading powers in the main problem of the post-war security of nations. It makes one feel confident that the same course will be taken by other members of the conference.

Fifth. Only recently proposals have been put forward concerning territorial trusteeship and now being widely discussed by the press. American and British proposals relative to this question differ and so require study. The Soviet delegation realizes that from the viewpoint of the interests of international security we must first of all see to it that dependent countries are enabled as soon as possible to take the path of national independence.

This should be promoted by a special organization of the United Nations which must act with a view to expediting the realization of the principles of equality and self-determination of nations. The Soviet delegation will take an active part in the consideration of this problem in its entirety.

I should like to conclude by expressing my confidence that the conference will be able to consider within the next two or three weeks all the principal problems. Now that the heroism of the Red Army and of the Allied armed forces has ensured our victory in Europe the work of the conference should be speeded up and the foundations of the post-war organization of international security laid.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 15 of the New York Times for May 8, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIET REPUBLICS JOIN CONFERENCE

Ukraine and White Russia Delegates Arrive by Plane—Delay Molotoff's Departure

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Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SAN FRANCISCO, May 6—Four days out of Kiev and Minsk, six delegates from the Ukraine and five from White Russia, headed by Dmitry Zaharlovich Manuilsky and Kuzma Benediktovich Kiseleff, arrived on two transport planes today at Hamilton Field and were met by Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotoff of the Soviet Union.

They will take their places tomorrow in the working committees which are drafting the charter of the new world organization. The Ukraine has the chairmanship of the committee on preamble, purposes and principles of the security organization, and White Russia has the office of raporteur of the committee on structure and procedures of the general assembly.

Forty-eight delegations are now at the conference. Dr. Oscar Ibarra Garcia, the new Argentine Ambassador to the United States, is expected here within a week to represent his country.

It was reported that Mr. Molotoff, whose departure had been expected soon because of the war-end situation in Europe, would remain several days longer to participate in ceremonies at the seating of the White Russian and Ukrainian delegations at the conference.

Some delegates were hopeful that this would give Mr. Molotoff, Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius of the United States and Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden of Great Britain further opportunity to settle the Polish question.

It was hoped in Anglo-American circles that Mr. Molotoff would bring pressure to bear on the Red Army leaders through the Kremlin to gain the release of the sixteen Polish underground leaders imprisoned for alleged "diversionary activities" against the Red Army.

He is said to have told some delegates privately that he had already interceded to prevent their detention, but had been overruled by ~~[illegible]~~.

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This is a clipping from page 10 of the New York Times for May 7, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviet Strategy at San Francisco

Moscow Has No Faith in Dumbarton Oaks —Aims to Expand

By David J. Dallin

OBSERVING the behavior of Molotov in San Francisco, foreign leaders and American commentators indulged in searching analyses: Are these the peculiarities of Slavdom? Or is this "thinking in generations"? Is it concern for real equality of the big powers in the new League? Every possible and impossible surmise was made, except one—that the Foreign Commissar of the USSR was transplanting the customs and procedure of small party cells in Moscow into a great international forum, confusing firmness with sharpness and bad manners.

Of course, he has instructions to uphold the prestige of the Soviet Union as the only real victor over Germany. This he told the audience in his first speech, and nobody dared to contradict him. He claimed that his Government has always been Hitler's most uncompromising enemy, and nobody dared to recall certain treaties. And when he finally rebuked small Mexico and Czechoslovakia, he emerged as the "strong man," the center of attention and the great personality of world politics. . . . "You do not know, my son," wrote old Oksenstierne, "by what stupidity the world is governed."

David J. Dallin

But "thinking in generations," a concern for the distant future, was certainly not at the core of formulas given Molotov when he took leave from his master. The opposite is true. The Soviet delegation in San Francisco are concerned primarily with Soviet foreign policy for the immediate postwar years. It is a component of a greater program, which has been carried into practice at least since 1943, and whose main achievements will appear in the imminent period after Germany's defeat.

That the new league will ever serve as a bulwark against an aggression on Russia is an idea which provokes but a smile in the high quarters of Moscow. Russian Communism believes, as a means of security, first in the Soviet military forces; second in the activities of its adherents abroad; third, to a certain degree, in the so-called bilateral treaties, for instance the Soviet-French pact. The machinery of the world league occupies the very last place in this scheme. On the contrary, apprehension exists in Moscow that the league could develop into an anti-Soviet coalition when the sweeping process of Soviet expansion might provoke firm resistance on the part of the other powers.

This is the first reason why the Soviet Government takes part in the creation of the new league. The league's anti-Soviet teeth have to be extracted beforehand. This is the sense of the protracted discussion on the "veto" privileges of the great powers. The compromise reached at Yalta is satisfactory to Moscow: no action of the league against an aggressor can be started if the aggressor is a great power, under this formula. Thus the new security organization will not be able effectively to hamper the realization of the immediate goals of the Soviet Government.

The second reason for Moscow's participation is the great hope cherished in America with regard to the new league. Among the world's nations, large or small, there is nowhere so much faith in the ability of the new organization to prevent wars as in America. And there is nowhere so little faith in it as in the Russian capital. But since the United States is so much attached to this idea, Moscow believes, the USA probably will be prepared to make sacrifices and to ignore certain facts, when necessary, in order to have Russia in the league. The USA will be prepared to pass in silence the Baltic problem, to accept the state of affairs in the Balkans, to bear insolence, to look for every compromise, in order not to endanger the Soviet's participation in the new organization. This opens a road to interesting bargains: to get America's passive consent to the Soviet penetration in and virtual annexation of different territories for the price of Russian membership in an international league which is neither dangerous nor useful. A sensible transaction.

* * *

AND since the Soviet Union is taking part in the new league it wants to have a strong voice in it and an impressive escort of small powers. At present the "Soviet block" commands six votes out of forty-eight (Soviet Union, Ukraine, White Russia, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Iran). It will not be long before Germany's former satellites which took part in the last stage of the war on the side of the Allies, will be proposed by Molotov for membership and probably accepted by the league: Bulgaria, Hungary, Finland, Rumania. Strong hopes exist in Moscow with regard to Lublin Poland's entrance, too. Austria may be included in the bloc. In this way, the Soviet foreign office will be able, eventually, to command twelve votes or more out of the future fifty-five or sixty, around one-quarter of the membership.

A quarter is a minority, of course. But a strongly cemented bloc, guided by one strong will, is an enormous power, even if it is numerically a minority. At the head of it, the Soviet Government can hope to attract, in different ways, uncertain and wavering governments; to make, for instance, use of South-American antagonisms, and of anti-British feelings in the Middle East; to get support of cerain small nations by trade concessions, or similar methods. A great power possesses a multitude of means to enlarge its diplomatic influence.

The only important organ of the new league, the Security Council, will consist of eleven members, according to the present scheme. Five members are the big powers while the rest will be chosen from among the smaller states. Out of the five big powers Soviet policy is striving to achieve collaboration with France and particularly with China by remodelling the Chiang Kai-shek government into a coalition along Yugoslav lines. As far as the smaller six are concerned, the

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Soviet Government will gain at least two seats for its satellites. Consequently, at least three seats out of eleven are sure to fall to Moscow, with the prospect of gaining support from certain other members of the Council.

Whether or not this program will be realized, it is a clear concept of augmenting Soviet influence in the world. The policy of Molotov's delegation is part of it.

* * *

THE next great move of Soviet foreign policy must be the gradual incorporation of its satellites into the Soviet Union. It will be a series of bold and daring steps; skill will be needed to achieve this aim. An appropriate moment in the international situation must be found, in order to avoid military conflict with the great powers; appeasement of America and Britain as well as certain concessions to them in other fields will be necessary. Stalin does not want a war with his allies; rather he prefers to achieve his aims without far-reaching conflicts. *But these aims have to be achieved!*

In the Communist view, the Soviet Union is a perfect league of nations, if compared with the imperfect league proposed at San Francisco. The sixteen member states of the Soviet Union never wage wars one against another; membership in the Soviet Union is the only real guarantee against wars. The progress of mankind requires adherence of new nations to the Union. In order to avoid new wars, neighboring states must be incorporated into the multinational Soviet Union.

Molotov's task in San Francisco is to prepare for this solution of the problem, at least for central and eastern Europe and certain parts of Asia. His demand of membership for the Ukraine and White Russia is part of this concept.

Suppose Yugoslavia or Poland decide after "spontaneous" meetings and by "free ballots" to enter the Soviet Union, and Moscow agrees to accept them. What will be the consequence as far as their membership in the Dumbarton Oaks league is concerned? If the Soviet Union, as had been previously proposed, possesses just one vote, its satellite will lose its vote in the assembly of the new league, maybe also in the Security Council. The "Soviet bloc" would become numerically weaker. This would mean punishment of Yugoslavia or Poland for their adherence to the Soviet Union. If, after a certain time, all the satellites join the union, the Soviet state will grow to an unprecedented greatness, but in the new league it will be represented by one vote instead of the bloc of ten to twelve votes in the Assembly and of the three or four votes in the Council.

In order to avoid this paradoxical development, the Soviet Government has insisted and achieved the recognition of the Ukraine and White Russia as independent members of the League. This was rather a matter of principle: a non-sovereign nation, a member of the Soviet Union, can be an individual member of the league. Now, if Czechoslovakia and Iran are brought into the Soviet Union, they will be entitled to retain their votes in the league.

They will be in the same position as Ukraine or White Russia. This is why Stalin did not ask at Yalta for three votes for the Soviet Government, but demanded separate votes for two Soviet member republics. He knew of course, that it was not logical to grant them seats in the league once Moscow is the collective agent of all of them; and it was not logical to grant seats to two members of the Union while the rest of fourteen republics will have to be satisfied with Molotov only. But it was a battle for a principle, and this battle was won by Stalin.

* * *

AND so all eyes are turned on Molotov. This is not merely a recognition of the victories of the Red Army, nor is it a personal victory for Molotov. The general feeling is correct that an inner contradiction is presented to the world through the Soviet delegation at San Francisco.

To bar wars—and to invite, as one of the leaders, a government accused by everyone of conquest of Poland; to condemn aggression—and to give a prominent place to a government which is openly appointing its quislings for a series of nations; to preach peaceful collaboration—and to be subjected to intentional acts of animosity, such as the Stalin Osubko treaty on the eve of San Francisco—and the Vienna government a few days ago— this is the greatest nonsense conceivable. *It tears in pieces the charter of the new league. It makes it a cripple before it is born. And it is a green light to further conquests.*

It is becoming evident that more firmness and less appeasement are necessary. The solution of the Polish question had to be made a precondition to the success of the great conference. Governments which participate in a great congress against aggression, invasion, and conquest, have to come into court with clean hands.

RUSSIA TO REBUILD WITH AID OF U. S.

Plans Involving Credit, Goods and Services Disclosed by Friendship Council

Far-reaching plans for the use of American credit, goods and services for post-war reconstruction and development of Russia were disclosed here last night to technicians, business men and officials of the two countries at a dinner meeting held in the Biltmore Hotel under the auspices of the architects' committee of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Congress probably will approve soon a plan for open credits of a large amount to take the form of long-term loans to the Soviet Government to help finance the purchases, E. C. Ropes, chief of the Russian unit of the Department of Commerce, told the gathering.

Reporting on details of the program to utilize American products and methods in repairing the ravages of war and to undertake a rehabilitation job in his country "on a scale unprecedented in history," M. M. Gouseff, head of the Amtorg Trading Corporation, through which the business with the USSR will be conducted, announced that the purchases properly would include a vast series of plants for the manufacture of building materials and equipment and for making prefabricated houses and parts.

Amtorg to Do the Buying

Under the credit plan, Mr. Ropes said, Amtorg will do the buying, and the sellers will collect from the Export-Import Bank or some other Government agency. He explained that during the war several thousand Soviet engineers, technicians and other highly trained men had visited the United States and had become familiar with American processes and products, "many of which are eminently suited to adoption in the Soviet Union." A new group of engineers has just arrived in this country in furtherance of the post-war plan.

The Department of Commerce executive expressed the view that the architectural and construction fields offered one of the brightest and biggest fields for trade with American manufacturers, and disclosed that large post-war contracts already had been signed with the General Electric Company and others, "awaiting only the establishment of the terms of payment."

In addition to the reconstruction work in the western sections of Russia, further intensive development of the areas to the east are planned, "where natural resources are abundant and where the population probably has doubled during the war."

Mr. Gousev described the devastation wrought in his country by Nazi invaders as indicative of the big job ahead now that "the time is approaching when the victorious nations can direct their energies, will and minds "to reconstruction work. He reported that in five regions 6,075 school buildings and their equipment had been destroyed by the enemy.

Seen Aid to Better World

John B. Blandford Jr., Administrator of the National Housing Agency, told the council that "good housing will be one of the cornerstones of building a better world after victory by the United Nations."

For the post-war era, Mr. Blandford said, the NHA estimates that 12,600,000 new non-farm homes will be needed in this country in the first decade after peace comes.

"More than 6,000,000 of these houses will be needed for returning service men, to take care of normal increases in families, and for families now sharing living quarters with others," he explained. "The remainder will be required to replace sub-standard housing, assuming a twenty-year program for complete replacement of such structures."

Thomas S. Holden, president of the F. W. Dodge Corporation, reviewing the "miracle" of production records achieved during the war, paid tribute to the contribution of the construction industry.

"Free interchange of information has played an important part in the achievement of this result, and I am sure that our Russian friends, like our friends from France, Britain and other countries, already have found among American architects, engineers and builders the greatest willingness to answer questions about American methods and American technical and managerial knowledge," he said.

The dinner meeting will be followed today by an all-day panel discussion of mutual problems and programs by architects, engineers and manufacturers representing the two countries, to be held in the Engineers Building at 33 West Thirty-ninth Street.

Panel chairmen will include J. André Fouilhoux, president of the New York Building Congress, and Vincent T. Manas of the technical division of the Federal Public Housing Authority. Harvey Wiley Corbett, New York architect, presided at last night's dinner.

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This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for May 5, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIET FILMS PATRIARCH

Election and Coronation of Alexei Shown on Eve of Easter

MOSCOW, May 4 (U.P.)—Soviet authorities today released a thirty-minute film showing in great detail the election and coronation of Metropolitan Alexei as Patriarch of Moscow and All the Russias.

It was the first film of its kind in Soviet history and showed all the details of the church ritual. Historically it represented the first filming of the election of a patriarch.

Alexei was elected on Feb. 2. The film was released on the eve of the Russian Easter. Record crowds are expected at midnight Easter services tomorrow.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 17 of the New York Times for May 5, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

U. S. GIVES RUSSIA LIE ON PRISONERS

State Department Says Nation Has Fulfilled Agreement on Freed Captives

118 MEN ARE EXCEPTIONS

Their Status Is Vague Because They Fought in the German Army Against Allies

By LANSING WARREN

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, May 3 — Russian allegations that the United States had not lived up to the Yalta accords on the repatriation of the Allies' prisoners are "unfounded," the State Department said officially today.

The statement, giving precise details on American treatment of Russia nprisoners freed in western Europe by British and American troops, insisted strong that the United States had "consistently acted within the letter and the spirit of the Yalta agreement." The disclosure of the controversy, added to disputes with Russia brought out in the San Francisco conference and in Congress today, inspired an appeal to the Senate by Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan, that Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff's presence in this country should be used to reach an understanding that would "allay suspicions damaging relations between the two countries" on the verge of victory.

Senator Ferguson declared that the future peace depended on a firm understanding between the United States and Russia. He urged that an effort be made, before Mr. Molotoff left, to take measures to clear away misunderstandings.

Russians Charged Delays

The allegations of the Americans' omission to treat the Russian prisoners in accordance with the Crimea agreement were made recently by Col. Gen. F. I. Golikoff, president of the Soviet Repatriation Commission. Under the agreement at Yalta, each ally agreed to feed, clothe, give medical attention to and look after other needs of nationals of the other allies until transport was available for their repatriation. The Russian charged, among other things, that their soldiers and officers had been transferred to Britain and the United States and their repatriation had been delayed.

The State Department's declaration said that, in the early stages of the war, the thousands of German prisoners brought to the United States included 4,300 who later claimed Russian citizenship. They were returned to Russia as soon as shipping was made available by the Russian authorities.

The statement said that the charge that 800 Red Army officers were being held concealed in the United States was not substantiated by the facts. It added that the American authorities had no knowledge of the alleged presence of 800 Red Army officers here.

118 in German Forces

The charges were thus reduced to a discussion of the status of 118 persons, who, the State Department admitted, are still held here as German prisoners of war. They were captured in German uniforms while serving against the Allies in German military formations. Though apparently entitled to claim Russian citizenship, the statement said, these persons specifically claim the right to be detained as German prisoners under the Geneva Convention.

The crux of the controversy thus appears to center on persons who are probably Russian refugees from Soviet territory who had enlisted with the German forces.

"Inasmuch as the American Government has always insisted that all wearers of the American uniform, whether American citizens or not, are as American soldiers entitled to full protection of the Geneva Convention," the statement said, "these German prisoners of war apparent Soviet nationality claiming such protection are being held as German prisoners of war in order to protect American soldiers in enemy hands."

The statement added that every effort had been made to repatriate authentic Russian soldiers rapidly and that, now that a junction had taken place between the Allies' [illegible]ies of the west and the Red [illegible], plans were going forward [illegible]triate the liberated Russian [illegible]s by a direct land route.

[illegible]r Information Urged

[illegible]es of that type caused [illegible] Ferguson to observe that [illegible] Americans and the Russians used terms having different meanings and to urge the necessity of fuller information between them. He pointed out that in Bulgaria the Americans havee only a small military mission and a few diplomats whose movements were restricted.

He said that in Rumania the American mission had a little wider scope, but in Vienna and in Budapest the United States had no representatives, and none in Poland or the Baltic states. He said that foreign policy should be founded on facts and not on ruomrs, and he urged that Mr. Molotoff's consent should be obtained for American press representatives and diplomatic missions tto be placed in countries under Russian control.

Other controversial topics that entered debates in the capital were thosee of seating Poland and Argentina in San Francisco and the contention that the United States is kept in ignorance about conditions in the countries of eastern Europe occupied by Russian troops. Members of the House pressed the Administration to stand firm on its commitments for a free and independent Poland.

Representaative John D. Dingell, Democrat of Michigan, said that the late President Roosevelt had promised the Polish people "a government that would be representative of the Polish people." He asked why Argentina should be seated in San Francisco and not Poland.

Representative Thomas D'Alessandro Jr, Democrat of Maryland, said that he would demand that Congress do all in its power to aid small nations in their fight for freedom. The Republican floor leader, Joseph W. Martin of Massachusetts, said that "justice will not be complete until there is a free Poland within boundaries that shall include the land that can be properly classed as Polish."

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This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for May 4, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russian Votes Analyzed

Reason for Honoring Two Republics Believed Based on Polish Land

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

In your issue of May 1 Topics of The Times states that the principal reason why the Soviet Government demands separate league membership for Ukraine and White Russia "is probably a desire to advertise Ukraine and White Russia; to publicize the fact that the Soviet Union is a federation of free and equal republics." This explanation, ingenious as it is, raises more questions than it answers. Is it really "good publicity" for Soviet federalism to claim separate representation at San Francisco and in the future international organization for only two of the sixteen republics? And does the publicity argument explain why Ukraine and White Russia were singled out for the honor?

As Topics of The Times makes it clear, the relative importance of Ukraine and White Russia among their sister republics offers no clue to the Soviet Government's choice. According to the census of 1939 the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic had a population of 109.3 million; Ukraine, 31 million; White Russia, 5.6 million; Uzbek, 6.3 million; Kazakh, 6.1 million. The size of the Ukrainian and the White Russian Republics, however, was increased by the incorporation of territories annexed in 1939. Mr. Molotoff's statement that Ukraine and White Russia are entitled to separate representation because of the part they took in the war is not very helpful. Surely, it is not his intention to imply that the R.S.F.S.R. and other invaded Soviet Republics — Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and the Karelian-Finnish Republic—did not contribute their fair share to the struggle against Germany.

The true explanation must be sought, I think, in the special position occupied by Soviet Ukraine and White Russia with reference to the thorny Polish question. The fourth partition of Poland by virtue of the Hitler-Stalin agreement in the autumn of 1939 transferred to the Soviet Union some 76,000 square miles of former Polish territory, which were divided between Soviet Ukraine and White Russia. This may well offer the key to the enigma.

MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY.

New York, May 1, 1945.

This is a clipping from page 18 of the New York Times for May 4, 1945.

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russian Traitors Seek Safety in Switzerland

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BERNE, Switzerland, May 3—Several hundred of Lieut. Gen. Andrei A. Vlasso's renegade cossack troops who are fighting with the Germans forced their way into Liechtenstein last night and requested to be interned here after they had given their arms to the Swiss customs authorities in charge of the frontier there.

Until their case has been clarified, they will be allowed to remain in Liechtenstein, where their presence threatens to provoke complications. The Russians crossed into Liechtenstein when they were pursued by French troops operating in this part of the Tyrol. About fifty Germans who accompanied them were ordered to leave Liechtenstein at once.

Liechtenstein's Government mobilized its tiny population today for defense if it should be draged into hostilities. The populace has been ordered to leave the cities when the signal is given, take to the forests with three days' provisions, fly white flags, not molest the invading troops and otherwise avoid provocative conduct.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for May 4, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIANS IN CAMP DENY ALLIED ABUSE

Mystified by Moscow Charge, Group in Britain Speaks of Clothing and Food Aplenty

By DANA ADAMS SCHMIDT

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, May 1—The last Russians under the control of the American Army in Britain—108 men in the 103rd Army Hospital near Tidworth, eighty miles from London—were mystified to learn of the charges made in Moscow last Sunday that Russians in Allied prisoner-of-war camps had been ill-treated.

Typical of the men there, with whom I talked this afternoon, is 20-year-old Roman Chomyszyu whom the Germans deported from his village to repair bomb damage at Brest.

"I have been with the Americans for eleven months," he said through an interpreter, "and I have never heard a bad word from them. The Americans gave us plenty of clothes and such food that it could not be better."

He recalled with a grin that until he was hospitalized with a tubercular foot Russian prisoners ad time to "play ball like children" after work.

Not Enough Cigarettes

Some prisoners did have complaints to air, however. One thought his operation had been too long delayed. Another explained that he did not mean that the treatment was bad but the "Russians eat a lot and we could have eaten more in the camp when we were working, especially bread." Yet another thought that a package of cigarettes every two days was not enough.

Later, when the visitors were about to leave, four convalescents presented themselves to protest against complaints.

"We think w ehave been well treated," they declared.

Tonight ambulatory cases celebrated May Day with Russian songs at a Russky-American link-up party" organized by American Red Cross girls.

Every morning they hear a Russian translation of the British Broadcasting Corporation news read over the camp's loudspeaker system.

None in British Camps

These men are the only ones not yet repatriated of the total of [illegible] of whom the American Army shipped to Britain. They were captured in German uniform working or fighting alongside Germans, presumably under compulsion. As far as could be ascertained tonight no Russians at all remain in British Army prisoner camps in Britain.

Until the Yalta Conference, Russia officially took no interest in what it regarded as renegade citizens captured with the Germans. Some were shipped from the Continent to camps in the United States and Canada and interrogation showed that some feared to return to Russia.

A Russian colonel who visited the Tidworth hospital two weeks ago assured the men, however, that the Soviet Government now takes the most understanding view of the circumstances that forced them into German service and that they have nothing to fear.

NOT RECORDED
57 MAY 5 1945

This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for May 2, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Text of Stalin's May Day Order

The text of Premier Stalin's Order of the Day on May Day, as broadcast by the Moscow radio and reported by the Federal Communications Commission, follows:

Order of Day 20 of the Supreme Commander in Chief of May 1, 1945, City of Moscow:

Comrades of the Red Army and Navy, men, sergeants, petty officers, officers of the Army and Navy, generals and admirals, and working people in the Soviet Union.

Today our country is celebrating May 1, the international holiday of the working people. This year the peoples of our country meet May Day under conditions of the victorious conclusion of the great Fatherland war. The difficult time when the Red Army was repelling enemy troops near Moscow and Leningrad and near Grozny and Stalingrad, is now past and will never return. Now our victorious troops are routing the enemy armed forces in the center of Germany, far beyond Berlin on the River Elbe.

In a short time, Poland, Hungary, the greater part of Czechoslovakia and a considerable part of Austria and the Austrian capital, Vienna, were liberated. The Red Army has captured East Prussia, the nest of German imperialism; Pomerania; the major part of Brandenburg, and the main districts of the German capital, Berlin, having hoisted hoisted the victory banner over Berlin.

MILLION NAZIS KILLED

As a result of these offensive battles of the Red Army during three to four months, the Germans have lost more than 800,000 officers and men as prisoners and about 1,000,000 killed. During the same period Red Army units captured or destroyed about 6,000 enemy aircraft, about 12,000 tanks and self-propelled guns, more than 23,000 field guns and a tremendous amount of other types of arms and equipment. It should be noted that in these battles, side by side with the Red Army, Polish, Yugoslav, Czechoslovak, Bulgarian and Romanian troops have successfully advanced against the common enemy, shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army.

As a result of the devastating blows of the Red Army, the German Command was compelled to transfer to the Soviet-German front dozens of divisions and to denude whole sectors on other fronts. These circumstances helped troops of our Allies to develop a successful offensive in the west.

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This is a clipping from page 8 of the Daily Worker for May 2, 1945 Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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NAZI TROOPS CUT IN TWO

At the same time, by simultaneous blows against German troops from the east and the west, Allied troops and troops of Red Army were able to cut German troops into two parts, separated from each other, and to accomplish a link-up of our own and Allied troops into one single front. There can be no doubt that this circumstance signifies the end of Hitlerite Geranmy. The days of Hitlerite Germany are numbered. More than half of its territory is occupied by the Red Army and the troops of our Allies. Germany has been deprived of its most important vital districts. Industry which remains in the hands of Hitlerites is unable to supply the German Army with a sufficient quantity of arms, ammunition and fuel. The German Army's manpower reserves have been exhausted. Germany is completely isolated and finds itself alone if one does not count its ally, Japan.

In search of a means for extricating themselves from their hopeless position the Hitlerite adventurers resort to various tricks, even going as far as making advances to the Allies in an endeavor to sow dissension in the Allied camp. These new roguish tricks of the Hitlerites are doomed to complete failure. They can only hasten the collapse of the German troops.

Mendacious German propaganda is frightening the German population with absurd stories that the army of the United Nations wants to destroy the German people. Destruction of the German people does not enter into the aims of the United Nations. The United Nations will destroy fascism and German militarism and will sternly punish war criminals and will compel the Germans to make good the losses they have inflicted upon other nations, but the United Nations do not touch and will not touch the civilian population of Germany if it will loyally carry out the demands of the Allied military authorities.

STRENGTH OF RED ARMY

The military victories achieved by the Soviet troops in the great fatherland war have demonstrated the legendary might of the Red Army and its high military skill. In the course of the war our motherland has built up a first-class regular army capable of defending successfully the great socialist achievements of our people and in securing the state interests of the Soviet Union.

In spite of the fact that for nearly four years the Soviet Union has been waging a war unprecedented in its scale, which demands enormous expenditure, our socialist economic system is being strengthened and is growing and the economic systems of liberated areas looted and destroyed by German invaders are successfully and rapidly coming back to life. This is a result of the heroic efforts of the workers and the collective farmers of the Soviet Union, the intelligentsi, and the women and youth of our country, inspired and guided by the great Bolshevik party.

The world war unleashed by the German imperialists is drawing to its close. The collapse of Hitlerite Germany is a matter of the immediate future. The Hitlerite bosses who imagined themselves masters of the world, now stand in front of a broken trough. The mortally wounded Fascist beast is at its last gasp. The task now boils down to one thing—the finish off of the Fascist beast.

Warriors of Red Army and Navy. The last onslaught against the Hitlerite lair is in progress. In the final battles, give proof of the new examples of military skill and daring, strike harder at the enemy, break up his defense, skillfully pursue and encircle the German invaders, give them no respite until they cease to resist. Be particularly vigilant beyond the boundaries of our country. Maintain as before the honor and dignity of the Soviet warrior.

LAST ONSLAUGHT

Working people of the Soviet Union! By tenacious and indefatigable labor, multiply your all round aid to the front. Heal quickly the wounds inflicted on our country by war. Raise still higher the power of our Soviet state.

Comrades of the Red Army and Navy, non-commissioned officers, officers and petty officers, generals and admirals, working people of Soviet Union, on behalf of the Soviet government and our Bolshevik party, I greet and congratulate you on the day of May 1.

In honor of the historic victories of the Red Army on the front and of the great successes of the workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia in the rear, to mark the international holiday of the working people, I order:

SALUTES IN ALL CAPITALS

Today, May 1, the firing of a salute of twenty artillery salvo in the capitals of the Union Republics — Moscow, Kiev, Minsk, Baku, Tbilisi, Erevan, Ashkhabad, Tashkent, Stalinabad, Alma Ata, Frunze, Petrozavodsk, Kishinev, Vilnius, Riga, Tallinn and also in the heroic cities of Leningrad, Stalingrad, Sevastopol and Odessa.

Long live our mighty Soviet motherland Long live the great and victorious Soviet people! Long live the victorious Red Army and Navy!

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in battles for the freedom and independence of our motherland! Forward to the final rout of Hitlerite Germany!

Supreme Commander-in-chief,
Marshal of Soviet Union,
—STALIN.

SOVIET SAYS ALLIES IMPRISON RUSSIANS

Repatriation Board Chief Charges Liberated Citizens Have Been Mistreated

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, April 30—A charge that Soviet citizens liberated by the western powers were not "always being treated as citizens of an Allied State" was made here today by Col. Gen. Philip I. Golikoff, head of the Soviet Repatriation Committee and a well-known figure in the highest Soviet circles, who has been an advisor and friend of Marshal Stalin in the last few years.

The general, who sees more foreigners than most Red Army men, since he is one of those who attend diplomatic receptions, made his accusation in an interview with a correspondent of Tass, Soviet news agency, which was prominently printed in today's Pravda. He criticized Britons and Americans for their treatment of Soviet citizens, civilians and Red Army men, who were liberated in the west.

He said 2,000,000 Soviet citizens had been liberated and that 1,600,000 had been repatriated. He said that of 150,000 freed in the west, only 35,000 had been returned to the U.S.S.R. Then he added that these Soviet citizens, now awaiting repatriation in the United States, France and Egypt, "are not always treated as citizens of an Allied State."

General Golikoff charged that some Russians were in camps with Germans and were forced to labor twelve hours daily. When Soviet generals appeared at some of these centers he said the Russians wept with happiness.

He charged that 800 Red Army officers were transported from Britain ot the United States without the Soviet Union's knowledge, in violation of a repatriation agreement signed last Feb. 11, and that the Moscow Government did not know what had become of them.

Polish Ppropaganda Charged

He also charged that Poles in Egyptian centers were urging Soviet citizens not to return home and warning them they would be treated as traitors if they went back to the U. S. S. R.

He added that in Switzerland interned Soviet citizens were separated from Germans only by strands of barbed wire and that many acts of violence occurred. Moscow newspapers previously had carried a long report alleging the Swiss had maltreated Red Army men who had fled across the border.

"On United Kingdom territory," General Golikoff continued, "we have not yet found about 300 citizens who are still being sought. It is clear such facts are in opposition to the repatriation agreement."

"In England, recently, a Repatriation Commission representative discovered three camps with 1,112 Soviet citizens. Nothing had been known by our representatives about the existence of these camps.

"They were controlled by American military police. Soviet citizens in these camps lived in absolutely unsatisfactory conditions. In Camp No. 1 they were kept with Germans under German administration. In Camp 35 and Camp 40 they were imprisoned behind barbed wire and machine guns were posted in patrol towers.

The general said the Red Army had liberated more than 205,000 Allied and other foreign prisoners and civilians since the January offensive and that almost 64,200—especially all Britons and Americans, except a small number who were ill—had been sent home and the others would be repatriated as soon as transport was available.

Charges Worry Washington

WASHINGTON, April 30 (U.P.)—Grave concern was expressed here today over Russian charges that the United States and Britain were not living up to the Yalta agreement for the care and repatriation of liberated prisoners.

No official reply is expected, however, since execution of the pact is up to Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower and other Allied commanders in the European theatre. But is was stated unequivocally that the United States had every intention to fulfill its obligations.

Observers predicted that the repatriation of liberated Russians would be greatly facilitated when communication lines were established through central Germany, where American and Russian armies have made their juncture.

They contended that the immediate repatriation of prisoners by sea would have required a diversion of shipping from more important assignments, including aid to Russia. In effect, the Russians would have had to choose between getting repatriated prisoners or war cargo.

Russia

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This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for May 1, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

PRAVDA IS HOPEFUL PARLEY ENDS ROWS

Says Problems Facing Delegates Are 'Not Insurmountable,' Attacks Pessimists

Yakov Viktorov, writer on foreign affairs for Pravda, Communist party newspaper in Russia, asserted that the difficulties confronting delegates to the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco were "not insurmountable," and that these difficulties "only discourage those who want to be discouraged," the Moscow radio said in a broadcast recorded yesterday by the Federal Communications Commission.

The broadcast, beamed in Hungarian to Europe, said that he stressed the "great responsibility in the preservation of peace" borne by the "powers that carried the brunt of the struggle against the aggressor" and added that other "freedom-loving nations must turn their backs in those who, under the pretext of the interests of small nations, try to create dissension among the great powers."

Touching on the admittance to the United Nations Assembly of the Ukraine and White Russia, the writer said, according to the broadcast, that the request to admit the two Russian republics was justified because of the "great part played by these republics in the struggle against Hitler."

"The lesson of war," he continued, "is that only the accord and unity of the great Allies guarantee the freedom, independence and security of small nations against Fascism.

"Freedom-loving small nations are afraid, not of freedom-loving great powers, but of the aggressor. This defines the main task as the frustration of the aggressor and the creation of an effective organization for the preservation of peace and security."

Warning that the Germans, who have lost the war, were still trying to "sow discord" among the freedom-loving nations, Mr. Viktorov said that the Fascists must also lose their "last stake—their hope to survive the war and preserve the seeds of future aggression."

"Aggression must be extirpated at its roots," he asserted. "The military, moral and political extermination of Fascism must be accomplished."

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N.Y. Times
May 1, 1945
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ITALY URGES CURB ON TITO IN TRIESTE

Bonomi Asks Rule by Allied Military Authorities 'Under Terms of the Armistice'

3

ROME, April 30 (AP)—The Italian Government demanded tonight that Trieste and all Venezia Giulia Province, ceded to Italy after the World War I and now being occupied by Marshal Tito's Yugoslav troops, be goverened by Allied military authorities "under terms of the armistice."

Premier Ivanoe Bonomi conferred with Allied leaders on whether the Yugoslavs should be permitted to occupy the territory at the head of the Adriatic Sea. Trieste, an important port, has been a bone of contention between the two countries for years.

An Italian Government statement said a solution to the controversy could not be reached until Italy and Yugoslavia had governments chosen by a majority of their peoples.

The Government's assertion that the disputed area "must be entrusted in accordance with terms of the armistice to Allied administration, as has been the case with the rest of Italia nterritroy" did not make clear whether the armistice specifically mentioned Venezia Giulia. A substantial portion of the armistice terms has never been made public.

Allies Limited Italian Role

Allied officials long ago conceded that pleas of the Bonomi Government for admission of Italy as a full-fledged member of the United Nations were inspired partly by the desire to prevent loss of this Adriatic province in the postwar settlement. They likewise never challenged the theory that Italy was denied such status partly because she might be called upon to yield territory on the European mainland as well as some of her colonies.

News that Marshal Tito's forces had entered Trieste was headlined "An Alarming Report" in one newspaper and provoked shouts of "Long live Italian Trieste!" at a students' demonstration.

The Government Press Office released a resolution by the Messina National Liberation Committee expressing hope that "all attempts made by anyone planned and aimed at taking away from Itaaly Trieste and other Italian territories be decisively prevented."

Trieste, one the principal port of Austria until its cession to Italy in 1918, figured prominently in the territorial demands of Italians during their long struggle against the Habsburg Emperors. It is the main city of the Istrian Peninsula, which has mixed Italian and Yugoslav populations.

[A Belgrade radio broadcast, recorded by the FCC, said inhabitants of Trieste were aiding the Yugoslavs in street fighting and hailed this as "a great military and political event."]

Students Agitate in Rome

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, April 30—An hour after Marshal Tito's headquarters had announced his capture of Trieste hundreds of students staged demonstrations in the center of Rome, carrying posters with nationalistic slogans and shouting "Trieste is Italian!" Italia Nuova, monarchist newspaper, published an extra. An editorial said:

"Now the Italian people, who sought and brought about justice at home, demand justice abroad. Two news reports have shocked Italian public opinion, the entry of French troops into Italian territory and the occupation of Trieste by Tito. Italy, liberated by her Patriots and the Anglo-American armies, cannot—apart from the inexplicable advance of the French forces into Piedmont—stand for the occupation of a part of her own territory by the troops of a nation that has no link of co-belligerency with us, even less of alliance, and a nation that through its present leader has repeatedly expressed its intentions to dominate that territory."

Neither Police Nor Sirens Will Announce V-E Day

The Police Department will do nothing to make public the V-E Day proclamation, but will notify its members to report to their respective precincts or to previously assigned areas, Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine said yesterday in reply to a written question from newspaper men.

He said that the air-raid sirens here would not be turned on to signal the end of European hostilities. The commissioner said also he had received no instructions from military authorities concerning V-E Day procedure.

Bars and grills and other liquor dispensing establishments will neither be requested nor ordered to close, the commissioner said, adding that he "did not believe it will be necessary." However, he declared that all must comply with the curfew.

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for May 1, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

U. S. DOES NOT BACK AUSTRIAN REGIME

Britain Also Is Withholding Recognition Pending Inter-Allied Consultations

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 30 — The United States does not recognize the new provisional government of Austria, which has been set up by Dr. Karl Renner under Soviet auspices, according to a declaration of Acting Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew today.

[A British Foreign Office spokesman indicated his Government had not recognized the Austrian regime.

[A Russian repatriation chief, charged in an interview with Pravda that Soviet citizens, liberated in western Europe, had been mistreated by the United States and Britain.]

It was indicated that the State Deparament was awaiting consultation of the Allied powers on the new government for Austria.

When Mr. Grew was asked

Continued on Page 2, Column 3

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for

May 1, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

. S. DOES NOT BACK AUSTRIAN REGIME

Continued From Page 1

ether he had been notified of formation of the Renner Cabi- as a temporary authority in stria, and whether our Governnt has recognized the new ime, he said he had noted press patches from Moscow reporting provisional government's fortion in Vienna.

Soviet Notification Sent

Mr. Grew said that on April 27 notification had been received m the Soviet Government that formation of a provisional govment had been proposed by Dr. nner and that the Soviet Govment was not disposed to hinder t development. He added that United States Government had yet had official confirmation the government's formation and not recognize the provisional strain government.

The whole question, said Mrs. ew, is being taken up with the vernment of the Soviet Union, ose troops are no win occupan of Vienna.

State Department officials indited that the United States had diplomatic representatives in stria at present. In political cirs, the situation there was being npared with what has occurred Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and ier countries that the Soviet mies have occupied.

Secretary Grew issued his statent shortly after a brief confere with President Truman. He s accompanied on the visit to White House by William Phil-, recently appointed special assistant to the Secretary of State during the San Francisco Conference, and H. Freeman Matthews, chief of the European Division of the State Department.

On leaving President Truman's office, Mr. Grew declined to discuss the nature of his conference with the President.

LONDON, April 30 (UP)—Great Britain does not recognize the new Austrian Government, whose formation at Vienna was announced in Moscow yesterday, a Foreign Office commentator said today.

The commentator said the Austrian group was not recognized by Britain "as a provisional Government,t or as anything else."

Russians informed the British Government that the Austrian group would be established, but the information did not come in time to let Britain discuss the matter "with the Allies," the commentator said. Asked if the British Government viewed the move with satisfaction, the commentator said that "beyond notice of it, we do not view it at all."

The commentator said he knew of no connection between the new Government and the "Austrian freedom movement" in this country.

Commission's Trip Deferred

By Wireless to The New York Times.

LONDON, April 30—American, British and French members of Inter-Allied Control Commission for Austria are unlikely to move to Vienna to join their Russian counterparts, informed political quarters said tonight, until negotiations now in progress have finally settled the four Powers' zones of occupation and the Control Commissions relationship to the newly formed Austrian Provisional Government.

American and British representatives on the commission are already waiting in Italy to enter Austria, it was stated.

Amplifying earlier irritated comment on the formation of the Vienna Government, British quarters explained that the British Government had been "informed but not consulted" about the plans. It was noted that the Russians did not immediately recognize this Government, thus somewhat attenuating the force of the fait accompli facing the Allies.

The Times of London will say tomorrow that "the formation of a free and representative Government in Austria is most welcome," but will regret that "this is by no means the first instance since the liberation of Europe began of separate action by one or another of the Allies, although the exclusive preoccupation of the Russians with their zone of security in eastern Europe has probably caused them to act most often in this fashion. * * *"

London Austrians Approve

LONDON, April 30 (Reuter)—A declaration welcoming the new Austrian Provisional Government as "the first Government of the Second Austrian Republic," and recommending its recognition by all the major Allies, has been adopted by the London Bureau of Austrian Socialists and the delegation abroad of Austrian trade unionists, the bodies recognized by the British Labor movement as speaking here on behalf of Austrian labor.

"We welcome most heartily the first Government of the Second Austrian Republic, a coalition of all democratic parties under the leadership of the Social Democrat, Karl Renner," the declaration says.

"All Austrians hope that all the major Allies will recognize the new Austrian Government. The exiled Austrian Socialists and trade unionists pledge their loyalty to the new Austrian Government. They hope to return soon to participate in the rebuilding of the democratic life of their country."

Austria Excites Speculation

By Wireless to The New York Times.

PARIS, April 30—The departure today of the French delegation for Austria has drawn the attention of official circles here to the outlook for Central Europe as an independent Austria seems about to reappear.

Information received here in informed circles is that the Americans oppose detaching Klagenfurt from Austria to give it to Yugoslavia. The American idea is understood to be that Klagenfurt is Austrian, while Trieste should become an international seaport at the disposal of Austria.

The question asked here is how far Marshal Tito will have Russian support for these claims, inasmuch as he has had it for his regime, which has made a treaty allying Yugoslavia with Soviet Russia.

Meanwhile it is understood that the Soviet Government is increasingly apprehensive that Austria may become part of a Catholic Central European bloc, which the Russians believe the Vatican is seeking to create. The Russians are said to regard such a move as the latest form of a western "cordon sanitaire" against Russia which Moscow has feared for a quarter of a century.

This is a clipping from page _____ of the New York Times for _____

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

THE LIBRARY

W. L. White and His Critics

By William Henry Chamberlin

There are few precedents in our literary history for the chorus of vituperation, organized and unorganized, prompted and unprompted, that accompanied the publication of William L. White's account of his six weeks' visit to Russia last year.[1] A group of correspondents and writers who are working or have worked in Russia took the unusual step of associating themselves with a blanket denunciation of a book which those who are not in this country could scarcely have read.

White was bombarded with verbal brickbats by a small legion of reviewers, ranging from the frostily correct Foster Rhea Dulles in the New York *Times* to the intellectual *pontifex maximus* of the *New Masses* and the *Daily Worker*, Isidore Schneider, who gives his "review" the revealing and characteristic title: "A Lackey Abroad." Francis Hackett, in the New York *Times*, Bruce Bliven in the *New Republic*, Ralph Bates in *PM*, Lewis Gannett in the New York *Herald Tribune*, joined in the chorus of detraction and denunciation. The chorusmaster was David Zaslavsky, professional hatchetman of the controlled Soviet press, whose invariable reaction to any foreigner who finds conditions in Russia a little this side of paradise is to hiss "Fascist," with a choice assortment of gutter adjectives. Comrade Zaslavsky did not wait for the publication of White's book. As soon as a summary appeared in the *Reader's Digest* he pronounced it "the standard stew from the Fascist kitchen, with all its aroma of calumnies, unpardonable ignorance and undisguised malice."

One hopes that at least some of the singers of the hymn of hate against White's book will, on reflection, become ashamed of the political and intellectual company they are keeping. One may also hope that, as sometimes happens, the volley of critical brickbats will enhance public interest in the book and increase its distribution. For, with all its inevitable limitations, it gives the American people two things they desperately need. One is an honest, vivid, pictorial view of Soviet living conditions, without benefit of Soviet censorship; the other is concrete grounds for believing that their system, conceived

[1] *Report on The Russians*, by William L. White. $2.50. *Harcourt, Brace and Company.*

in liberty and based on political democracy and respect for the rights of the individual, is enormously superior to any form of totalitarianism, whether Communist or Fascist.

The volume and the shrillness of the critical blasts led me to read White's book carefully from beginning to end, making numerous notes and observations. From the tone of some of the attacks one might have imagined that White went to Russia with black murder in his heart, determined to malign every individual Soviet citizen and to slander the Soviet system at every opportunity. At the very least one might have expected him to say that all the women in Russia were nationalized or that Stalin breakfasted daily on boiled babies.

Now what impressed me most strongly on reading the book was the author's patent honesty of approach. Honesty, of course, does not mean infallibility. If William L. White had been the wisest man in the world, he could not have personally checked up on every detail of Soviet political, economic, social and cultural life in the course of a brief trip heavily interpolated with banquets and formal entertainments. His book does not and cannot possess that rare authentic grass-roots character which one finds in John Scott's *Behind the Urals* or Markoosha Fischer's *My Lives in Russia*. Both Scott and Mrs. Fischer possessed the unusual background of having lived for years in the Soviet Union under Russian conditions, and then emerging to write freely and candidly of their broad impressions.

But every incident, every detail which White reports on a basis of personal observation rings true by the test of my own twelve years of residence in the Soviet Union. Sometimes an experience of my own in the late twenties or early thirties is duplicated by White, almost down to the last detail. For instance, in describing a visit to a Soviet motor factory, he describes "the caste system in dining rooms." There was a dining room for the exclusive use of the director, another for the foremen, still another for the workers.

This same arrangement impressed me when I visited Magnitogorsk, the big new iron and steel center in the Urals, in 1932. There I counted no less than seven of these "caste" dining rooms, which ranged in quality from the plentiful, if heavy, fare served to high plant officials and imported American engineers to the subhuman diet allotted to the unfortunate kulaks and political prisoners, of whom tens of thousands were employed on forced labor jobs.

Another coincidence is even more striking. Along with Eric Johnston and other members of the party, White visited the Siberian town of Omsk. In going through a local factory he began to talk in German with a woman correspondent for Tass, the official Soviet news agency. The rest of the story may be told in White's own words:

> In the plant we were walking together, she translating for me ahead of the in-

terpreter. It was all going well until I left her for a minute to speak to Eric. When I turned back, I saw that Zemenkov, our Foreign Office man, and Nick, the NKVD (Political Police) plainclothes man, had each grabbed her by an elbow and were hustling her along, lecturing her angrily. . . . Presently they dropped her elbows, and after a discreet interval I walked up beside her, picking up the conversation where we had left it. But she would neither answer nor look at me.

The fresh air of Kansas free speech did not go very well in Omsk. What impressed me about this incident is that it is a precise replica, one important detail apart, of what happened when my wife and I were visiting a new tractor plant in Cheliabinsk. I was talking with some of the plant officials and engineers while my wife circulated among some of the forced laborers, finding out why they had been sent there. One told her that he was a worker who had accidentally broken a machine in a factory and got a sentence of six months at penal servitude. Another was a peasant whose story was that at a collective farm meeting he had cried out too loudly that there was nothing to eat.

At this point a hard-looking local Communist stepped up to my wife, gave her a meaningful look and inquired:

"*Grazhdanka* (the Russian feminine word for citizen), are you a Soviet citizen?"

When my wife cheerfully responded that she was not, he stepped back crestfallen. Here is about as perfect a cap for White's story of his brief and quickly interrupted conversation with the Tass correspondent as one could imagine.

There is still another personal truthfulness test that White's book passes with flying colors. One of my American acquaintances came to Moscow and tried the experiment, with his wife, of living for a year in Russia on what could be bought with Soviet-ruble salaries. Although the couple was well-to-do, they renounced the use of American dollars for the year, stayed away from the tempting shops where delicacies were sold only for foreign money and lived on their ruble income. They were young and strong and came out of the test a little lean, but probably none the worse physically. What impressed my acquaintance, after living Russian life in the raw, was the complete contempt for the consumer's needs and desires in the gigantic bureaucratically managed apparatus of state trade and distribution. He summed up this impression with the joking suggestion that every Soviet store should display three slogans, as follows:

> The public be damned. . . . The customer is always wrong. . . . If you don't like this store, go somewhere else. (Note: the nearest store is ten miles away and has no goods in it, anyway.)

White offers a complete confirmation of this impression when he writes:

> What is missing is competition. Nobody bothers to put up a striking store front or a beautifully arranged window display. The grocery stores are all run by the food trust; the clothing stores, by the textile trust. It is a matter of considerable indifference to the government, even in peace time,

whether the public chooses to buy its socks or sausages at one particular drab government bureau, or at a similar branch several blocks down the street.

II

If *Report on The Russians* were entirely negative and critical, even though the negations and criticisms were well sustained, it might justly be challenged as unfair. But it is not that kind of a book. I do not think there is any favorable aspect of life under the Soviet régime that White fails to mention and to recognize fairly. Stalin, to him, is "a great man." He is enthusiastic over the idea of co-operation with Russia, in peace as well as in war. His antipathy to Nazism and everything it stands for need hardly be emphasized, in view of his earlier writings.

He finds high praise for the treatment of minor non-Russian nationalities, based on his observations in Kazakhstan. The Russians, as he finds, are superb artists and good farmers. He leans over backward to be fair, even favorable, in his judgment of Soviet foreign policy. "Russia," he suggests, "needs to be dealt with on a basis of delicately balanced firmness and friendliness. To date, the Roosevelt Administration has done an excellent job of this."

Here is perhaps one of the most seriously questionable statements in the book, although White's baying pack of critics do not raise this point. It would be interesting to know where William L. White, or anyone else, could discern much "firmness" in the Administration's dealings with Stalin. However, it is simply laughable to represent the author of such a tribute to Roosevelt's foreign policy as a bitter and implacable Russophobe.

White is scrupulously fair in small things as well as in large. He sets down a favorable impression just as quickly and readily as an unfavorable one. For instance, soon after the episode with the silenced Tass correspondent, he tells how a genial NKVD official takes him and other Americans to a dance and encourages them to take part. When the party visits a church in Leningrad, he is careful to note that the presence of a government official inspires no signs of fear.

When and where he encounters instances of courage, devotion, efficiency, he says so. And when he finds cases of inhumanity, stupidity and incompetence he says so in exactly the same tone of voice. In short, out of his strenuous six weeks' trip he has distilled not a profound study of the Russian Revolution and its aftermath (he would be the first to repudiate such a claim for his unpretentious book), but a fine reporting job, covering a remarkably wide range of subjects with a remarkably high level of accuracy and fairness.

The attractive, human, readable style of his earlier books is there. But, because it deals with a bigger and more permanent subject, *Report on The Russians* is a more important

book and should possess a wider and longer appeal than *Journey for Margaret*, *They Were Expendable*, or *Queens Die Proudly*.

So much for the book — a valuable, honest, unintimidated, human picture of Russia and the Russians, as of date 1944. Now what about the chorus of vituperation it aroused? Some of it was organized, highly organized, from pro-Communist sources. There are few more discreditable episodes in the record of American journalism than the action of a number of correspondents (sixteen, according to the report in the New York *Times*) in signing a blanket condemnation of a book which some of them obviously had not even read.

The intermediary in transmitting the proposed statement of protest from America to Russia was the National Council of Soviet-American Friendship, headed by Corliss Lamont, a name that speaks for itself. The statement carefully avoids any specific factual criticism of the book, and contains a truly extraordinary phrase that casts grave doubt on the ability of any of the signatories to present to the American reading public an objective picture of Soviet realities:

> The book has to be linked with the significance of ignorant and inimical groups here and in Europe, who seek to sharpen distrust and suspicion among the Allies.

Here is a slanderous suggestion, unsupported by a grain of factual evidence, that a book which gives every internal evidence of being the forthright, honest record of an American journalist is in some way mysteriously tied up with anonymous "ignorant and inimical groups." The gross impropriety of such an outburst on the part of individuals who, if they are in Russia, are dependent on the favors of the Soviet censor, and, if they are out of Russia, need the permission of the NKVD to return to that country, ought to impress the dullest mind. Nothing so humiliating to the dignity and independence of the newspaper profession occurred in the Moscow foreign journalistic colony during the twelve years I spent in the Soviet capital.

III

The sixteen names signed to this manifesto are well worth remembering. They are John Hersey, Quentin Reynolds, Richard Lauterbach, Robert Magidoff, Ralph Parker, Edgar Snow, James Aldridge, Raymond Arthur Davies, Jerome Davis, John Fisher, John Gibbons, Alexander Kendrick, David Nichol, Edmund Stevens, Alexander Werth and Ella Winter. Since they assume this tone of superior virtue in relation to White, it would be interesting to examine their correspondence, to follow their lectures and find out how honestly and forthrightly each one of them has dealt with the following indisputable facts of Soviet life:

1) The existence of a large and extremely cruel forced labor system;

2) The control of all news emanating from the Soviet Union by a censorship whose strictness is only exceeded by its stupidity.

3) Striking inequalities in the standards of living between the "upper" and "lower" classes, all the more glaring because of the extreme poverty of the country.

4) Complete absence of freedom of speech and press and expression on all controversial political subjects.

5) The exercise by the NKVD of unlimited arbitrary power over the individual, including banishment without trial to forced labor and even execution.

6) Stalin's habitual bad faith in international relations, as exemplified in the violation of non-aggression treaties with Finland, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia, and complete disregard of the first three clauses of the Atlantic Charter.

I cannot claim that I have read everything that may have been written by the signatories of the statement so obligingly forwarded by Corliss Lamont's organization. But what I have read inspires the gravest doubt as to whether they were well advised to cast aspersions on the objectivity and accuracy of William L. White — or of anyone else, for that matter. They would do well to recall the parable of the glass houses.

The individual reviews in American publications are a little — but only a little — better than this journalistic lynching party, so disturbingly similar to the mass condemnations signed at the time of the Soviet treason trials. The reviewers all seem to start with what appears to me a highly dangerous and disturbing assumption: namely, that to lie about Russia, directly or indirectly, is in the nature of a moral imperative; that nothing must be said that could conceivably ruffle Stalin's presumably tender sensibilities. This degrades honest reporting to propaganda, and it is a good thing for America that there will always be men like William L. White who refuse to accept such a conception of their rôle, who cannot accept a ration system for truth or a preferential point system for untruth.

With tiresome monotony the critics attack White for attributing the drabness and dinginess of the Soviet Union to Communism, not to war. Perhaps he does not make the distinction so clear as it should be. But he scores a valid and indisputable answer on this point when he writes:

> Yes, I know there's a war on. And the British also are shabby. But you can tell that at one time their well-worn clothes were good, while these (the Russians') never were.

Francis Hackett sneers at White's remark about the effortful beauty of the Moscow subway and asks whether this is a "plea for effortless ugliness." But he doesn't play fair with his quotation. For the issue in White's mind was not between beauty and ugliness *per se*, but between the ornate decorations of the Moscow subway and a larger subway system that would have provided much greater

convenience for many more people.

Bruce Bliven rambles and pontificates through two pages of the *New Republic* in order to reach two inane conclusions: that White's book may make the lot of political prisoners in Russia worse and may make harder the work of every foreign correspondent in Moscow.

The work of the honest correspondent can only be helped by White's vigorous and uninhibited presentation of Soviet realities. As for the work of the correspondent who tries to palm off Communist and fellow-traveller propaganda as objective reporting — well, the harder his work is made, the better for all concerned.

There is an amusing contradiction in practically all the reviews. The reviewer, whether he be named Hackett, Bliven, Gannett or Dulles, protests, no doubt quite sincerely, that he is devoted to the ideal of freedom. Then he works up to a high state of indignation with White for offering pretty convincing proof that a free system offers infinitely more than a dictatorial one in humanity, in the dignity that comes from freedom to speak one's mind, as well as in the material things of life.

The *New Republic* review is headed "Emporia Goes to Moscow." What is meant as a condescending sneer is really a compliment. For Emporia, like the thousands of American towns and villages of which it is a symbol, has a pretty decent scale of human values. No kulak has ever been liquidated in Emporia. No intellectual has ever been tortured into signing a false confession. No one in Emporia has ever tyrannized anyone else very formidably through abuse of either economic or political power. No one was ever deprived of life or liberty without due process of law. The Emporias of this country keep their faith in basic American ideals of individual liberty and political democracy — a faith that has worn dangerously thin among some self-imagined cosmopolitan intellectuals.

Abraham Lincoln was thinking of the Emporias of his time when he said that no one could fool all the people all the time. And that is why the Zaslavsky-led campaign to smear and slander and misrepresent a fine and transparently honest description of modern Russia will fail.

At the same time the scope and intensity of this campaign — a product of highly organized totalitarian propaganda and of the defeatist psychology of those whose fear of being labelled "Russophobe" has become a phobia itself — is a cause for disquiet and alarm. Those Americans, in the Emporias and elsewhere, who don't want to see our country chloroformed into the inglorious rôle of a Seventeenth Soviet Republic where no word of criticism of Stalin may be uttered, must be constantly vigilant.

Italian Communists Urge Amity With Yugoslavia

OUTLINE PRINCIPLES FOR SETTLING FRONTIER QUESTIONS

9 5/1

As Marshal Tito's Yugoslav Army battles in the streets of Trieste, the question of that city's future is bound to come under discussion. When he was in Moscow recently, Marshal Tito announced that Yugoslavia would lay claim to Trieste and to the entire Istrian Peninsula which were awarded Italy in 1919.

Italian Communists believe that Italian-Yugoslav border question must be solved on the basis of three principles: friendship toward Yugoslavia, condemnation of crimes commited by Italian fastism against the Yugoslav peoples, rejection of all attempts to retain non-Italian peoples within Italy's frontiers.

As to remaining difficult problems, the Communist magazine Rinascista published in Rome declared recently, their solution "must be sought through direct contact and collaboration between the two peoples in the fight against fascism, against the Germans, and for creation in the two countries of peaceful, democratic and progressive regimes."

Rinascista pointed out that fascist Italy had attacked Yugoslavia and that the democratic Yugoslav peoples were victorious. Whoever tries to separate the question of Italy's frontiers from this fact is a non-realist or a demagogue who "seeks to cause his complicity with fascist imperialism to be forgotten," the magazine asserted.

Some are even trying to point Italy as the chosen barrier against the "advancing tide from the East." Rinascista cited a "high Italian official" who reportedly warned the Anglo-American Allies that their mistakes in Italy would please "the man" in "the cold halls of the Kremlin."

"In the case of our relations with Yugoslavia, the path of speculation on eventual discords among the Allies cannot but lead to new catastrophe," the Communist organ warned.

This is a clipping from page 9 of the Daily Worker for

May 1, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

COMM. PARTY

vs Russia

5 MAY 24 1945

file

161-16-A

NOT RECORDED

87 MAY 16 1945

RECORDED

Soviet Party Orders Large-Scale Shift of Industrial Managers

By Eddy Gilmore
Associated Press Foreign Correspondent

MOSCOW, Dec. 27.—The Communist Party's Central Committee, in a decision made public today, criticized the personnel policies now being followed in Soviet ministries and economic organs and ordered a redistribution of managerial and technical personnel.

Under the decision large numbers of specialists now working in the central regions of Russia will be transferred to enterprises in the Urals, Siberia and other eastern areas of the country.

Orders Specialists Shifted.

This was the latest in a series of postwar measures designed to improve and redirect the work of the administrative apparatus in Soviet industry—a reconcentration of forces aimed at carrying through successfully the Soviet Union's ambitious new five-year program of industrial reconstruction development.

The Central Committee called for redistribution of specialists functionally as well as geographically, declaring that in some enterprises considerable numbers of specialists with higher education are working not in production but in the administrative apparatus. This presaged a further step in the current campaign to get superfluous white collar workers back into production work, where they are most needed.

Topic of Pravda Article.

The Central Committee's decision, which was the topic of Pravda's leading article today, also struck out at what it termed "the facts of domesticity" among the executive personnel in the ministries.

"Where non-Bolshevik manners take precedence," Pravda said, "conditions are created under which in place of a leading group of responsible officials we have a little family of close persons, the members of which strive to live in peace and not criticize each other."

The new decision also demands that Soviet executives "have courage critically to evaluate their own work and speak the truth about the activity of the enterprises they head."

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INDEXED 61-16-4
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FEB 1947

RECORDED

FEB 26 1947

Clipp SHINGTON EVENING STAR for 12-27-46

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Soviet 'Yes Men' Put on Spot By Party Magazine Article

Moscow, Dec. 17 (AP).—A certain type of Soviet official is on the spot.

The magazine Party Life, published by the central committee of the Communist Party, has criticized officials in the party, ministries and government departments for failing to carry out their duties in a responsible fashion.

Accusations by the magazine included the charge that officials were surrounding themselves with "yes men" and flatterers.

E. Andreev, deputy chief of personnel administration, said in the article that an executive transferred from one job to another often took his entire retinue of colleagues with him.

"It has happened," Andreev said, "that weak-willed, unprincipled people who do not cope with their work, do not have their own opinions and are afraid to criticize the bosses have been assigned to executive posts in certain Soviet and economic organizations. The central committee has proposed that the practice of selecting personnel on a 'domesticity' basis be stopped."

Another article in the magazine, written by M. Medvedev, department chief in personnel administration for the party, said that there were still officials who were afraid to take the chance of pursuing a bold action.

61-16-A

Clipping from page 2 Wash Post 12-18-46

RECORDED

REAL GAZETTE
December 13th, 1946

New Fairy Tales a la Russe

(By Bruce Hutchison in the Winnipeg Free Press)

The Russian press has lately denounced the nursery rhymes of the western world as sheer propaganda of the capitalist system. If Russian children are to be saved from such poison, we are told, the old fairy stories must be rewritten to conform to true Communist ideals. As a humble contribution to this worthy project a few samples of safe stories for modern children are hereby respectfully submitted:

❖ ❖ ❖

Once upon a time there was a young Communist named Red Riding Hood and she was as red as her name. As she walked through the woods of Wall Street one day a Banker watched her from his skyscraper. "Aha," said he, "here's my chance to liquidate a Friend of the People." So he hurried to the penthouse where Red Riding Hood's poor old grandmother lived in socialist simplicity with ten faithful servants and a modest fleet of limousines. Having eaten the old Bolshevik up (she was a tough meat) the Banker got into her bed.

"Oh," cried Red Riding Hood, "what big teeth you have, Grandmamma!"

"Let's have none of that old bourgeois nonsense," said the Banker. "You know what I'm here for. Hand over your Victory Bonds and then we'll get on with our business."

But as he sprang at the child to eat her, she opened her red riding hood and 12 members of the N.K.V.D. secret police emerged and carried the Banker off to Siberia after relieving him of his private property. And Red Riding Hood inherited the pent-house and limousines and lived happily as a revolutionist ever afterwards.

❖ ❖ ❖

Once there was a beautiful proletarian named Cinderella who lived with her wicked counter-revolutionary aunts. They refused to raise her wages. They wouldn't agree to a closed shop or the check-off. They rejected the principle of social equality in a classless state.

One day the Soviet Commissar of the Shoe Industry was looking for a foot which would fit the shoes made in the government factory. Alas, no one could wear them, for the Shoe Planning Bureau, by an unfortunate mistake in the Five Year Shoe Plan, had made the measurements too small. Only Cinderella could squeeze her foot into the shoe because she was so thin from starvation in a capitalist household. So the Commissar married her and carried her off in a bullet-proof Cadillac to live in his country estate, where her aunts were forced to work with the rest of the servants according to the principle of equality in a classless society.

❖ ❖ ❖

Once there was a young revolutionary named Goldilocks who became lost in the jungle of St. James Street. There she found herself in the offices of three Bears who had gambled all their money on the expectation that the stock market would decline in the course of the usual capitalist depression. So she opened the private vaults of the Big Bear and the Middle Bear and the Little Bear and seized all their stocks and bonds for the People.

When the Bears returned they found Goldilocks sitting in the Little Bear's armchair with her feet on the desk, smoking up all his Havana cigars and drinking up all his imported whisky. And when the Bears protested she turned them over to the public prosecutor as saboteurs and Trotskyist wreckers. And the joke was on them because the market went up, as it does under a chaotic capitalism, and they lost all their money and spent the rest of their days in the salt mines. And that is how Goldilocks got back on the Gold Standard.

❖ ❖ ❖

Once upon a time a young Communist called Jack climbed up a beanstalk into the castle of a wicked Giant who ground the faces of the poor by employing thousands of men in his factories. Jack quickly organized Communist cells throughout the Giant's industry and called a strike. The workers didn't want to strike, they said they were well paid and received most of the earnings of the factories, but Jack persuaded them that they needed a Revolution to raise their Standard of Living.

And the industry was closed down and the flimsy capitalist economy of the country collapsed and the wicked Giant was purged. For which Jack was awarded the Red Star of Lenin and promoted to take charge of the spy ring in Canada. And the workers lived unhappily on their Unemployment Insurance ever afterwards.

❖ ❖ ❖

Once upon a time there were Three Little Pigs but they grew and grew until they became known as the Big Three. Now two of them fell in with evil companions and embraced Private Enterprise and other unfortunate habits. But the third Little Pig remained true to Communist principles. Having annexed as much of the barnyard as possible and withdrawn into his own corner, he said the other two were encircling him and denounced them as Fascists and tried to organize all the other animals against them.

When the two wicked Little Pigs tried to enforce the vicious bourgeois principle of majority rule, the good Little Pig vetoed everything and thus established the Communist Principle of Unanimity. So all the business of the barnyard came to a stop, and everybody was hungry, and the good Little Pig became a Hero of the People throughout the world, and flew from country to country making speeches in favor of disarmament. And in his devotion to this larger cause the good Little Pig willingly sacrified himself and lived frugally on caviar and vodka and expressed great sympathy for all those who suffered under the Western Bloc.

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PRAVDA HITS SCHOOLS FOR NEGLECTING LENIN

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Dec. 12—Universal improvement in the teaching of the fundamentals of Marxism and Leninism throughout the high schools and universities is called for by Pravda, principal organ of the Communist party, today in an editorial. It stated categorically that the teaching of all subjects must be based on the methodology of Marxism-Leninism.

"Party and Komsomol [Young Communist] organizations cannot be indifferent," the editorial declares, "to the conduct of theoretical lectures, literary debate or readers' conferences, to work and scientific circles, to programs for concerts, to recreation in hostels and dormitories, to the condition of student libraries."

This ideal of the ubiquity of Marxist-Leninist ideology in education is contrasted with conditions in the University of Kiev, capital of the Ukraine, where students have been dragged through "bourgeois nationalistic" theories and where half the student body in the legal, geological and geographical colleges had low marks in ideological subjects.

Ideological subjects have been grossly neglected in the university, the editorial charged, and henceforth the "teaching of all subjects" must be based on the "Marxist-Leninist methodology saturated with Bolshevistic militancy with no reconciliation with anti-scientific bourgeois conceptions."

The University of Tomsk is censured for failure of the party and Komsomol organizations to take part in the political aspects of education.

Pravda asserted that the intelligentsia must possess a Marxist-Leninist outlook and must be devoted to the "great cause of Lenin and Stalin."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lladi
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hogan
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Quinn Tamm

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This is a clipping from page 13 of the New York Times for 12-13-46

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

161-16-A

87 FEB 3 1947

6 MAR 5 1947

Russia - Int. Rel. USSR

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

A Word From Stalin

From the London Daily Mail.

Stalin declares roundly that communism can exist in one country—by which he means that it does not need to be exported. If this could be interpreted as a declaration that Communist interference in the internal affairs of other nations would cease, it would be the most hopeful of the words uttered by Stalin. . . . . Stalin's words may mean much or little, according to whether or not he is still master of the Soviet state. It would be foolish to draw too optimistic inferences from his words, and it would be defeatist to dismiss them as mere talk. It comes to this: Either Stalin's statement makes nonsense of present Russian policy, or Russian policy will make nonsense of Stalin's words.

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[redacted]

Comment of Gen. Deane

100-16-4

MAR 13 1947

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57 APR 5

Clipped from WASHINGTON EVENING STAR for 11-29-46

Communist Party
William Remington
Perjury

File

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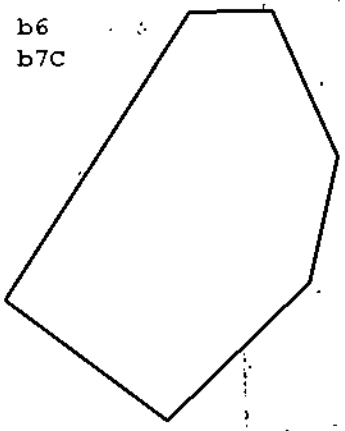

61-16-A

NOT RECORDED
87 JAN 16 1947

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This is a clipping from
Page 1 of the
New York Times for

11-25-46

Clipped at the Seat of
Government.

58 FEB 5 1947

THE HEARST NEWSPAPERS

On January 5, 1935, William Randolph Hearst first warned America against the menace of

RED FASCISM

FOR OVER 14 YEARS the Hearst Newspapers have fought against Red Fascism in America. As far back as January 5, 1935, William Randolph Hearst warned our people against its evils in the following message delivered over a coast-to-coast radio network.

I have to thank the great nationwide network, the National Broadcasting Company, and its distinguished president, Mr. M. H. Aylesworth, for the opportunity afforded me of addressing their vast audience.

The proletariat, as the dictionary defines it, was the lowest order of citizenship in ancient Rome.

This class was without property of any kind, and without the constructive or executive ability to acquire any.

In Russia, during the disorder which followed the World War, this class obtained by force and

long ago as August fourth of last year.

Dr. Ammende is a figure of importance.

He speaks with authority.

He is chairman of the International Committee for the Relief of Soviet Russia.

He said that "in 1933 millions of people died in the Soviet Union because relief was not forthcoming in due time."

Dr. Ammende displayed photographs, issued officially, he declares, depicting the bodies of starved peasants lying in gutters and along sidewalks.

"Last year," said Dr. Ammende, "it was admitted that the grain crop was fair.

"Even then it is estimated that between five million and ten million people died of starvation."

I am using Dr. Ammende's exact words.

"This fall and winter," continued Dr. Ammende, "it will be at least as bad."

This means that five million or ten million more peasants will die of starvation.

And all this is happening in proletarian Utopia.

All these calamitous conditions exist as a direct consequence of this "noble experiment" of Com-

statements that "the tragic import" is that the individual peasants, after they have delivered the grain, "will not keep sufficient to guarantee their existence until the coming winter."

There is the answer.

That is the reason why five million to ten million Russian farmers die of starvation each year.

They die so that Communism and the Communists may be supported, so that the Red Army may be maintained, so that the tyranny of the proletariat—the rule of the least capable, the least successful and apparently the least humanitarian element of the community—may be continued.

And who is expected to maintain the iron despotism of the proletariat?

Who is expected to continue the murderous oppression by the Blood Red Army?

Who is expected to see to it that Russia gets the "much needed foreign exchange" to keep her hideous tyranny, her monstrous and monumental governmental failure going?

Why, of course, we citizens of America; we despised American bourgeois, we American farmers, brothers of the cholotons on the Russian

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is nothing else than power based upon force and limited by nothing—by no kind of law and by absolutely no rule."

No wonder the Congress of the Komintern of the Communists' Internationale declared:

"We proclaim openly that our design can only be realized by the violent overthrow of the entire traditional social order."

And then comes Stalin, in a public address to American Communists, and says:

"The American Communist party must be improved and bolshevized.

"For that end we must work in order to forge real revolutionary cadres and a real revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, capable of leading the many millions of the American working class toward the revolutionary class struggles."

Well, citizens of free America, do we want the cruel class rule of the proletariat in our country?

Do we want a dictatorship based upon force and limited by no kind of law and absolutely no rule?

Do we want to see the violent overthrow of the entire traditional social order?

Do any genuinely American workers want to

ernment.

Is this class, which is the least able successfully to manage its own affairs, the best able to manage the affairs of a nation?

The promised proletarian Utopia in Russia should offer evidence.

It does. And, apparently, all is not well in Utopia.

Despite the assurances of the Russian Soviet, there are evidences of rising revolution against the new regime.

One high official of the government has been assassinated by the revolutionists.

One hundred and seventeen so-called conspirators have been executed for protest against what they call a government of cruelty and incompetence.

Five people have been shot for stealing bread in Moscow, and seventeen have been sent to prison or to Siberia for the same offense.

Two thousand peasant farmers were slaughtered in one day by the Red Army, and many more thousands, driven from their homes, fled into Afghanistan.

What was the crime of these farmers?

It would not be a crime in a contemptible capitalist country like ours.

They merely tried to save from the rapacious Red Army enough of their own grain to preserve themselves from starvation.

So the Red Army shot them down with machine guns and blew them to pieces with bombs from the air.

And as a climax of class cruelty, the firing squads of the Red Army lined fourteen mayors or head men of peasant villages up against the wall and shot them to death, in the name of order, discipline and obedience.

Thus, you see, my friends, there is assassination in Russia.

There is the rumbling of revolution.

There is wholesale execution of political opponents.

And there is starvation.

An Utopia without food is not so satisfying to the plundered or even to the plunderers.

My friends, in this discourse I am not quoting from any place or in any particular from my own publications, lest you might think that their facts are influenced by my opinion.

The truth is, however, that my opinion is determined entirely by the facts.

I am quoting with care from the most conservative and authoritative sources, and from sources entirely outside of my influences.

I repeat that Russia is starving now, and has been starving.

If you do not believe it, read the statement of Dr. Ewald Ammende in The New York Times as by the least executive element of the community, this so-called idealistic, proletarian despotism, which some lunatics in our country desire us to imitate.

Furthermore, all this suffering, starvation, and wholesale death are occurring in the midst of comparative plenty.

Peter Khrisanfov, attache of the Washington Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, said recently:

"In spite of the drought in some sections, the harvest (of 1934) is expected to compare favorably with the bumper crop of 1933."

Apparently then, 1933 had a bumper crop; and still five million to ten million peasants starved to death.

"The harvest (of 1934) is expected to compare favorably with the bumper crop of 1933," and still five to ten million peasants are expected to starve to death this winter.

How is this possible?

Mr. Kossior, well known member of the Moscow Politbureau, gives an inkling of the explanation in a statement before the plenum of the executive committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Ukraine.

"We know by experience," stated Mr. Kossior, as reported in the official organ of the Soviet government, the Izvestia, "that the question is not only how large the crop is but how much grain we shall succeed in collecting.

"That," says Mr. Kossior, "is decisive. And how much we collect depends on us," concludes Mr. Kossior emphatically.

Dr. Ammende also explains.

Says Dr. Ammende, and I am quoting him verbatim:

"All available forces are now mobilized with the object of depriving the producer of his grain—strictly according to the plan drawn up by the Kremlin months ago.

"The very existence of the population of the industrial districts, the feeding of the populations of the big towns, of the members of the Communist Party, of the Red Army, as well as the maintenance of the grain export—the chief source of the Soviet government for getting much needed foreign exchange—depend entirely upon the success of the harvest campaign."

By what method is this grain ravished from the Russian peasants, while they are left to starve?

Harold Denny, Russian correspondent of The New York Times, declares that there is going on in connection with this year's campaign of spoliation, a struggle "of a nature and intensity probably never before seen in the world."

He further remarks that this harvesting campaign is being carried through by the Soviet authorities "like a military offensive."

Doctor Ammende declares in support of these sidewalks and in the gutters; we contemptible and discreditable American capitalists; we misguided and mistaken supporters of a free republic.

We stupid and ignorant believers in liberty and democracy—we are supposed to contribute to the maintenance of the most brutal and bloody despotism that ever disgraced and defiled God's earth.

More people dead by famine in Russia in two years than died in the whole five years' slaughter of the World War, and we are supposed to come to the rescue of the Kremlin, this charnel house built of bones and cemented with innocent blood.

We are supposed to rescue this vile and vicious system of robbery and murder, so that these Communists can in return proselyte in our country to the end that we be robbed and murdered also.

We, to our own undoing, are supposed to save the Soviets from the righteous resentment of their own oppressed people.

How are we going to save the Soviets?

Dr. Ammende points the way.

We must come to their aid with our grain surpluses.

"Economists," says Dr. Ammende, and I quote him verbatim, "have been wondering how to dispose of these surpluses which contribute to the distress of your own agriculturists, and this seems to be a logical reply."

Dr. Ammende then declared that the most tragic feature of the 1933 famine was the fact that while "millions of human beings were dying of hunger in the Ukraine" and other sections of the country, some seventy million bushels of grain—exactly 68,893,323 bushels, according to our United States Department of Commerce—were exported by the Soviets to acquire foreign money.

"There is no doubt whatever," said Dr. Ammende, "that the grain which was exported would have saved the lives of a few million human beings."

Just a few million, says Dr. Ammende lightly; but, continues he sadly:

"Their lives were not saved.

"It is for me," says Dr. Ammende, "a great satisfaction to note that the leaders of the churches and the religious organizations in the United States shared the opinion that the question of relief for the starving people of the Soviet Union must be dealt with independently of the political considerations as a purely humanitarian problem."

How can we regard the question "independently of the political considerations"?

How can we give aid and comfort to a gang of criminal Communists who are robbing and murdering harmless farmers "to acquire foreign money" in order to support the government of the proletariat, and to maintain the Red Army which keeps the proletariat in power?

No wonder Lenin said:

lutionary class struggles?

Do our farmers want to be starved to death to support a Red Army, a bloodstained army which will murder them?

Do our competent business men, who have built the wealth of this nation, want to be plundered and driven out of business by a thriftless and shiftless crew of organized incompetents?

Do our orderly political leaders want to be replaced by a revolutionary band of ruthless assassins?

Does anybody want the bloody despotism of Communism in our free America except a few incurable malcontents, a few sap-headed college boys and a few unbalanced college professors, who teach the young and inexperienced that the robbery and rapine of Communism is—God save the mark—ideology?

Of course the Soviets will say that Mr. Harold Denny, Russian correspondent of The New York Times, lies; that Dr. Ewald Ammende, honorary secretary of the International Aid Committee for the Starvation Districts of Soviet Russia, lies; that Cardinal Innitzer, who is president of the committee, lies; that Dr. Ammende's official photographs lie; that the Izvestia, official organ of the Soviet government, lies; that Mr. Kossior, well known member of the Moscow Politbureau, lies; that everybody lies; that there is no famine in Russia, no oppression in Russia, no murder in Russia; that there is nothing in Russia but peace and prosperity, and harmony and contentment—nothing but brotherly love and tender solicitude for the welfare of all.

But in spite of the utter lack of liberty in Russia, in spite of the total suppression of free speech, in spite of the utter abolition of free publication, in spite of military censorship, in spite of universal terrorism—the truth is slowly leaking out of Russia.

And the truth is that revolution is rife, starvation stalks starkly across the land, executions are commonplaces, murder a routine of government; and that the national colors of Communism are daily dipped in the blood of subject classes to keep them bright.

The truth is that government by the proletariat, government by the least capable and the least conscientious element of the community—government by the mob, government by ignorance and avarice—government by tyranny and terrorism—despotism "limited by nothing, by no kind of law and by absolutely no rule"—is the fearful failure that it needs must be and definitely deserves to be.

I thought, my friends, that you might like to know the plain, uncensored truth.

I am glad that this free country of ours permits me to tell it to you.

W R Hearst

DEMOCRACY OF RUSSIA EXTOLLED BY EMBASSY

Official Bulletin Hails the Regime as 'Higher Type, a System of True Popular Government'

PRAISES FREEDOM OF PRESS

By EDWIN L. JAMES

There have been published in many other countries reports tending to show that Russia is run by a minority made up of 5,500,000 members of the Communist party (Pravda's figures), which comprise only 3 per cent of the population of the country. There have been other reports that the party controls all the high posts; that the one-slate election system prevents the choice of any but candidates which are hand-picked by the party. Other reports have had it that there was a systematic crushing of political opposition, which had placed in "re-educational camps" more than 11,000,000 Russians guilty of not agreeing with the party. There have been still other reports, based perhaps on the growing food difficulties in the U.S.S.R., that all was not entirely happy in the land of the Soviets.

These matters and others are disposed of in the most recent Bulletin of the Soviet Embassy in Washington. Even though it has been only about a year since the Russians dropped the expression "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" in favor of "Democracy," the Bulletin says it has been democracy which has ruled all the while in Russia, since the revolution of 1917.

One article in the Bulletin distributed by the Soviet Embassy is headed "Soviet Democracy Is a Higher Type of Democracy." It does not say explicitly whose democracy is not so high as the Russian; but it covers the whole field. Signed by N. Matyushkin, it begins by saying:

"Under true democracy, the people should be sovereign; they should exercise government authority, and dispose of the resources of the state."

How It Is in Russia

Then the writer goes ahead to show that is how it is in Russia. "The Soviet Republic was a most democratic country from its very beginning," he explains. He adds: "All citizens are equal in elections, with no one having more than one vote."

He lays down the proposition that the real backbone of Soviet democracy is that private property has been abolished. He explains:

"One of the major features that make the Soviet democracy a true democracy is the fact that no one can use private property to exploit others. That is also the main distinction between Soviet democracy and bourgeois democracy. For it is obvious there can be no real equality between an employer, an owner of the means of production, and the worker, who is at his economic mercy."

Further, he finds that "As the country as a whole progresses, life improves for all its people, for all who work honestly."

"The people of the U.S.S.R. enjoy wide liberties," writes Mr. Matyushkin, "freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, freedom of assembly, freedom to hold street processions or demonstrations."

Freedom of the Press

The author is especially emphatic about freedom of the press, apparently determined to wipe out accusations that Government censorship plays any role in what he regards as freedom of the press.

"Furthermore," he declares, "Soviet democracy does not merely confine itself to proclaiming these various freedoms, but stresses the guarantee of exercising them. The Soviet system, for example, not only proclaims freedom of the press for the working people, but places at the disposal of the latter and their organizations the necessary printing plants and stocks of paper."

In conclusion, the author says:

"Soviet democracy [illegible] us both a new and higher type of democracy. Here the people have indeed attained to their rightful place in the State, have become the masters of their country."

And: "There have never been such intimate ties between the people and the Government as in the Soviet Union. The masses of the people in the U.S.S.R. have forever linked their destiny with the destiny of the socialist system."

The Political Aspect

The next article in the Embassy's Bulletin is entitled "The Soviet System—A System of True Popular Government." It is written by Prof. N. Kareva.

The professor declares:

"In the Soviet Union the principle of the sovereignty of the people operates most consistently and to the fullest possible extent. Here the action of the Government, in domestic government as well as in international affairs, fully conforms with the wishes of the people. Here the people are the real sovereign, undivided masters determining the destinies of the country, shaping the trend and content of the state's domestic and foreign policies."

The author calls the Soviets of Working People's Deputies "the most democratically elected bodies in the world." He then explains that: "The highest organ of authority, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., is elected, as all the other Soviets, on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot and is likewise accountable to the people."

He adds: "Where the people are as one, there is no room for fierce struggle among various sections of society over every major question of policy, as is the case wherever the people are split into antagonistic classes."

About Small Nations

The Bulletin contains also another article presenting Russia as the champion of small nations. It goes into post-war diplomatic activities. It points to Molotov's defense of the rights of Albania, and it gets down to the Trieste debate with this:

"The firm stand of the Soviet Union on the Trieste question exposed the efforts of several states, who under cover of wordy speeches on geography, ethnical and similar topics, strove to convert Trieste into a naval base at the threshhold of the Balkans and create a center for permanent pressure on Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and other Balkan and Central European states."

After telling how the Russians prevented the plans of rich countries to exploit and crush smaller countries, the article declares: "The U. S. S. R. resists all attempts to force upon Germany's former satellites any foreign interference in their economic life and all attacks upon their state sovereignty and national dignity."

And here is a paragraph which could stand further elucidation:

"The Soviet Union also defends the rights of small countries which were formerly Germany's satellites and who are now launched on the path of democracy."

The reference probably is to Rumania and Bulgaria.

It then recalls how Moscow protested Hungary, saying, "It cannot be allowed that each of the Allied and Associated Powers should deprive Hungary of foreign assets."

In an article in Pravda, M. Simonov, Russian playwright, says that all Russian writers and actors must fight to spread the ideas of the blessings of communism, for "we consider that communism is the only correct road into the future for humanity."

The official Bulletin of the Russian Embassy in Washington goes right along with Mr. Simonov.

This is a clipping from page 2 of the New York Times for 11-24-46

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIET 'UNAFRAID' OF 'EXPANSIONISTS'

Continued From Page 1

will begin tomorrow morning with parades and demonstrations by troops and workers.

Wallace Remark Cited

General Zhdanov attacked slanderers of the Soviet Union in the United States and Great Britain naming "Winston Churchill and his ilk." Premier Stalin had exposed this blackmail, he added. Former Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace's remark that for every inch of anti-American criticism in Pravda, official organ of the Communist party, there were a thousand inches of anti-Soviet criticism in the United States press was cited as proof of the extent of the anti-Soviet campaign.

Soviet policy is "clear and definite," General Zhdanov declared: it is one of collaboration with all peace-loving states.

The Soviet policy for collaboration toward the prevention of further aggression has met opposition, he asserted. In Paris, he said, the peace program encountered opposition from reactionary circles, particularly those of Britain and the United States, who employed the votes of the small states to support their anti-democratic tendencies.

These tendencies, General Zhdanov declared, had been exposed, particularly in discussion of the problems of Trieste and the Danube. Therefore, he said, no satisfactory solution had been reached on a number of questions, and the principle of equal rights of states was violated.

Here General Zhdanov cited Mr. Wallace's speech and added, "In the war they praised our courage; now, when we want to play our part in the establishment of peace, they slander us."

Reaction Seen as Weaker

However, the forces of reaction have weakened since the war, he asserted, pointing to the victory of the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria and the feats of the Conservatives in England and France as reflecting the tendencies to the Left in those countries.

General Zhdanov's flat statements reinforced—if reinforcement were needed—what the Soviet press has been saying about international collaboration and world peace since the end of the peace conference. But his position as a member of the Politbureau emphasizes that the Soviet Government is far from pleased with the results of the Paris conference and that it will continue its struggle in the United Nations against any rupture of the veto right or "equality of nations."

But his speech was full of hope despite the frank picture General Zhdanov gave of internal conditions. The Soviet Union, entering the thirtieth year of its existence—and he noted that two wars had taken up about a fourth of the State's life—had accomplished enough to point to "the invincibility of our cause and the strength of our system," he said.

Banishing Alien Influences

During the war it was difficult, General Zhdanov emphasized, to satisfy the ideological requirements of the people. This is now being done and the work of alien influences is being eliminated from Soviet life.

The importance of the harvest is not lost sight of in the midst of the celebration of the achievements of Soviet industry. It is noteworthy that Pravda today devoted its editorial to an appeal for an intensified "fight for a large harvest of grain," and asked that this be combined with an increase in the number of cattle.

The same newspaper published what appeared to be an impressive array of figures attesting the manner in which various industries scattered throughout the Soviet Union had fulfilled or over-fulfilled their production plans for October in honor of the anniversary of the Revolution.

Oil production in the western and southern regions over-fulfilled the plan for the month by 101.1 per cent; in the eastern regions, the same figure was achieved, and Pravda noted that this was 20 per cent above last year's figures.

A Festive Air

In terms of general industry it was reported that the Leningrad area had fulfilled its production plan for October by 109.8 per cent and the plan for the first ten months of 1946 by 107.6 per cent.

As for the celebration, Moscow's streets for the last twenty-four hours have worn a festive air under gray skies.

The three-day holiday will be a boon to the people who, in their pursuit of the aims of the Five-Year Plan, have worked at a tremendous pace in 1946. Today and for ten days past they have been reassured of the success of their efforts by articles in newspapers recounting the achievements in industry, transportation and agriculture.

The citizens of Moscow face the celebrations with a stoic attitude. The rest is good; it is good, too, to know that their labor is meeting with success. It will be even better when the flow of consumer goods increases and the shop windows are filled to the bursting point.

In the land of plenty pictured by the newspapers, all should be well fed, well clothed and well housed.

Stalin Hails Soviet System

LONDON, Nov. 6 (U.P.)—An order of the day issued in the name of Premier Stalin as Generalissimo told the armed forces of the Soviet Union tonight that in the war years the Soviet order "has proved quite obviously * * * its uncrushable might and its excellence over the capitalistic order."

"Having carried out its great historic mission in the rout of fascism, the Soviet Union new consistently fights for a stable, democratic peace throughout the world, for the security of nations and for honest cooperation between countries. * * *" said the statement, as broadcast by the Moscow radio.

"The armed forces of the Soviet Union have the task to defend watchfully the peace they have conquered and the creative labors of our peoples, to safeguard reliably the interests of the Soviet Union. Fulfillment of these honorable tasks demands from all Soviet warriors an understanding of their military duty, an irreproachable service and ceaseless perfection of their military and political knowledge."

To this end, the order said, all hands must study the battle experience of the war and "new attainments of military science and techniques," and must adopt them.

Speech Disappoints Briton

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Nov. 6—General Zhdanov's speech today, with its attack on Britain and the United States, and its hostile tone, came as a disappointment to many Britons. In view of Premier Stalin's recent conciliatory press interviews, it had been hoped that the Soviet policy line, at least theoretically, would be orientated along more friendly directions than those manifested by Foreign Minister Molotov and his deputy, Andrei Y. Vishinsky.

Comment here in recent weeks has speculated on the division in high Soviet ranks, with some experts guessing that Mr. Stalin was preparing for a change in tactics, even though not in strategy. The disappointment heard in London, therefore, is that there is no evident change in Soviet policy.

The British reaction to General Zhdanov's speech could well be summed up in the phrase that druggists put on medicine bottles when they renew a prescription: "The mixture as before."

Soviet 'Unafraid,' Zhdanov Asserts; Stalin Order Urges Preparedness

By DREW MIDDLETON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Nov. 6—The Soviet Union will not be intimidated by exponents of aggressive expansionism who are undermining international collaboration, Col. Gen. Andrei Alexandrovich Zhdanov asserted in a speech tonight.

General Zhdanov, who is secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party, chairman of the Supreme Soviet and a member of the Politbureau, speaking before the Moscow Soviet in the Bolshoi Theatre here, added that Russia would continue to fight for security and the prevention of further aggression.

[Premier Stalin, in an order of the day, told Soviet armed forces that "the present absence of a direct military threat must not give rise to self-assurance and complacency," The United Press reported. "Constant battle-readiness of the Soviet Army and Navy are a pledge of security of our country and of stable peace throughout the world," he added.

[The order of the day was issued in Premier Stalin's name, but was not signed by him, nor did he attend the Moscow Soviet session, press services said, speculating that he again was absent from the capital and vacationing in the south.]

General Zhdanov's speech sounded the keynote as from the Baltic to the Pacific the Soviet Union prepared for the three-day holiday that will mark the twenty-ninth anniversary of the October Revolution of 1917 in which the Bolsheviks rose to power. The celebration

Continued on Page 34, Column 1

Tolson
Mr. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Herbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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INDEXED

9 1946

This is a clipping from page 1 + 34 of the New York Times for 11-7-46

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

61-16

58 JAN 3 1947

This Changing World

By Constantine Brown

The attention of the world was focused more in the last 10 days on the midterm elections in the United States than on the activities of the U. N. Assembly, the Security Council and the Council of Foreign Ministers. While in previous years there has been only a limited interest in the American elections because the public abroad considered them as having little bearing on the other countries, the results this year are expected to have an important bearing on the domestic political trends all over Europe.

The fact that Russia has centered her attention in our domestic political affairs has awakened an unprecedented interest in our elections in the nations within and outside the iron curtain.

The conflict between the American politicians who are the U. S. S. R.'s advocates openly and those who oppose the immixture of foreign ideologies in this country has been handled even more spectacularly abroad than at home.

* * * *

The Soviet government, either directly or through its many agents and sympathizers, is playing an important role today in Europe, Asia and Latin America, where there is a definite attempt to "termite" the governments which still stand for an "old-fashioned" democracy.

The European and Latin American countries have watched with anxiety the increasing power of the Third Internationale—which has been officially disbanded, but is actually stronger than ever before in camouflaged form—in well and solidly built democracies. Even in England, where personal and political freedom has been established for centuries, there are indications that the Communist agents are gaining strength. Hardships, hunger and confusion are the best assistants of the Soviet agents whose task it is to disrupt the existing order because, according to the top Soviet leaders, including Stalin, communism and "capitalism" can not live side by side. In Russia and in the satellite countries capitalism and democracy have become synonymous.

Next Sunday the French people are going to the polls. The Communists still represent a minority in that country, but they are by far the best organized party and have more money than all the other French political parties put together. And money counts for a good deal in French politics.

Since the end of the war, the individualistic Frenchman, who likes "to try everything once," has been impressed by the skillful propaganda of Russia's agent. As in the United States, the Soviet ideologies have made tremendous strides not only among the politicians, but among the rank and file of the people.

* * * *

Our strike wave, which has been no more severe than after World War I, has been described by propagandists abroad as an indication that the people of this country have had enough of the democratic system. The public utterances of Americans in political life such as Henry Wallace, Claude Pepper and other lesser luminaries were exploited as representing the true sentiments of the American people and had a telling effect on the European and Latin American democracies. It was being said that if the Americans could no longer stand the old order which was of their own choosing and not imposed on them by trickery, it was obvious that every other country should follow the Russian pattern.

It is in this light that the outside nations have been following the campaign and election results in the United States.

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EX-6

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Clipped from WASHINGTON EVENING STAR for 11-6-46

6 C FEB 28 1947

File

V. I. LENIN

MARXISM

INDEXED 26 NOV 19 1946

This is a clipping from
Page 9 (Mag) of the
THE WORKER

Date 10-27-46.
Clipped at the Seat of
Government.

FIVE

V. I. Lenin

By Maurice Dobb

V. I. Lenin

By Maxim Gorky

It would be a difficult task to paint his portrait. Lenin's words were as much a part of his appearance as scales are that of a fish. He was as simple and straightforard as everything he said. His heroism is surrounded by no glittering halo. His was that heroism which Russia knows well, the unassuming austere life of self-sacrifice of the honest Russian revolutionary intellectual who, in his unshakable belief in the possibility of social justice on earth, renounces all the pleasures of life in order to toil for the happiness of mankind. . .

I can still see vividly before me the bare walls of a church on the outskirts of London, absurdly unattractive; the lancet windows of a small, narrow hall which might have been a classroom in a poor school.

Any resemblance to a church stopped at the outside of the building. Inside there was no trace of anything ecclesiastical, and even the low pulpit, instead of standing at the far end of the hall, was placed at the entrance, midway between the two doors.

First Meeting

I had never met Lenin before this, nor read as much on him as I ought to have done. But what I had managed to read, and above all the enthusiastic accounts of those who knew him personally, had attracted me strongly toward him. When we were introduced, he shook me heartily by the hand, and scrutinizing me with his keen eyes and speaking in the tone of an old acquaintance, he said jocularly: "I'm glad you've come. I believe you're fond of a scrap? There's going to be a fine old scuffle here."

I did not expect Lenin to be like that. Something was lacking in him. He had a jaunty way of standing with his hands poked up under his armpits. He was somehow too ordinary, did not give the impression of being a leader. As a literary man, I am obliged to take note of such little details, and this necessity has become a habit.

. . . Before me now stood a bald-headed, stocky, sturdy person, speaking with a guttural roll of his "r's" and holding my hand in one of his, while with the other he wiped a forehead which might have belonged to Socrates; and he peered affectionately at me with his strange bright eyes. He began at once to speak about the defects of my book Mother—he had read it in the manuscript. I was hurrying to finish the book, I said,—but did not have time to say why before Lenin with a nod of assent himself gave the explanation—Yes, I should hurry up with it, such a book is needed, for many of the workers who take part in the revolutionary movement do so unconsciously and chaotically, and it would be very useful for them to read Mother. "The very book for the moment." That was the only compliment he paid me, but to me it was a most precious one.

Then he went on to ask in a business-like way if it was being translated, whether it had been much mangled by the Russian and American censorship? When I told him that the author was to be prosecuted, at first he frowned. Then threw back his head, closed his eyes and burst into his peculiar laugh.

. . . Rosa Luxemburg spoke elo- All this was unusual, and Lenin seemed to say it not of his own will, but by the will of history. The unity, completeness, directness and strength of his speech, his whole appearance in the pulpit—it was as a work of classic art: everything was there, and yet there was nothing superfluous, and if there were any embellishments, they were not noticed as such, but were as natural and inevitable as two eyes in a face or five fingers on a hand. He gave a shorter speech than the orators who spoke before him, but he made a much greater impression. I was not alone in feeling this. Behind me was an enthusiastic whispering: "This man has something to say." It really was so. His conclusions were not reached artificially, but developed by themselves, inevitably.

. . . His free minutes or hours he spent among the workers, asking them about the most petty details of their lives.

"What about your wives? Up to the neck in housework? But do they manage to learn anything, to read anything?"

Once in Hyde Park a group of workers, who had seen Lenin for the first time were discussing his conduct at the Congress. One of them made a striking remark.

"For all I know there may be others in Europe as clever as he asked. "I'm just looking to see if the sheets are well aired." At first I didn't understand. Why should he want to know what the sheets were like in London? Then, noticing my perplexity, he explained: "You must take care of yourself."

It would be difficult to convey how easily and naturally all his impressions flowed in the same channel. With the invariability of a compass needle, his thoughts turned in the direction of the class interests of the working people. On one of our free evenings in London some of us went to a music hall.

Vladimir Ilyich laughed gaily and infectiously at the clowns and comedians and looked indifferently at the rest. He paid especial attention to a scene depicting timberfelling in British Columbia. The small stage showed a forest camp and in the foreground two young fellows hewed through the trunk of a tree about a meter in thickness in a minute. "That's for the public, of course," said Ilyich. "They couldn't work as quickly as that in reality. But apparently they use axes there also, and cut up a lot of wood into useless chips. There's civilization for you!"

He began to speak about the anarchy in production under capitalism, the great percentage of raw material wasted, and ended by regretting that no one had as yet thought of writing a book on the subject. The idea wasn't quite clear to me but I didn't manage to question Vladimir Ilyich. He was already making some interesting remarks about the pantomime as a special form of the art of the theatre. "It is the expression of a certain satirical attitude towards generally accepted ideas, an attempt to turn them inside out, distort them, to show the arbitrariness of the usual. It is a little involved but interesting! . . ."

Many Interests

. . . He asked in detail about the life of the Capri fishermen, their earnings, the influence of the priests, their schools. I could not but be surprised at the range of his interests. When a priest was pointed out to him, the son of a poor peasant, he immediately asked for information as to how often the peasants send their children to the seminaries, and whether the children returned to their own village as priests.

I cannot imagine another man who, so far surpassing other people, could yet remain unaffected by ambitious cravings, and retain a lively interest in simple folk.

He possessed a certain magnetic quality which drew to him the hearts and sympathies of the working people. He didn't speak Italian, but the Capri fishermen, who had seen many outstanding Russians, by a sort of instinct put Lenin in a special place at once. His laugh was so enchanting—the hearty laugh of a man who, so well acquainted with the clumsy stupidity of human beings and the acrobatic trickery of the quick-witted, could find a pleasure in the childlike artlessness of the "simple in heart." An old fisherman, Giovanni Spadaro, said of him: "Only an honest man could laugh like that."

We would go rowing sometimes, on water blue and transparent as the sky, and Lenin learned how to catch fish "with his finger"—using the line alone, without the rod. The fishermen explained to him that the fish must be hooked when the finger feels the vibration of the line. "Cosi: drin, drin. Capisce?"

A second later he hooked a fish, drew it in and cried out with childish joy and a hunter's excitement: "Drin, drin." The fishermen roared with laughter, gay as children, and nicknamed the stranger "Signor Drin-Drin." After he had gone away, they continued to ask: "How is Drin-Drin getting on? The tsar hasn't caught him yet?"

. . . He was intrepid by nature, but his was not the mercenary daring of the gambler; in Lenin it was the manifestation of that unusual moral courage which could only belong to a man with an unshakable belief in his calling, to a man with a profound and complete perception of his connection with the world, and perfect comprehension of his role of enemy of that chaos. With equal enthusiasm he would play chess, look through A History of Dress, dispute for hours with comrades, fish, go for walks along the stony paths of Capri, scorching in the southern sun, feast his eyes on the swarthy-faced children of the fishermen. In the evening, listening to stories about Russia and the country-side, he would sigh enviously and say: "I know very little of Russia - Simbirsk, Kazan, Petersburg, exile in Siberia, and that is nearly all."

He loved fun, and when he laughed it was with his whole body, he was quite deluged in laughter and would laugh sometimes until tears came. He could give to his short characteristic exclamation, "H'm h'm," an infinite number of modifications, from biting sarcasm to non-committal doubt; and often in this "H'm, h'm" one caught the sound of the keen humour which a sharp-sighted man experiences who sees clearly through the stupidities of life.

Stocky and thick-set, with his Socratic head and quick eyes—he would often adopt a strange and rather comical posture—he would throw his head back, inclining it somehow onto his shoulder, thrust his fingers under his armpits, in his waistcoat armholes. There was something deliciously funny in this pose, something of a triumphant fighting cock; and at such a moment he beamed all over with joy, a splendid human being, who had to give himself as a sacrifice to hostility and hatred, so that love might be at last realized.

V. I. LENIN

MAXIM GORKY

SPEAK

RUSSIAN

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Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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TOP BILLING on Elizabeth's passenger list went to Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov (second from left), who talks with New York's greeting man, Grover Whalen. On Molotov's left are (l. to r.) his Deputy Minister Vishinsky, U.N. Delegate Gromyko, Ambassador Novikov.

INDEXED
NOT RECORDED
NOV 12 1946

This is a clipping from page 11 of the Daily Mirror
Date 10-22-46
Clipped at the Seat of Government

JAN 16 1947

File

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Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington

Soviet Radio Urges Backing PAC To Prevent 'Reactionary' Congress

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Oct. 20—The Moscow radio attacked the present United States Congress tonight as a tool of "reactionary" interests and expressed hope that voters in the United States would support "progressive" candidates in the elections Nov. 6.

In an English-language broadcast intended for listeners in the United States and Britain, A. Ossipov commended the candidates backed by the CIO Political Action Committee. He said the "advanced public" of the United States knew that "if the hopes of the Republicans for a dominant position in Congress are vindicated this would mean a national disaster for the country, the end of democracy in America."

"It cannot be denied," the commentator declared "that the majority of the old Congress at times tacitly and at times very eloquently strengthened the expansion of the dollar or atomic foreign policy of reactionary circles in the country, a policy dangerous for the United States and for peace throughout the world."

Mr. Ossipov also lashed out at United States "newspaper magnates"—he named "McCormick, Patterson (Sic), Howard and the others"—who, he said, are fond of the old Congress because it has been dominated by "Uncle Sam's dollar bag." [Apparently he was referring to Col. Robert R. McCormick of The Chicago Tribune, Roy Howard of Scripps Howard newspapers and Joseph M. Patterson of The New York Daily News, who died sime time ago.]

"They support the interests of Wall Street," he declared, "at least as much as the Seventy-ninth Congress has done. That is why they disorientate and mislead the American voter and do not spare printers' ink in an effort to distract him from the interests of the election campaign and hence from the real

Continued on Page 15, Column 2

Not Continued on Page 15

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RECORDED

INDEXED

NOV 15 1948

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for 10-21-48

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

File

Soviets Cut Defense Fund, Raise Housing, Wage Budget

MOSCOW.—The Supreme Soviet of the USSR prepared today to approve a first postwar Soviet budget which cut defense expenditures by nearly half, increased expenditures in housing and social welfare, increased wages, and more than doubled the appropriation for science. Minister of Finance A. G. Zverev, head of the budget commission, proposed before a joint session of the two parliamentary houses last night to slice defense expenditures from the 1944-45 war years' 137,800,000,000 rubles to about 70,000,000,000 rubles.

Despite the reduced defense appropriation, Zverev estimated that the total budget for the next fiscal year will be larger than last year's by 12,000,000,000 rubles. He proposed revenues of 330,400,000,000 and expenditures of 319,300,000,000, including 8,000,000,000 for hgiher wages and 5,000,000,000 for science.

Radio Moscow, in a broadcast heard in London, said more than 300,000,000 had been assigned for construction of new homes in Moscow alone.

"The enemies' plans that the Soviet Union should come out of the war weakened faled long ago. Now the hopes of enemies that the Soviet Union would be unable to cope with postwar difficulties are being smashed," Pravda said.

"The 1946 budget points to the unshaken strength of socialist economy and the undrainable forces of the Soviet regime."

Thirteen hundred delegates to the Council of the Union and Council of Nationalities crowded into the Kremlin hall to listen to Zverev's speech.

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87 NOV 14 1946

This is a clipping from
Page 13 of the
THE WORKER

Date 10-20-46.
Clipped at the Seat of
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FIVE

58 JAN 15 1947

File

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BEST SELLER

By FRANK C. WALDROP

TO HIS astonishment and surprise, your Uncle Samuel has just hit the jackpot with a 25-cent best seller. In fact, sales have outstripped production on it so far and so fast that the Government Printing Office is rushing extra print orders to catch the quarters while they're hot.

The title of this fast-moving item is *Communism in Action*, a documented study and analysis of what goes on in the Soviet Union.

It is House Document No. 754 of the Seventy-ninth Congress, second session, and was prepared by the legislative reference service of the Library of Congress at the direction of Representative Everett M. Dirksen (R.) of Illinois.

You, too, can have a copy by addressing the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, North Capitol and H Sts. NW., Washington, D. C., AND, of course, enclosing 25 cents, one-fourth part of a dollar.

You will learn how the Communists live and move and have their being, in the Socialist fatherland. See them walk, see them talk, watch them eat one another alive. Yes, sir.

JUST a minute, ladies and gentlemen. Don't buy until you've had a chance to see how others like it. Don't spend your money until you've had a chance to see whether users are satisfied with the product.

Mr. Dirksen's office released a modest 500 copies through the House Document Room of the Capitol on August 30. They vanished overnight, grabbed off mainly by newspaper and radio correspondents.

The House Committee on Printing authorized another 500 for distribution to members of Congress only. Those, too, were soon all spoken for.

Since then the House Document Room has been referring all applicants to the Government Printing Office and yesterday when this writer called up to find out how things were, a weary clerk said for Pete's sake don't send anybody else around there.

They were worn out with re-directing traffic. Tell everybody to see the GPO.

THE GPO sales division reports that since August 30, or 45 days ago, it has sold more than 11,000 copies and still is being swamped with orders. Its present supply is exhausted but the printing division promises deliveries before the end of the month.

In all, the printing division has now booked orders for 33,711 copies of *Communism in Action* to meet demand from individual members of Congress, executive agencies of the Government, and libraries.

"For the time it has been in print," said a GPO sales official yesterday, "this is a terrific demand.

"We don't advertise, you know, and people have to write in or come in to get things. We don't have any branch stores or salesmen, either."

And so it is. When you compare this record of 33,711 ordered copies of a single Government publication in 45 days with the "best seller" performances of commercially distributed books it is even more amazing.

THE ordinary best seller gets that way through a combination of shrewd publicity and advertising on a national scale, plus word of mouth help from early readers, plus the secret of the book's natural interest.

This one has had to live on word of mouth advertising alone, except for the brief news stories around August 30. Considering all that, the record is an astonishing evidence of interest in the facts about communism.

SO HEREWITH a brief adding up of some points it makes so you can judge whether you care to risk a quarter to find out the rest of the story. Let's just take one item that is seldom discussed. You'll find it on Page 54 under the chapter heading, "Forced Labor." It begins:

"Undoubtedly one of the most troublesome of all the Soviet institutions to present and discuss without passion is the institution of forced labor.

"Although the government publishes no statistics regarding the camps in which prisoners are concentrated—and thus confuses and throws out of line all its other employment statistics—there can be no reasonable doubt that in the Soviet Union several million workers are employed under police discipline and receive only miserable keep for their labor.

"The government makes every effort to conceal the existence of these camps. No foreigner or correspondent is ever permitted to see them.

"Correspondents accredited to the country do not dare to tangle with the censors and the NKVD regarding this matter. One Canadian newspaperwoman who succeeded by wile in gaining entrance to a concentration camp was quickly expelled from the Soviet Union."

THE first of these camps—in character and operation exactly like those of the Nazis in Germany, by the way—was started in 1923. Says the report:

"They grew rapidly in the 1930's when it was apparently decided to keep most of the 'liquidated' alive and working for the state rather than to kill them.

"The men and women—for there are very large numbers of women among them—work on railways, highways and canals, cut timber, mine metals and minerals, fill swamplands, help on large construction projects and open up new areas for settlement. Some are segregated in barracks and work in heavy industries."

NICE, pleasant way to run a country, isn't it? And the Communists are at work over here to destroy the U. S. A. in the same way.

We finance, feed and actually rescue from destruction a country that not only runs itself after the fashion of Hitler's Germany but openly declares its intention to put the whole world under the same system. Better spend that quarter. But in the meantime:

TOMORROW: *Who goes to concentration camps in Russia, and why?*

WASHINGTON TIMES HERALD
MORNING EDITION
DATE 58 FEB 7 1947

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JAN 24 1947
INDEXED
RX-11

Stalin's 'No War' View Stirs World

By REMBERT JAMES

MOSCOW, Sept. 24 (AP).—Prime Minister Stalin's statement that he saw no real danger of a new war and believed that Russia and the western democracies could live peacefully together evoked world-wide interest today.

The Russian leader asserted, however, that speedy withdrawal of U. S. troops from China is vitally necessary for the maintenance of peace, and that "demilitarization and democratization of Germany present one of the most important guarantees for establishment of a sound and long peace."

In answer to questions submitted Sept. 17 by Alexander Werth, Moscow correspondent of the London Sunday Times, Stalin said the atomic bomb is not so "serious a force as certain politicians are inclined to regard it."

"Atomic bombs are intended for intimidating weak nerves," Stalin wrote, "but they cannot decide the outcome of war, since atomic bombs are by no means sufficient for this purpose. Certainly monopolist possession of the secret of the atomic bomb does create a threat, but at last two remedies exist against it:

"(a) Monopolist possession of the atomic bomb cannot last long.

"(2) Use of the atomic bomb will be prohibited."

Asked whether he thought Britain and the United States were forming a "capitalistic encirclement" of the Soviet Union, Stalin replied that the "ruling circles" of the two western democracies could not form such an encirclement "even if they wanted to do this, which, however, we cannot affirm."

'Absurd' Charges

The Prime Minister said he believed "unconditionally" that Russia and the western democracies could collaborate in a friendly manner for years to come.

Questioned about accusations that Moscow dictated the policies of Communist parties in western Europe Stalin said such accusations were "absurd" and "borrowed from the bankrupt arsenal of Hitler and Goebbels."

On the possibility of a new war, he said:

"I do not believe in a real danger of a 'new war.' The noise is being raised about a 'new war' mainly by military-political scouts and their few supporters from the ranks of civilian officials."

WASHINGTON, Sept. 24 (UP).—Former Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace today said that statements by Russian Premier Stalin and former British Secretary Eden have "brought hope to those millions all over the world who are hungry and thirsting for peace.

Wallace, ousted from the Cabinet last Friday after his go-easy-on-Russia speech, issued his statement from his hotel apartment.

Wallace said the Eden and Stalin statements encouraged him "to believe the recent flurry is indeed constructive."

He apparently referred to the controversy climaxed by his dismissal.

LONDON, Sept. 24 (INS).—London evening newspapers today devoted most of their front pages to the interview by Premier Stalin.

The Evening Standard headlined:

"Stalin speaks—no war."

The Evening Star declared:

"Stalin's well-timed contribution to the cause of world peace ...should serve as a cold shower to some fevered brows in America particularly...

"It is what ordinary people in every land wanted to hear ...the contrast between this calm statement and the scare-mongering chatter of preventive war between America and Russia will not be lost on millions of people who are sick of conflict."

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RECORDED
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87 OCT 29 1946

This is a clipping from page 2 of the Daily Mirror
Date 9-25-46
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56 JAN 30 1947

file

Stalin Asks Cleanup On Collective Farms

12 9-21

The Soviet Union yesterday launched a widespread clean-up of the collective farm system under a direct order from Generalissimo Joseph Stalin establishing "The Council on Collective Farm Affairs."

A decree signed by Stalin and A. A. Zhdanov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, declared the **"democratic foundation"** of the collective farm system was threatened by the criminal activities of regional, district and farm officials of the system.

These activities, the decree said, were **"extremely dangerous for all Socialist construction of the USSR."**

(Moscow Radio, broadcasting on the purge, said some officials were accused of taking farm cattle, produce and money for their own uses and that **"officials responsible for gross irregularities in connection with the administration of collective farms, which are widespread, must be brought to justice."**

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27 SEP 26 1946

This is a clipping from page 12 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 9-21-46

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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Red Columnist Hits Communism Report

By the Associated Press

MOSCOW, Sept. 11.—Izvestia's Columnist R. Moran today attacked the documentary book "Communism in Action" published September 1 by order of the United States Congress.

The columnist said this publication was made up from "libelous writings of all kinds of anti-Soviet slanderers" who have swelled the American book market "with hideous publications."

Labor Day was chosen for the time of publication, in order to detract attention of Americans from "surrounding reality," it was charged.

Creators of the report "stand before the whole world and the American people in an ugly light," Moran concluded.

The 141-page review of Russian economic, social and political institutions was published at the instance of Representative Dirksen, Republican of Illinois, who had it prepared by the staff of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. The report said it was apparent from a speech made by Prime Minister Stalin last February that Russia "intends to develop war power equal to the present might of the United States" and that Prime Minister Stalin "has said in effect that he expects future world conflicts."

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50 MAR 1 1947

Clipped from WASHINGTON EVENING STAR for 9-11-46

File

Communism in Action

Living Conditions Have Risen Unevenly in Soviet, Report Says

(This summarizes chapters on "Living Standards" and "Agriculture" in the report, "Communism in Action," prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress at the instance of Representative Dirksen, Republican, of Illinois.)

Despite a gradual but steady rise in Soviet living conditions, wide variations exist in such standards of individual Russian workers and groups, the report declared. Great differences also are found between the general living standards of the U. S. S. R. and those of many other countries.

The war lowered living standards to a bare subsistence level for great numbers of Russian people. Another factor cited by the report as hindering uniform development and improvement is "the deliberate government policy of concentrating first on rapid industrialization in the interest of building a modern economy and later in preparation for expected war."

While most of its material rests on prewar accounts, the report stressed current "inequalities" in wage scales and special privileges and in agricultural as well as industrial worker earnings.

Offset in Part.

These, from the Russian viewpoint, are offset in some measure by many free or low-cost services provided by the state and by "increased security due to lack of unemployment and phychological satisfactions due to the cultural rise," the report asserts.

The report quoted Henry A. Freund as follows:

"When dividing into ideal and material values the component elements constituting the standard of living, the improvement of the former in comparison with pre-revolutionary standards is enormous. The education of the great majority of the population to literacy and to an active participation in the cultural, political and social life of the nation has elevated the Russians to a level hardly dreamed of under the reactionary regime of the Tsars."

Although unable to obtain official price indices and family budget figures since discontinuance of such publication in 1930, the report provided more detailed data on industrial wage rates and public services than on agricultural production.

Land Hungry Despite Size.

It pictured the U. S. S. R., notwithstanding its size, as "land hungry." It conceded that some phases of the collective marketing procedure "represent an unusual degree of free enterprise in the Soviet Union and they have done much to increase the income of the collectives and their members."

But "inequalities are substantial," in peasant incomes, according to the report. There are differences not only between individual farmers' earnings but between the prosperous and the poor collectives. Other inequalities arise from classification of positions, piecework and bonus systems, and variations in returns from household plots, the report stated.

Control of agriculture in Russia is not only a matter of state ownership of all land and strict governmental direction and planning of the scope and nature of work for each collective. It also is subject "to a considerable measure of control, partly official and partly unofficial, by the Communist party," the report declared.

"Comparison of government control of agriculture in the Soviet Union and in the United States indicates how inadequate the word 'planning' is," the report continued. "We have seen in this country an increasing amount of planned agricultural production and prices since the great agricultural depression of the 1920s. We have had a great variety of price-supporting measures and crop control schemes as well as the more traditional types of Government technical and financial assistance.

Imposed From Top.

"The decision whether or not to adopt plans propose, however, has remained largely with the farmers themselves. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, the government's control figures constitute the master plan to which the collective's operations must be geared."

The report found no reliable estimates of the monetary value of peasant farmers' income. Many of the "inequalities," it explained, result from the "workday credit" system, which is to the advantage of the prosperous co-operatives and better situated household plots.

The work credit procedure is described as follows:

"Each able-bodied member of a collective is obliged to perform a specified amount of work for the collective. The governing body of the collective determines the amount each year, subject to certain minimum standards prescribed for all collectives. The specified amount of labor to be devoted to the collective is expressed in terms of workdays. A workday is measured, not in terms of time, but in terms of the type of work performed and the quality of the performance. Production quotas are established for various kinds of work. The number of workdays credited for one actual day's work may vary from one-half to two, depending on the type of work and on performance in relation to the quota. Skilled work, such as tractor driving, is given a higher evaluation than unskilled work. In other words, one member may earn the number of workday credits prescribed for the year in far less actual working time than another.

"The member is largely free to spend the remainder of his time as he chooses. He may earn extra credits, work on his individual plot, or engage in other work. There appears to have been a steady increase in the proportion of working time given to the collective, the average having been nearly 60 per cent before the war."

Money Not Accurate Guide.

Concerning standards of living of Russian industrial workers, the report explained that money is not the only form of remuneration. It also pointed out that great fluctuations in the purchasing power of the money, the large percentage of income spent on food and the scarcity of consumer goods must be taken into account in determining how well off any worker or group of workers is.

The report included statements that office workers in 1935 averaged 234 rubles a month, engineers 436, unskilled workers 118. It added that from 1935 to 1939 "a gradual rise in real wages was experienced," although considerable variation continued among groups.

"Due to the system of piecework and bonuses now in operation in Russia," the report said, "it has been stated that the average earnings of higher-paid grades may well be five or six times that of the lowest grades. Stakhanovites (highly skilled workers) generally receive a bonus of 100 per cent or more over the normal wage of their grade."

Peasant Standards Improve.

"Peasants, comprising more than 50 per cent of the population, are still the "underprivileged" group in Russia but their living standards gradually are improving, the report states. It goes on:

"Although peasants are now consuming a greater amount of bought goods than formerly, this is partially offset by the fact that not nearly so many articles are now produced on the farm. Native handicrafts, formerly very extensive in the rural areas, have greatly diminished. On the other hand, peasant consumption of such items as meat, butter, sugar and soap is said to have greatly increased. In 1939 rural co-operatives sold such articles as gramophones, cameras, bicycles, sports and athletic goods to the amount of 980,000,000 rubles.

"The Soviet Union appears, however, to continue to suffer from a problem of rural overpopulation, in spite of the drawing off of great numbers of peasants to the cities. It has been suggested that there can never be a very high standard of living in the collective farm, while 1,200 acres must support 75 or 80 families."

The Red Army is one of the most privileged groups, together with party officials, plant managers, intellectuals and the usually skilled workers. But the report showed, officers earn from 800 to 2,400 rubles a month as compared with 10 rubles for the ordinary private, or 21 while on the line.

Plant Managers Well Paid.

Plant managers who might receive $50,000 a year in the United States for comparable work earned 2,000 rubles before the war "although such remuneration was about nine times the average wage in the U. S. S. R. at that date." They enjoyed special privileges such as a car and free vacations and sometimes received production bonuses which might equal or exceed their annual salary.

The "intellectuals" fared so well in comparison with most other Russian workers that they often owned automobiles before the war and "talked of owning a helicopter after the war," the report stated.

Telling how the Soviet government determines the amount, kind and prices of consumer goods to be sold through consumer co-operatives regulated by the state, the report declared that "the distributive network appears to be very limited, considering the number of people to be served."

It referred to "the tendency to sacrifice quality of consumer goods in an effort to increase production." It commented as follows on reasons for the short supply of such goods:

"By far the most important factor contributing to the inadequacy of supply of consumer goods was the allocation of manpower and materials to heavy industry. Other factors of lesser importance have included, according to one writer, the overall population increase; new demands made because of the influx of rural people to the cities; and a higher level of demands on the part of workers, due to the government program of education.

Cultural Items Forge Ahead.

"In line with the latter policy, production of cultural items, such as books, phonographs, radio and art reproductions, as well as the building of theaters and concert halls, has gone forward more rapidly than production of other types of consumer goods."

The newest five-year plan gives more attention to consumer goods production but still devotes first consideration to heavy industry, the report observed.

Low-cost housing, social security, social services, rest homes and educational and recreational facilities of living.

An acute housing shortage exists because the urban population nearly trebled prior to the outbreak of the war. The report recalled that private ownership of real estate was abolished in 1920, but former owners retained some rights to houses. Houses not privately owned are administered by housing departments of state agencies.

"Big apartment houses at low rents furnish the most common type of housing in cities, former six-room apartments being allotted to workers on the basis of one family per room, with common use of the bathroom and kitchen," the report continues. "Private houses may be leased with free choice of tenants but under state supervision and subject to price control and to restrictions regarding eviction.

Union Members Get Extras.

"Increasing numbers of workers are housed in buildings constructed or assigned by state enterprises for their workers. And occupants may be ousted for infringement of labor discipline, without provision for other housing."

The social insurance budget covering all factory workers and officers and administered by the trade unions exceeded 10,000,000,000 rubles in 1945, the report stated. Contributions come entirely from employing enterprises.

"Trade union members," the report added, "are said to receive preferential treatment with regard to social insurance and services, receiving the double amount of sickness insurance benefits awarded to nonunion members in equivalent situations, and priority in accommodations at restrooms and sanatoria."

The report provided the following statistics on medical and social services: 13,461 rest centers in 1941, 139,349 physicians in 1941 and 112,405 in 1938 as compared with 53,162 in 1928; 661,431 general hospital beds in 1941. The report presented comparative figures indicating that the available Russian hospital facilities on the basis of population in the 1930s were considerably below those of England and Germany.

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Mr. Leach
Mr. Carroll
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Egan
Miss Gandy

ING STAR for 9-4-46

Report Says Soviet Chiefs Plan Military Might Second to None

(The following is a briefing of the chapters on "National Defense" and "Government" in the report on "Communism in Action" prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress at the instance of Representative Dirksen, Republican, of Illinois.)

The Soviet government, described as firmly established under "dictatorship" of the Communist party, was said by the report to be making plans for "very impressive" future potential military might.

Foreign Minister Molotov is quoted as declaring that "The government and the leadership of the Red Army are doing everything to insure that * * * our army may be in no way inferior to the army of any other country."

The present military strength of the Soviet Union is not equal to that of the United States, the report points out, but the Russian "ideal military age group" is expected within the next 20 years to almost double that of the United States.

2 Million Army Potential.

"According to official prediction," declares the study, "within the 20-year period of development foreseen by Premier Stalin in his speech of February 9, 1946, the population of prewar Russia will reach 250,000,000. By including the inhabitants of annexed Baltic states the Soviet Union may increase its population by an additional 100,000,000 or more by 1970. By that time prewar Russia alone probably will have about 32,000,000 men between the ages of 20 to 34 years, with 22,000,000 of them in the ideal military-age group of 20 to 29 years.

"Within the same period," continues the report, "the population of the United States may reach 160,000,000 with 18,000,000 men between the ages of 20 to 34 years, about 10,500,000 of them between 20 and 29.

The report then adds significantly: "The Soviet Union's 32,000,000 men in 1970 will almost equal the combined military age manpower of the United States, Britain, France, Germany, and Italy."

Basic Policies Cited.

Basic national defense policies of the U. S. S. R. were cited from official statements made by her leaders as:

"1. Support of the United Nations Organization for collective security, and

"2. Maintenance of a strong army and navy as a guaranty of security in case of failure of international measures."

Soviet national defense policies, the report points out, also emphasizes the economic potential for military action, with increased provision for scientific research and development, particularly with respect to the use of atomic energy.

Pointing out that preparations for the national defense are based broadly on a series of 5-year plans for the period 1946-70, the documented study said it was apparent from [illegible] Union claims more than 50 per cent of the known world supply of many minerals and other raw materials vital to industrial growth and national defense.

Particularly, the report continues," the U. S. S. R. claims over half of the known oil reserves and iron-ore deposits of the world. In agricultural resources important to national defense, the Soviet Union is rivaled only by the United States.

Decentralized Industry.

The Soviet government has planned decentralization of industry, it was asserted, so that industrial concentrations may never again be trapped by an invading enemy. The process of decentralization was accelerated by the war, and was said to be continuing.

On this point the report said that in spite of enemy occupation of many of her most important prewar industrial areas, the Soviet Union succeeded in supplying equipment to keep pace with the vast expansion of her army during the war.

But the report added simply, but with some emphasis: "The supply of equipment was greatly aided by lease-lend from the United States."

The Red Army was said to have almost every conceivable type of armament and equipment needed in modern warfare, including engineering machinery and motor vehicles.

Two features of the Red army distinguish it from others, it was explained. The first of these is that an officer generally must serve as a soldier before receiving a commission. The second is that promotion is by selection and not by seniority. These rules are consistent with the Soviet principles that every one must start as an ordinary worker and that each shall be rewarded according to his work. Stress is laid on both "military education and cultural activities," throughout the army it was asserted.

Power of Party Stressed.

Throughout discussion of the structure of both government and national defense systems, the report stresses the power of the Communist party.

Speaking for instance of "Communist control," in national defense, the report declares: "The Communist party now controls the top military hierarchy. Party and army leaderships are so interwoven as to be almost indistinguishable. At the top these leaderships are merged in Premier Joseph Stalin, who combines in his person the offices of general secretary of the Communist party, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, and generalissimo of the Soviet Union (commander in chief)."

A decree of February, 1944, it was pointed out, established a separate defense commissariat and national army for each constituent republic of the Soviet Union. The effect of this system would be to strengthen the role of the party as the one interlocking and all powerful organization, depriving the military of any organizational framework parallel and possibly rival to the party. Restraint on publicity given to army [illegible] Secretariat, Politburo, and Orgburo of the party, and so is Malenkov one of the members of the Presidium. M[illegible] responsible positions are held b[illegible]rty members.

"The party has considerable, generally accepted legislative powers. In the earlier years of the regime party Congresses adopted a policy, and this was subsequently enacted by the Soviet Congresses, but during the five-year plans many directives in the economic field were issued direct by the party to government departments and had the force of law. The five-year plans themselves have been programs of the party. From 1932 onward an increasing amount of legislation came into force under the joint signature of the secretary of the party and chairman of the Council of Ministers. In any case the presence of party groups in all legislative bodies insures that the party policy shall be adopted and their influence in administration and all channels of information insures that it shall be carried on.

"The relationship between the party and the government is openly acknowledged: . . . The dictatorship of the party is certainly very firmly established."

Party Line Leadership.

The report asserted that it was under Stalin's leadership that the party became "an instrument for registering the party line."

"The critical decisions of the 1920s," added the study, "the pace of development under the 5-year plan, the collectivization of the farms, the role of the Communist Internationale, were inevitably criticized for going too fast or as compromising with Communist ideals; and gradually all of the independent thinkers of the early days were eliminated from the party.

"Blind obedience to Stalin's command became the law," the report asserted. "The revised party constitution of 1934 demanded absolute obedience and discipline, and provided for the purge of all undesirables ranging from 'hostile elements' to 'double dealers who cheat the party and conceal from it their actual opinions'."

Explaining the nature of the Soviet government, the report said the U. S. S. R. is a federation of 1[illegible] constituent republics, a federation which combines strong political centralization with wide local cultural autonomy.

Structure of Government.

The structure of the Soviet government since the 1936 constitution the report points out has much in common with western democratic systems. There is a federation of republics. There is a Supreme Soviet consisting of two houses, one representing the republics, and the other representing the whole population of the union, elected by secret ballot on a geographical basis. There is universal suffrage. The usual rights are guaranteed. The constitution was said to have been hailed as representing the "highest form of democracy."

But, the report added: "The real nature of government behind the facade is quite alien to western tradition, and is based on the philosophy and power of the numerically small Communist party, which began as an illegal revolutionary group at the end of the last century, and which seized power in 1917 in the tottering, overcentralized and economically backward Empire of the Czars. The goal of Communism seen by Marx and adopted and adapted by Lenin as the basis of [illegible]

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Pointing out that preparations for the national defense are based broadly on a series of 5-year plans for the period 1946-70, the documented study said it was apparent from a recent speech by Premier Stalin that the U. S. S. R. intends to develop war power equal to the present might of the United States.

Stalin in effect said, according to the report, that "he expects future world conflicts."

Goals Set by Stalin.

"He has set goals," said the study, "for scientific achievement and for agricultural and industrial (potentially military) production sufficient to insure the Soviet Union against 'all possible accidents', or eventualities."

The 5-year plan for 1946-50 attaches much more importance to scientific research particularly with respect to national defense measures, said the report. The highest priority is given to atomic development. Technical resources, the study emphasizes, "are under tremendous pressure to catch up with the American-British atomic combine."

Among elements of the 5-year plans for the long range 1946-70 period are listed the following:

"1. Increase of steel production to 60,000,000 tons annually. (The United States produced 80,000,000 tons in 1945.)

"2. Increase of pig-iron production to 50,000,000 tons a year, almost the equal of the United States' output in 1945.

"3. Annual production of 500,000,000 tons of coal. (The United States mined 575,000,000 tones of bituminous coal in 1945.)

"4. Production of 420,000,000 barrels of oil. (United States production in 1945 was about 1,700,000,000 barrels.)"

To Expand War Plants.

The survey points out, however: "In considering these figures it should be borne in mind that the high United States production in 1945 was attained under the pressure of war, with greatly increased plant capacity. United States production may taper off within the next few years. The Soviet Union plans to expand the plants she built during the war."

While the United States begins to foresee the end of some of its richest deposits of natural resources the report declares, the Soviet

is laid on both "military education and cultural activities," throughout the army it was asserted.

Power of Party Stressed.

Throughout discussion of the structure of both government and national defense systems, the report stresses the power of the Communist party.

Speaking for instance of "Communist control," in national defense, the report declares: "The Communist party now controls the top military hierarchy. Party and army leaderships are so interwoven as to be almost indistinguishable. At the top these leaderships are merged in Premier Joseph Stalin, who combines in his person the offices of general secretary of the Communist party, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, and generalissimo of the Soviet Union (commander in chief)."

A decree of February, 1944, it was pointed out, established a separate defense commissariat and national army for each constituent republic of the Soviet Union. The effect of this system would be to strengthen the role of the party as the one interlocking and all powerful organization, depriving the military of any organizational framework parallel and possibly rival to the party. Restraint on publicity given to army generals works toward preventing their rise to political power through military fame alone.

Russians Navy Strength.

The Russian Navy, said to consist of 204 major ships, was ranked third among the great powers, with the United States first, with 756 major ships, and Great Britain second with 491. The Red Navy was reported to be distributed in four fleets, the Baltic, Black Sea, Pacific and Northern, and in several flotillas.

Precise terms were cited as having been worked out for co-operation between the Red Navy and Army. The Russian Marines, formed under Peter I, were listed as a small part of the arm forces of the nation, but were said "to have won the affection of the people." During the recent war, the marines operated "on nearly all fronts and fought in the most dangerous sectors."

The Red Army and Navy each has its "air arm."

The report devotes seven pages to a detailed description of the Soviet government, outlining its latest developments, and pointing out both the strength of political centralization and the power of the Communist party.

"The most important ways by which the Communist party directs the machinery of government," says the report, "are by the overlapping of personnel at the top level, by assuming legislative powers either independently or jointly with the Council of Ministers, and by control of Soviet mass organizations by party groups.

Fusion at Top Level.

"The fusion at the top level is striking," declares the report.

"Stalin," explains the study, "is secretary-general of the party, and member of the Orgburo and Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, besides being supreme commander in chief. Six vice chairmen of the Council of Ministers are also members of the Politburo. Zdhanov, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, is a member of the

viet government, the report said the U. S. S. R. is a federation of 1 constituent republics, a federation which combines strong political centralization with wide local cultural autonomy.

Structure of Government.

The structure of the Soviet government since the 1936 constitution the report points out has much in common with western democratic systems. There is a federation of republics. There is a Supreme Soviet consisting of two houses, one representing the republics, and the other representing the whole population of the union, elected by secret ballot on a geographical basis. There is universal suffrage. The usual rights are guaranteed. The constitution was said to have been hailed as representing the "highest form of democracy."

But, the report added: "The real nature of government behind the facade is quite alien to western tradition, and is based on the philosophy and power of the numerically small Communist party, which began as an illegal revolutionary group at the end of the last century, and which seized power in 1917 in the tottering, overcentralized and economically backward Empire of the Czars. The goal of Communism seen by Marx and adopted and adapted by Lenin as the basis of his party is still the professed goal of the Communist party. The revolutionary technique of the dictatorship of the proletariat devised by Lenin as the only way of moving the inert mass of unawakened Russia is still the basis of Soviet philosophy."

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Miss Gandy

Russian Potentials

One of the more interesting and significant points suggested by "Communism in Action"—the document compiled by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress—is that prospective population growth constitutes another of the several factors that seem to make almost inevitable Russia's rise to a level of power likely to approximate America's by the end of the century—if not sooner.

Although such forecasts must always be viewed with a realization that the future is an imponderable thing that can upset the most careful of today's calculations, there is no reason—on the basis of currently known facts—to doubt "Communism in Action" when it estimates that by 1970 the population of the Soviet Union will total 250,000,000, of whom 32,000,000 will be men between the military ages of 24 and 34 years, the latter group including 22,000,000 in the ideal 20-to-29 bracket.

This estimate takes on special meaning when read against comparable statistics projected for the United States. Thus, according to expert calculation, our American population by 1970 will be in the neighborhood of 160,000,000, with 18,000,000 in the military age group of 20 to 34 years and only 10,500,000 of these in the ideal 20-to-29 bracket—a level made relatively low by the Soviet manpower potential.

The advantage of numbers, of course, can be greatly overrated. As of today, our manpower, industrially and otherwise, is on the whole far more skilled than Russia's, and this technological superiority probably will remain ours for some decades to come. Nevertheless the anticipated increase in Soviet population (the figures given here exclude the satellite countries and the annexed Baltic states) represents a prospect of profound importance, the more so because, as estimated by "Communism in Action," the 32,000,000 Russians who will be of military age in 1970 will not only dwarf our American total in the same category but will come close to equaling the combined total for the United States, Britain, France, Germany and Italy.

With all its natural resources, moreover, and with its hard-driving system of five-year plans for economic and industrial progress, the Soviet Union—which conceivably may yet undergo a political evolution for the better—will certainly advance technologically. By 1970 it may still be considerably behind us in this respect, but the story may be quite different twenty or thirty years later. In any event the Russians have the promise of a great destiny that can enrich not only themselves but the whole world, east and west. The big question—central to the question of reconciling ideologies and establishing an enduring peace—is whether they will make the most of their opportunities without riding roughshod over the interests of other lands.

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for 9-3-46

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Miss Gandy

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NATIONALIST TREND FOUGHT IN UKRAINE

Communist Party Tells Critics and Authors to Present Truer Picture of Russia

By DREW MIDDLETON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Sept. 2—The drive to root out ideas "alien to the Soviet people and hostile to Soviet ideology" has extended to the Ukraine where, at a two-day meeting of writers of the republic, three publications and a number of authors were severely censured for spreading theories connected with Ukrainian nationalism.

The meeting was described at length in an article from Kiev in the newspaper Pravda this morning. The report concluded with an admonition from the Central Committee of the Communist party to Ukrainian writers, ordering them to close ideological ranks and give firmer support in literature to Soviet ideology.

The denunciations and self-criticism at Kiev followed a pattern that is becoming increasingly familiar.

Immediately after Pravda, on Aug. 21, announced the Central Committee's decision to close the Leningrad literary magazine, Leningrad, and the committee's sharp criticism of writers of that city, Leningrad's writers held a similar meeting at which they exorcised the evil spirits of "Western bourgeois ideas" that had crept into the literary life of the city.

The Central Committee's instructions to Ukrainian writers to mend their ways and present a truer picture of Soviet life were similar in form to those issued by the committee to the State Arts Committee, as was reported in Culture and Life yesterday. In that case the playwrights were urged to give a better picture of Soviet life and Soviet ideology.

Western Plays Criticized

The Works and Arts Committee was criticized by the Central Committee for permitting plays by western authors with their "propaganda of reactionary bourgeois ideology and morals."

Today's Pravda, in addition to the article from Kiev, published a digest of the Culture and Life article on the theatre. All told, the Communist party's newspaper devotes nearly two-thirds of a page to the campaign to purge Soviet intellectual life of "alien and anti-Soviet ideas."

"Bourgeois nationalistic ideas propagated in 'The History of the Ukrainian People and Its Culture' and other ideas alien to Soviet ideology" were denounced by Ukrainian writers at the Kiev meeting. They also discussed "serious mistakes and deviations" of Ukrainian writers and the lack of leadership among writers, Pravda reported.

A book, "A Survey of the History of Ukrainian Literature," published by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, was condemned because it had separated literary history from the class struggle and had said nationalism was a decisive factor in the development of literature.

The Academy's publication, it was charged, ignored progressive leaders in Soviet literature, exaggerated the influence of western European literature and failed to emphasize the ties between Russian and Ukrainian literature.

Bourgeois Trend Seen

"All this is nothing else than a rebirth of the bourgeois nationalistic ideas of the historian Gruschevsky and his school," the Pravda writer asserted, after pointing out that the literary history hid differences between progressive and reactionary thought in Ukrainian literature in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

Three literary publications were criticized for forgetting "the fundamental ideological demand of the Communist party" and for publishing works "alien to the Soviet people and hostile to Soviet ideology."

Three writers and four critics were denounced at the meeting for not hewing closely enough to the party line in literature. Two other writers denounced themselves before the meeting, but it was held that this action failed to absolve them of their responsibility.

L. Smilyansky, an author who "openly opposes the Ukrainian people and culture to the Russian people and culture" was denounced at the meeting, as was A. Kundzich, who was charged with spreading the idea of patriarchal self-generating origins of the Ukraine's people and its culture.

A woman writer, V. Tcherdnichenko was charged with "idealizing the remote past and distorting the life of the Soviet people" in her works.

The critics, L. Kovalenko, I. Pilguk, G. Lazarevsky and Ostop Vishnya, were criticized for distorting actual life.

P. Panch and Y. Gorodsky were charged with spreading the idea that a writer has the "right to make a mistake." Both men are members of the presidium of the Writers' Union of the Ukraine and they denounced themselves before the writers' meeting.

Pravda reported that although most of the writers seemed conscious of their mistakes, the speech by the woman writer was unsatisfactory because she "accepted criticism of one of her stories ungraciously."

Party Seeks More Members

MOSCOW, Sept. 2 (UP)—A steadily widening intellectual purge designed to rid the country of nationalist, foreign and generally "anti-Soviet" ideas was reported today in the Russian press. At the same time the Communist Central Committee for Moscow opened a membership drive, intended to strengthen the party.

A Pravda article reported the powerful Communist Central Committee's offensive against the theatrical world in general, complaining especially against the presentation of undesirable foreign plays that conflict with Communist ideology.

The Communist committee said its membership drive was intended to get politically conscious engineers, technical personnel and other workers for the five-year industrial campaign.

The immense new Red Proletarian machine building plant has recruited only three new members during the year, the committee said, while the Stankolit plant had recruited only four and the automobile industry and machine building industry of the capital area had recruited only 288 altogether.

As part of the campaign against dangerous foreign ideas, the magazine Culture and Life published an article by Konstantine Simonov, who recently returned with Ilya Ehrenburg from a visit to the United States, belittling the American theatre.

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61-16-4
NOT RECORDED
56 OCT 2 1946

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page 4
New York Times

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63 OCT 22 1946

PURGE OF THE ARTS SET IN LENINGRAD

Communist Party, Writers Act on 'Decadence' in Literature, Drama, Radio—Leaders Hit

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Aug. 22—Communist party organizations and writers of Leningrad have decided unanimously at two meetings to purge Leningrad's literary circles, theatre, movies and radio of all traces of foreign "decadent art." They also have voted to rededicate themselves to increasing the ideological level of these media so that the Soviet people will be helped in the tasks now confronting them.

The two meetings were presided over by Andrei Zhdanov, a member of the Politbureau and secretary of the Leningrad party organization. The resolutions passed at the meetings were published in stories four columns long in every Moscow newspaper today. The party meeting assured "the Central Committee of the party and Comrade Stalin that the Leningrad party organizations will eliminate the exposed defects and fulfill the decisions of the Central Committee."

Since Nicolai Tikhonov, chairman of the board of the union of Soviet writers, did not supervise the Leningrad branch of the union closely enough and "failed to act against the dangerous influences of non-Soviet writers," the Leningrad party committee considered it necessary to request the Central Committee to strengthen the leadership of the union "and place at its head a more enduring, reliable leader" to direct its activities.

Mikhail Zostchenko and Anna Akhmatova, whose work was criticized violently in Pravda yesterday in an article that announced the closing of the literary magazine Leningrad and the censuring of Zvezda, the other Leningrad literary periodical, and other writers had "a disintegrating influence" on writing in Leningrad, westernmost of the large cities of the Soviet Union.

Three other writers, Yagdfeld, Sadofyev and Kommissarova, were attacked at the party meeting for "ideologically weak" writings, while a resolution adopted by the writers declared their works had "sowed the spirit of worship of modern Western bourgeois literature."

The resolution adopted by the party organizations was purposeful. It declared that the city party organization believed that conditions exposed by the Central Committee "apply in full measure" to the guidance of other sections of ideological work—the theatre, radio, and movies.

The party also noted that "these vicious phenomena" in Leningrad's ideological life had not been criticized with sufficient sharpness by the newspapers Leningrad Pravda, Smena and Vercherny Leningrad.

The local party committee castigated its own membership, admitting that its direction of party organizations to the "guidance" of Leningrad's writers had been weak, and drew attention of all bureaus of the regional city party committees to the necessity for ending the indifferent attitude to literature and art.

In the future, these bureaus will draft "concrete measures for the speedy elimination of the deficiencies already pointed out and to strengthen the agitation and propaganda departments of the regional and city party committees" with reinforcements well trained ideologically.

The writers were called upon to "reflect the interests of the people and the State" and "train Soviet youth in a high feeling of patriotism."

The writers' resolution contains an admission of the charges against Leningrad literature. It attacks the works of Mr. Zostchenko, Miss Akhmatova and others that surpasses in virulence that in the original article in Culture and Life. "Alien" and "prerevolutionary" are about the mildest epithets directed against writers who a few weeks ago occupied important positions in Leningrad literature.

The writers said they regarded the decision of the Central Committee as "a document of enormous principle and a program of great significance in determining the direction for the development of Soviet literature."

The Leningrad writers' "high quality artistic works" of the future will reflect "the majesty of our victory, the pathos of rehabilitation and Socialist construction and the heroic deeds of the Soviet people in fulfilling and overfulfilling the new Stalin five-year plan."

At the same time, the writers pledged themselves to "a merciless fight against ideallessness, vulgarity, political aloofness and sliding to positions of so-called 'pure art.'"

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56 SEP 23 1946

This is a clipping from page 2 of the New York Times for 8-23-46

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53 OCT 5 1946

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Ivan's Comeback

We have rather sad news about our old friend Sergei Eisenstein, whose famous films, *The Cruiser Potemkin* and *Ten Days That Shook the World*, taught the boys out in Hollywood a number of cute angles about photography and montage and are even said to have made the proletarian revolution fashionable among some of the Pompeian bathroom set out there. It seems that in going round some of the recent tummy twisters and spine tanglers Sergei inadvertently got his trolley off the party line and has steered himself straight into the doghouse, for all we know into the very next compartment to Marshal Zhukov.

For some time, as you may have heard, Mr. Eisenstein had been working on a new film based on the life of Tsar Ivan IV, who was surnamed "The Terrible" by his ungrateful subjects. Possibly Mr. Eisenstein had got his impressions about Ivan from the mendacious bourgeois or fascist historians he might have read during his visit to the United States some years ago, or perhaps from a silent movie on the same subject made in the late 1920s by the players of the Moscow Art Theater. In that picture, as we remember it, Ivan was not correctly portrayed as a gentle and loving father to his people and a scourge to their enemies; but as a rather sadistic old gentleman with unpleasant fondness for torture, murder, religiosity and sexual aberration, who maintained himself in power by a sixteenth-century-style cheka called the *oprichniki*.

Doubtless the whole thing was a dirty piece of smear technique, arranged by some Trotskyist conspirators, but a great many ingenuous people were gulled into supposing that the real purpose of the picture was to discredit the *ancien regime*, and to show what life under the nasty old tsars was really like.

Alas, Mr. Eisenstein's Ivan seems to have a rather close resemblance to the one in the earlier picture. There must have been a slipup somewhere; perhaps the directive was sent to the wrong address, or something. Anyway, Mr. Eisenstein's picture has now been denounced as "antihistorical and antiartistic" by the organ of the propaganda and agitation board of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, because it portrays Ivan not as the "progressive statesman" that he really was, but "as a scoundrel who behaves in a crazy manner, surrounded by many young cutthroats." Accordingly, the government has forbidden exhibition of the second part of the film in Soviet territory as well as release of it to the export trade, and production of a contemplated third part has been abandoned.

Not many years ago, you may remember, the word went forth that the Russian movie industry would drop all propaganda and compete openly with Hollywood for the cheesecake and fantasy trade. This was a bit rough on Mr. Eisenstein, whose specialty up to that time had been propaganda film. Now, however, it has been decreed that Hollywood style "fairy tales" are both vulgar and counterrevolutionary, and under the new Five Year Plan all Russian pictures must be the kind that "make audiences think," and must therefore be ideologically correct. Perhaps Mr. Joseph E. Davies, Prof. Frederick L. Schuman and the Very Reverend the Dean of Canterbury will be engaged as script writers.

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56 SEP 27 1946

clipping from page 10
Wash Post
7-16-46

Socialist World Soviet Aim, Times Moscow Writer Says

Finds Even Russian Art Lacking in Creative Spirit and Vitality—Views Poor Work as Result of Political Strait Jacket

By BROOKS ATKINSON

The atmosphere of Moscow is abnormal. All normal communication being cut off with the outside world, the intellectual climate is stagnant. Behind the iron curtain of censorship, the emotional reactions to rumors and also to facts are neurotic. When news is removed from its normal background in the day's events and manipulated for the purpose of conditioning opinion, specific items often come as a shock.

The report of Mr. Churchill's speech at Fulton, Mo., was not published in the Soviet Union for a few days, presumably while the Soviet leaders were deciding how to handle it. When finally they did publish it, with simultaneous political comment, Moscow received it hysterically as if the atomic bombs might start dropping before midnight. Where there are no safety valves to let off pressure every day, the emotional explosions are sudden, swift and disturbing.

After the shattering experience of two world wars we are all familiar with the arguments for political and commercial internationalism as the only means for avoiding military catastrophes. But Moscow also illustrates the necessity for intellectual and cultural association on a world scale. There are no new ideas in Moscow. All the old ones are reiterated with stupefying regularity. All the newspapers say the same thing in almost the same way, usually on the same day; with some refreshing exceptions, every man writes like every other man.

During the long, enervating periods between microscopic changes in the official party line, even a foreigner could write a Soviet political article that could hardly be distinguished from the genuine polemics that appear in Pravda, Izvestia and the New Times. The

Continued on Page 8, Column 2

The third and last of these articles will appear tomorrow.

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This is a clipping from page 8 of the New York Times for 7-8-46

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SEP 3 1946

A SOCIALIST WORLD CALLED SOVIET AIM

Continued From Page 1

prolonged policy of barring foreigners from Russia, of isolating the few who do creep in, of restricting their movements in the country and of censoring news and suppressing it has created a bloodless, old-fashioned, petit-bourgeois culture that is colorless and conventional.

Vitality Lacking In the Arts

Since I know nothing about science, I have unfortunately no way of judging the results of one of the most industrious activities of the Soviet Union, although I do know that the general level of medical practice is low. But from personal observation I feel competent to report that the general level of theatre, art and music is low—and I suspect that many writers, actors and musicians realize it. On the whole, there is no vitality in the arts; they are reactionary and moribund. Under the dead weight of political control there is little opportunity for individual enterprise and experiment.

It would be logical to expect a new society, such as the Russians are trying to create, to be daring and bold in the arts. But it seems to me that Soviet art contains just as much hokum and bathos as ours, without producing occasional works of originality that compensate for the failures. The combination of isolationism and totalitarianism has resulted in the death of new ideas.

In an abnormal climate of this kind, group abberrations flourish. And it seems to me that the most conspicuous and also the most irritating abnormality in Soviet leadership is a group paranoia. The leaders imagine that every man's hand is against them; they imagine that they are surrounded. And, of course, there is no more certain way of arousing first the bewilderment, then the contempt and finally the enmity of other nations. In view of the size, strength, courage and inexhaustible resources of the Soviet Union, this phobia about being trapped and cramped would be hilarious, if it were not so troublesome to foreigners who want to find some way of getting on with the Soviet Union.

As far as danger from abroad is concerned, the United States, with its highly integrated economy, is more vulnerable, even with the atomic bomb in the cellar. But differences of opinion and differences of interest in international affairs are interpreted by the Soviet leaders as agressive hostility to the Soviet Union, for that is how they would interprete differences of opinion and interest inside Russia. A Soviet citizen who opposed a Stalinist policy would be removed from society as an enemy of the State. The area of tolerance is invisibly thin.

In America, there is a kind of old wives' tale to the effect that the leaders of the Soviet Union are shrewd, cunning and realistic men who always know from one moment to the next where they are going. But I suspect that they are rather commonplace men who have had no experience of democracy at home and are confused by manifestations of democracy abroad. After successfully destroying differences of opinion at home for the holiest Marxian reasons, they instinctively regard differences of opinion abroad as treachery to the Soviet Union and to the common people. Marxianism is a splendid science that has purged itself of the unscientific spontaneity of human nature.

The most formidable impediment to amicable international relations is the basic fact that the Soviet Union is a Socialist state developing and expanding in a capitalist world. According to the Communist party line, the Soviet is not secure from aggression so long as capitalist countries like the United States and Great Britain also hold dominant positions in the world. Russia has in the past maintained workable relations with capitalist countries, including Nazi Germany when Hitler was fighting the West.

But the party line has now reverted to the theory that "monopoly capital," as the Soviet writers invariably describe it, is Fascist, is preserving the centers of fascism and is bent on the destruction of socialism. Since, according to Marx, "monopoly capital" is also destroying itself, there seems to be quite a lot of destruction going on, and the atomic bomb is obviously superfluous.

In the meantime, the United States is portrayed in the Soviet press as a violent, imperialistic nation that is extending its power throughout the world and is trampling on the rights of small nations, and the "monopoly capitalists" in the United States are portrayed as thwarting the "broad masses of the peace-loving peoples of the world," which is another daily idiom of the Soviet press.

U. S. Always Painted Black

During my ten months in Moscow, I never discovered in a newspaper or magazine any reference to the United States suggesting that, like the Russians, we also have creditable characteristics. Great Britain is portrayed in a baleful light, despite the fact that socialism has come to power at one time or another in England, New Zealand and Australia. This latter fact might throw some doubt on the theory that the trouble lies between socialism and capitalism. Perhaps the trouble lies elsewhere.

After my tour of duty in Moscow, I prefer the Western type of capitalism because it is more interested in individual men and women and places a higher value on human freedom. The preservation of human freedom was the cause of the war; it remains the paramount issue in world society. Socialism is a rational approach to the problems of the world. And, as we are likely to find out in Britain, socialism does not necessarily involve the destruction of human liberties.

In the case of so vast and varied a country as Russia, which has many nationalities to group together, socialism is probably the only system that can open the way to material progress. If there were any way of distinguishing between Soviet socialism and Soviet totalitarianism every man would watch with interest and hope the development of socialism inside Rusisa for the light it could shed on the problems of the rest of the world.

As a matter of fact, every thinking man will watch it with interest because, whatever else may be true of Russia, the achievements of socialism there so far have had the most profound effect on the rest of the world. People everywhere profoundly want to believe that some economic system is ideal, and, knowing nothing about the misery of life in Russia, they want to believe that Soviet Russia has found the ideal solution. By our standards, the Soviet Union has so far not solved any of the problems of freedom — including freedom from want and freedom from fear.

'Manifest Destiny' Is Spur

To anyone who is attracted by the theory of socialism, the police regimentation of the Soviet people is not only disillusioning but frightening. But again, in my opinion, socialism in itself is not the source of the trouble between the Soviet Union and the United States and Great Britain. Other things being equal, the two Western democracies could get on with the Soviet Union more profitably than Nazi Germany did during the period of the fraudulent pact of friendship. Indeed, I expect that they will.

But that is not the point of view of the Soviet leaders. They regard themselves as custodians of the future of the world. In their opinion, everything is going their way; as leaders of a Socialist State with a Communist goal, they regard themselves as the advance agents of manifest destiny. In Poland and the Balkans they believe that they are helping manifest destiny along, although the resistance is terrific from the "unenlightened," who are in the vast majority.

In their current relations with the Governments of the United States and Great Britain the Soviet leaders are not certain that they are dealing with the true representatives of the "broad masses of the peace-loving peoples." In their opinion, perhaps, these Governments are to one degree or another imposed on their people by political knavery, ignorance, inertia and the trickery of "monopoly capital."

Perhaps the Soviet Government, which champions the people at the same time that it pushes them around, will be able to get behind the façade of the American and British Governments into more direct contact with the people through trade unions and political pressure organizations. And, to continue looking at things from the point of view of the Politburo, perhaps the current representatives of the United States and Great Britain are only the old guard doomed to repudiation by the people when "monopoly capital" succeeds in cutting its own throat.

Whether the Soviet Government and the Communist party, which are virtually identical, are promoting revolutionary changes in the United States and Britain is not circumstantially known, although there is reason to believe that they are meddling in the politics of France by subsidizing and advising the French Communist party. But one of the causes of Soviet Russia's tenacity in international affairs is that it regards socialism as the most stabilizing factor in international peace. Any deviation from Soviet policy logically becomes a threat to world peace by reactionaries who are defending a dying economic organization.

Communism Also a Religion

For communism is not only a political science but a religion, and its conduct is governed by dogma as well as by reason. The believers have to accept it without reservation. This religious fervor underlies the Soviet attitude toward foreign countries, and is assiduously cultivated at home. The modern ikons are the heroic statues and portraits of Lenin and Stalin in every public building and the huge portraits of the minor prophets carried by the believing multitudes on holidays. On great occasions the statues and images are decked with flowers or ribbons like the representations of the saints in the churches.

The literary style of Soviet propaganda overflows with religious expressions of love, gratitude, high resolves and sacrifice for a future life. Moscow is not only the capital of Soviet Russia but the holy city of the Commnuist faith; and Lenin is the father and Stalin is the son. Since the Soviet Government has done so little to solve any of the human problems of living, the holy attitude it takes toward its mission in the world may seem ludicrous and fatuous.

But the parish letters to the faithful, which are the leaders on the front pages of the newspapers, solemnly declare that the Soviet Union is the most blessed nation in the world because it has embraced the one and only true faith, and that the future will overflow with love, joy and singing.

When the Soviet representatives meet ours at the conference table they are in effect meeting the last tottering princes of original sin; and they cannot give way to us without yielding divine principle. That is one reason why the Russians are so difficult to get on with in pagan assemblies that do not worship Marx, Lenin and Stalin.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
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STALIN HELPS CARRY KALININ TO GRAVE

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, June 5.—Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin was buried this evening in Red Square in a funeral service such as Moscow has seldom seen. As the body of the former President of the Soviet Union was lowered into its grave between the wall of the Kremlin and the mausoleum of Lenin, squadrons of bombers and fighters swept low over the scene and a group of heavy guns fired a final salute.

Premier Joseph Stalin, Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov and many other Government leaders carried the coffin to its resting place. Nikolai Schvernik, who succeeded Mr. Kalinin as President in March, paid tribute to the Soviet leader, saying "he had devoted his life to the development of friendship among all peoples."

At 7 o'clock, when the coffin was being moved to the grave, all of the flags here and wherever there are Soviet representatives were lowered.

Among notables present was Tito of Yugoslavia, who was flanked by his admirals and generals.

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This is a clipping from page 21 of the New York Times for 6-6-46

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

52 AUG 28 1946

Russia Ranks Stalin Greatest Among Her Historical Leaders

(This is the second of a series by the Associated Press chief of bureau in Moscow, who has spent five years in Russia and who has just returned to the United States on vacation.)

By Eddy Gilmore
Associated Press Foreign Correspondent

NEW YORK, June 5.—Generalissimo Joseph Stalin is a highly respected, almost hallowed, figure in Russia today, regarded by his 193,000,000 people as probably the greatest Russian of all time—greater than Peter the Great, Ivan the Terrible and perhaps even Lenin.

At 66 Stalin is still a vigorous man and still in charge of this nation that occupies one-sixth of the earth's surface.

Elected in February this year to four more years as Russia's leader, Stalin seems likely to fill out his term and, if his health is as good as it is today, be elected again.

Stalin is a Georgian, and Georgians as a race seem to live longer than any other in the Soviet Union. There are at least 10 men in the little southern republic who are reported to be over 100 and one who claims to be tending goats at the age of 142.

Who is going to succeed Stalin is one of those things the Russians just won't talk about, because by taking about it one has to accept the premise that Stalin won't be around forever. It's like anticipating the death of your father. It's just too unbearable.

Loved, respected and feared, Stalin's stature grew mightily with the war. Although, of course, it was pretty impressive before, the Russians around him, the military men and the Russian people, seem to be thoroughly convinced that he, more than any man in the world, saved Russia and civilization from Hitler and actually brought about the Nazi downfall.

They give him full marks for Russia's ability to withstand the Wehrmacht, for the elimination of anti-Soviet elements before the war, which resulted in the U. S. S. R. having no fifth column, and for wise planning and thinking for them and their future all the time.

Stalin Has Willing Backers.

The Russians have great faith in Stalin's new five-year plans and are quite certain that by putting the effort and sacrifice into the work that he says is necessary they are going to emerge the greatest industrial country in the world, the country with the most secure political and economical system and eventually the country with the most spiritual as well as material surpluses.

Any beliefs, fears or hopes here or elsewhere that there is opposition to Stalin in Russia is nonsense. There is no political group striving to grab power, for the Communists have the power and they are Russia's only party and will continue so.

There is no such thing as a generals' group or clique. There are generals and marshals by the dozens, yes, but they are nothing as a group more than fighting men and would be the most embarrassed men in the Soviet Union to hear themselves referred to as a bloc seeking power.

Who are the men under Stalin and what importance should one attach to them as possible successors to the Generalissimo who, some day, of course, must step down or die, as bad as this would be for the U. S. S. R., and, as a lot of foreign diplomats think, bad for the United States, too?

Stalin's present jobs and titles are:

Chairman of the Council of Ministers, which means he's Prime Minister.

Head of all the armed forces.

Secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist party.

Head of the powerful Politburo.

Chairman of the Organization Committee of the Communist party.

Deputy to the Supreme Soviet.

Vyacheslav Molotov, the Foreign Minister, appears to rank next to Stalin, for he holds, in addition to what here would be the Secretary of State's job, the post of first assistant chairman of the Council of Min-

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isters. This makes him Vice Premier.

Molotov is also a high-ranking member of the Politburo and a deputy to the Supreme Council, a partyman of great drive, ability and devotion to its country and its causes.

Although a member of the vital Central Committee of the party, Molotov is not one of its secretaries, nor is he on the Organization Committee of the party. This fact may or may not figure in his future.

Subordinate Chieftains.

There are three relatively young men who have risen rapidly with the end of the war:

Marshal L. P. Beria.
Gen. A. A. Zhdanov.
G. M. Malenkov.

They are all younger than Stalin, Molotov or Nikolai Shvernik, the new President of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet—Russia's President.

Taking them individually and probably in order of their importance at the moment—and I stress at the moment:

Zhdanov, 50 years old, chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union—one of Russia's two legislative chambers. (The Council of Nationalities is the other.) He's a full member of the Politburo, a secretary of the party's Central Committee and member of the organizational committee of the party, deputy to the Supreme Soviet, head of the party organization in the great city of Leningrad and chairman of the Allied Control Commission for Finland.

He is one of the most intelligent and well educated men among the Russian leaders and one can appreciate his important party connections which mean a great deal.

Malenkov is 44, a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, a full member of the Politburo now, a secretary of the Central Committee of the party and deputy to the Supreme Soviet. Mr. Malenkov was Stalin's personal secretary for a number of years, which should not be discounted.

Marshal Beria is 47, and considered to be the ranking member of the Council of Ministers next to Stalin and Molotov. He's a full member of the Politburo, deputy to the Supreme Soviet and former head of Russia's office of internal affairs, indicating the trust Stalin has in him. Like Stalin, he is a Georgian by birth.

There are three other Russians who have taken on added importance since the war. They are Alexei N. Kosygin, Vasily V. Kuznetsov and Gen. Nikolai A. Bulganin.

At 42, Kosygin is the youngest. He's alternate member of the Politburo, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and deputy to the Supreme Soviet.

Bulganin at 51 is an alternate member of the Politburo, member of the organizational committee of the party and deputy to the Supreme Soviet.

Soviet Press Renews Attack On World Policies of America

Bitter Condemnation Aimed at Byrnes; U. S. Accused of 'Starvation Strategy'

By United Press

MOSCOW, June 2 (UP)—Two authoritative Russian publications made sweeping attacks today on United States policies all over the world. American criticisms of President Truman were quoted incidentally and policies of Great Britain and Canada were denounced. But the major attack was loosed on Secretary of State Byrnes.

The official government newspaper Izvestia used six columns, equivalent to one-fourth of its space, to attack Byrnes, Senator Vandenberg (R.), of Michigan, who accompanied him to the Paris foreign ministers conference, and Lt. Gen. Lucius D. Clay, American deputy commander in Europe, who recently stopped delivery of reparations to Russia and other countries from the American zone in Germany.

Review Damns U. S. Trio

One Izvestia attack was made in a New York dispatch of the official news agency Tass, criticising Byrnes' reply to a statement by Foreign Commissar Vlacheslav Molotov on the Paris conference. This was coupled with a three-column political review damning Byrnes, Vandenberg, and Clay for the reparations cancellation as affecting Russia.

There was one-third of a column by Tass quoting attacks by "American personalities" on Mr. Truman. The "personalities" including Radio Commentator Johannes Steel, who was quoted extensively, and former Secretary of Treasury Morgenthau.

The political review denounced Byrnes' Paris policies without qualification and defended Molotov without reservation.

Called "Paper Treaty"

Byrne's proposal for a 25-year disarmament-enforcement treaty for Germany was called "a step backward" and a "paper treaty." An American proposal to inspect German war plants was called unnecessary. Clay's cancellation of reparations deliveries was called illegal and a violation of existing agreements.

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Matter Of Fact

By Joseph and Stewart Alsop

Through Stalin's Eyes

OFFICIAL REPORTS reaching Washington from Moscow have outlined two remarkable conversations between Generalissimo Stalin and two of his Balkan supporters. In the course of each of these talks, Stalin made the same deeply significant statement. He emphasized that in his opinion the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union did not clash seriously in any area. He went on to say, however, that the clash of British and Soviet interests was obvious and universal. Moreover there was, he felt, no real assurance that this clash of interests might not lead to war with Britain.

The first of these conversations took place between Stalin and a Balkan Prime Minister. As if further to underline what he had said, Stalin then made the same statement during a personal talk with another Eastern European official who was visiting Moscow.

STALIN is no fool. He knows that the foreign diplomatic community in Moscow is a tightly bound little group, forced in upon itself by the total isolation in which all foreigners live in Russia. He knows further that any important statement of opinion which he may make is a pearl of greatest possible price to the foreign diplomatic services. It can therefore be assumed that he knew that his remark would eventually reach both American and British ears, and that this was, in fact, his intention. At any rate, whether or not it was his intention, the statement deserves the closest possible consideration. For it lifts a corner on what is going on in the mind of the Russian dictator, and gives some inkling of how the world looks to him from his great offices in the Kremlin. And on Stalin's conception of the world's future, the world's future may largely depend.

It is now generally agreed among expert observers of the Russian scenes that Stalin's conception of the world, and of Russia's future place in it, was blocked out last fall at Sochi. At that time the story that Stalin was desperately ill, and probably dying, was very widely believed. What in fact happened was that, after the desperate strain of the war, with its innumerable daily decisions, the great dictator found that he needed time to think. Accordingly he retired to Sochi, and there, in his huge Dacha, he cut himself off from the world. He pondered deeply, perhaps consulting his household deities Marx and Lenin, and emerged at last with the program for Russian remilitarization and expansion which he has outlined in subsequent speeches.

IF STALIN'S conversations with the two European officials has been accurately reported—and there is every reason to believe that the reports are accurate—there can no longer be any doubt that the most far-reaching Russian geographical expansion is the essential part of the program which he blocked out at Sochi. The British Empire, whatever else its sins, is certainly not expanding. It is, on the contrary, rapidly contracting, as in India and Egypt. Therefore Stalin's statement must foreshadow a Russian geographical expansion into areas which the British consider absolutely vital to their security. Only this could mean a clash of interests so deep that the weak and weary British would be willing to risk another war.

The Russian ruler's statement is of immediate interest to this country. When he said that Soviet and American interests nowhere clashed seriously, he doubtless foresaw that this would be reported to the American leaders, and intended that it should be an important consideration in forming American policy. Obviously it therefore behooves this country to give the most careful thought to Stalin's views. We must consider gravely the kind of world which his remarks, and the Russian policy since the war, indicate he has in mind.

What then, is the Russian view of a safe and desirable world? First, the British Middle and Far Eastern Empire would be liquidated, with the consent of the United States. British influence in Europe would then cease. With Britain's power struck down, the Soviet Union would dominate Europe, Asia, and through the European colonies, Africa also.

IN THIS CONNECTION, one aspect of the Moscow conference last autumn is peculiarly interesting. Before any progress could be made, the Russians insisted vehemently on assurances that American troops would be withdrawn from China in the near future. On the other hand, the Russians accepted without too much resistance a subordinate position in Japan.

From all this emerges a picture of a world settlement as the Russians might envisage it. The world would be split in two, as two hungry boys might split an apple. The larger half, including both Europe and the Far East, would go to Russia. The smaller half, including the entire Western Hemisphere and probably the Philippines, Australia, and Japan, would in turn be dominated, with Russian consent, by the United States. There would be, in fact, two mutually exclusive worlds, separated from each other by oceanic moats.

American policy is now firmly opposed to any such world settlement. Secretary of State James Byrnes, by asserting that the United States would not countenance any great upheaval in the world power relationship, has made that clear. The next report in this space will indicate some of the reasons why this decision was taken.

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Clipping from page 9 Wash Post 5-13-46

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BOOK NOTES

NEW YORK — "Marxism and Revisionism," by V. I. Lenin and Joseph Stalin, a booklet which brings together some of Lenin's and Stalin's most important speeches and articles dealing with the various attempts at the revision of Marxism, will be published next month, International Publishers announces.

The five chapters by Lenin and two by Stalin discuss the Bolsheviks' struggles against opportunism in Russia and the international Socialist movement.

The chapters by Lenin include Marxism and Revisionism, Differences in the European Labor Movement, the Fight for a Marxist Party, What Is Freedom of Criticism? and Opportunism in Questions of Organization. The chapters by Stalin are Inherent Contradictions of Party Development and Some Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism.

The booklet is No. 29 in the Little Lenin Library series and is priced at 20 cents.

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This is a clipping from page 5 of the Peoples World for 5-6-46

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U. S. PRESS TREASON IS SEEN BY PRAVDA

Charge of Aiding Foe Hurled Also at British Papers—Byrnes, Morgenthau Hit

MOSCOW, May 5 (UP)—The Soviet press today attacked British and American newspapers for having "aided the enemy" during the war, lashed out anew at Secretary of State James F. Byrnes and criticized former Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr.

The attack on the press was written by David Zaslavsky, political commentator of Pravda, Communist party paper. British and American papers, he wrote in an article commemorating Bolshevist Press Day and Pravda's thirty-fourth anniversary, are in the hands of "cowards and traitors" who opposed a second front and aid to Russia.

He said their aid to the enemy was the spreading of defeatism among the people and distrust among the Allies and slander of the Red Army and of the Soviet Union.

Comparing the Soviet and the British-American press, he said the war was the best judge whether they had done their job honestly. He declared the Soviet press could "be proud" that it had served the people's interest, always told them the truth and never printed lies.

Some Branded Cowardly

Mr. Zaslavsky said many British and American newspapers by their "cowardly, traitorous" activities had estranged themselves from the people of their countries and were trying to hinder establishment of a firm peace.

Pravda began a new attack against Mr. Byrnes in its international review section, which said that the United States proposal for a twenty-five-year four-power treaty for the disarmament of Germany was one of a series of endless proclamations of good intentions.

The review also cited Mr. Morgenthau's recent speech on the denazification of Germany and added: "It may be asked, why should new declarations be accepted when old ones are not carried out?"

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This is a clipping from page 8 of the New York Times for 5-6-46

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Reactionaries Plan War, Stalin Charges

Soviet Union Is True to Policy of Peace But Must Remain Vigilant, He Declares

London, April 30 (AP).—Prime Minister Stalin promised tonight that the Soviet Union would be true to a policy of peace and security but charged that what he described as "international reaction" was hatching plans for a new war.

In an order of the day broadcast by the Moscow radio, the Russian leader declared that "the nations of the world do not wish a repetition of the calamities of war." He added:

"It is necessary to be constantly vigilant, to protect as the apple of one's eye the armed forces and defensive power of our country (Russia)."

Stalin called on Soviet workers to reach—and exceed—the production goals set up in the Soviet Union's new five-year plan.

Addressing the Russian people, Stalin said:

"We should not forget for a single minute the intrigues of international reaction, which are hatching plans of a new war."

Soviet armed forces would be successful in defending peace, Stalin said, only if there was a "further growth of military culture and military skill of the Red army, navy and air force."

His broadcast order, issued in connection with the Soviet Union's May Day Celebration, was heard in London by the Soviet Monitor, official Soviet news distribution agency.

In one passage of the order Stalin declared:

"The entire world has had an opportunity to convince itself, not only of the might of the Soviet State, but also of the fairness of its policy based on the recognition of the equality of all peoples, on respect for their freedom and independence."

"There is no reason to doubt that in the future too the Soviet Union will be true to its policy—the policy of peace and security, the policy of the equality and fraternity of peoples."

Stalin said the first postwar May Day—"the international holiday of the working people"—would be celebrated in conditions of a peaceful life won in the hard struggle against the enemies at the cost of heavy sacrifices and privations."

"The nations of the world do not wish a repetition of the calamaties of war," he said.

Stalin said "the popular masses," through the war, had learned that "the destinies of states cannot be entrusted to reactionary leaders, who pursue narrow caste and selfish antipopular aims."

"It is for this reason," Stalin said, "that the nations, which no longer wish to live in the old way, take the destinies of their states into their own hands, establish a democratic order and actively fight against the forces of reaction."

The Soviet Union "marches in the vanguard of the struggle for peace and security," he added.

Recalling that the Russian army "hoisted the banner of victory over Berlin" a year ago, Stalin asserted:

"The smash-up and liquidation of the main hotbeds of fascism and world aggression resulted in deep changes in the political life of the nations of the world, in a wide growth of the democratic movement of the nations."

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Clipping from page 9
Wash Post
5-1-46

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Stalin Warns of War Plot By 'International Reaction'

By The Associated Press.

LONDON, April 30—Generalissimo Stalin promised tonight that the Soviet Union would be true to a policy of peace and security but charged that what he described as "international reaction" was "hatching plans of a new war." In an order of the day broadcast by the Moscow radio the Russian leader also declared that it was necessary to be constantly vigilant, "to protect as the apple of one's eye the armed forces and defensive power of our country."

(TEXT OF STALIN ORDER OF the Day)

His broadcast order, issued in connection with the Soviet Union's May Day celebration, was heard in London by the Soviet monitor, who issued the following text:

Comrades, Red Army and Red Navy men, sergeants and petty officers, comrade officers, generals and admirals, working people of the Soviet Union:

Today, for the first time since the victorious termination of the Great Patriotic War we celebrate May 1—the international holiday of working people—in conditions of peaceful life, won in a hard struggle against the enemies at the cost of heavy sacrifices and privations.

One year ago the Red Army hoisted the banner of victory over Berlin and completed the defeat of fascist Germany. Within four months after the victorious termination of the war against Germany, imperialist Japan downed her arms. The Second World War, prepared by the forces of international reaction and unleashed by the chief fascist states, ended in a full victory of the freedom-loving nations. The smashup and liquidation of the main hotbeds of fascism and world aggression resulted in changes in the political life of the nations of the world, in a wide growth of the democratic movement of the nations.

Taught by the experience of war, the popular masses realized that the destinies of states cannot be entrusted to reactionary leaders, who pursue the narrow caste and selfish anti-popular aims. It is for this reason that nations, which no longer wish to live in the old way, take destinies of their states into their own hands, establish democratic order and actively fight against the forces of reaction, against instigators of new war. The nations of the

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This is a clipping from page 1 & 5 of the New York Times for 5-1-46

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57 JUL 3

STALIN IN WARNING OF PLOT FOR WAR

Continued From Page 1

world do not wish a repetition of the calamities of war. They fight persistently for consolidation of peace and security.

In the vanguard of the struggle for peace and security marches the Soviet Union, which played an outstanding part in smashing fascism and fulfilled its great mission of liberation. The nations liberated by the Soviet Union from the Fascist yoke received an opportunity of building their state life on democratic foundations, of realizing their historical aspirations. On this road they find fraternal assistance on the part of the Soviet Union.

Soviet Might Stressed

The entire world has had an opportunity to convince itself, not only of the might of the Soviet State, but also of the fairness of its policy based on the recognition of equality of all peoples, respect for their freedom and independence.

There is no reason to doubt that in the future the Soviet Union will be true to its policy, the policy of peace and security, the policy of the equality and friendship of peoples.

The workers, peasants and intellectuals of our country received the Five-Year Plan as a militant program which corresponds to their vital interests. We may hope that the Soviet people, headed by the Communist party, will not spare their strength or efforts in order not only to fulfill but also to over-fulfill the new Five-Year Plan.

Upon the termination of the war, the Soviet Union started peaceful Socialist construction. The Soviet people enthusiastically set about peaceful constructive labor, which had beeen interrupted by the war. The law on the Five-Year Plan of restoration and development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. in the period from 1946 to 1950, adopted by Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. opens new prospects of further growth of the productive forces of our country, the growth of her economic might, the rise of her material welfare and culture.

Developing peaceful Socialist construction, we should not forget for a single minute the intrigues of international reaction, which is hatching plans of a new war. It is necessary to remember the teaching of the great Lenin to the effect that after switching over to peaceful labor, it is necessary to be constantly vigilant, to protect as the apple of one's eye, the armed forces and defensive power of our country.

Vigilant Guard Urged

The armed forces of the Soviet Union—our land troops, air forces and navy—discharged their duty to the country in the Great Patriotic War. Now our armed forces are faced with a task of no less importance, vigilantly to guard the peace which was won and the constructive labor of the Soviet people, to be the reliable bulwark of interests of the Soviet Union.

The successful accomplishment of this honorable task is possible only on condition of further growth of military culture and military skill of the officers and men of our army, our navy and our aviation. The armed forces of the Soviet Union must daily improve their military art on the basis of experience of war, on the basis of the progress of military science and technique. Beyond any doubt, our army, our navy and our aviation will accomplish all those tasks facing them.

Comrades, Red Army and Red Navy men, sargeants and petty officers, comrade officers, generals and admirals, comrade men and women workers, peasants, men and women, brain workers, soldiers demobilized from the Red Army, on behalf of the Government and the Communist party I greet and congratulate you on the day of the First of May.

To mark the international holiday of working people, I order:

Today, May 1, a salute of twenty artillery salvos to be fired in Moscow, the capital of our country and in the capitals of the Union Republics, also in Lwow, Koenigsberg, Khabarovsk, Vladivostok and Port Arthur, and also in the hero cities: Leningrad, Stalingrad, Sevastopol and Odessa.

Long live our valiant forces!

Long live our glorious Communist party! Long live the great Soviet people! Long live our mighty Soviet motherland!

Minister of the Armed Forces of the USSR, Generalissimo of the Soviet Union.

JOSEPH STALIN.

File

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In Trotsky Book

Stalin Hand In Lenin's Death Hinted

New York, April 23 (AP).—Leon Trotsky, in a posthumous biography of Joseph Stalin, published today, posed a series of questions whether Stalin might have had a hand in the death in 1924 of Nicolai Lenin, honored in Russia as the founder of the Soviet Union.

The book asked these questions, and did not offer a direct answer:

"What was Stalin's role at the time of Lenin's illness? Did not the disciple do something to expedite his master's death?" It is a monstrous suspicion, Trotsky says, "but that cannot be helped, when it follows from the circumstances, the facts and Stalin's very character."

The book, "Stalin, An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence," is published six years after Trotsky, Stalin's bitter political foe, was assassinated in exile in Mexico City. Trotsky had completed about two thirds of the book at his death but left an outline, and partly-written pages from which the editor and translator, Charles Malamuth, completed the work. The chapter relating to Lenin's death is included in this latter section.

Trotsky says that when Lenin was bedridden in December, 1922, "his chief source of worry was Stalin," then general secretary of the Communist Party.

Toward the end of 1923, declares Trotsky, Stalin told him and others that the sick Lenin called him in and asked for poison. Lenin saw another stroke approaching and he wanted the poison at hand if he became convinced his case was hopeless. Trotsky continues with suspicions, suggestions and charges until his climax.

"Whether Stalin sent the poison to Lenin with the hint that the physician had left no hope for his recovery or whether he resorted to more direct means I do not know. But I am convinced that Stalin could not have waited passively when his fate hung by a thread and the decision depended on a small motion of his hand."

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Clipping from page 7
Wash Post
4-24-46

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File

Russia - Soviet

Communist Party - Russia

Religious Control

EASTER IN MOSCOW

For the first time in more than twenty years the deep-throated church bells of Moscow tolled out their call to the resurrection and the life of Easter. There are only a few of them left, but their rhythmic beat brought the mightiest throng of worshipers since the revolution.

Some estimates place the number of celebrants at a million people, a quarter of the city's population. It took militiamen to clear a way through the crowd into Bogoyavlensky Cathedral for the American Ambassador. All over Russia there was a similar outpouring of the religious-minded. All over Russia the candles burned on home tables above the little Easter cakes. It was like the old Russian holy day. No one could miss its significance. From somewhere hope and faith in the sacraments of peace are creeping back into the hearts of the Russian masses, demanding expression.

This year no Government-trained Godless youth stood by to mock or stone the churchgoers. The vast processionals of worship went openly to their altars, no longer furtive and soul-starved. Tens of thousands of former soldiers mingled with other thousands grieving for dear ones lost in the war. Those who rule the temporal state are riding with a tide that cannot be denied. To be sure, they are attempting to channelize it. The Government itself is replacing the missing bells, helping to restore the churches. It has assumed control of the church hierarchy. But the mystic soul of Russia, deeply religious, can be contained in no official net. Through the horrible war years it has stood too close to death not to crave passionately the fulfillment of the ancient promise of resurrection. It has been shut in a tomb. This year the stone was rolled away, if only for a day.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
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Mr. Nichols
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This is a clipping from page 20 of the New York Times for 4-22-46

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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EX 29

SOVIET ENSLAVES, SPELLMAN CHARGES

Catholics Are Persecuted Like Christians in Catacombs, Cardinal Declares

Catholic priests and laity of eastern Europe "have become slaves and martyrs" under Soviet rule and their plight is similar to that of "the persecuted Christians of the Catacombs," Francis Cardinal Spellman declared yesterday at St. Patrick's Cathedral, during ceremonies commemorating the unity of the Eastern and Western Catholic churches.

The Cardinal spoke from the cathedral altar, after having presided over a morning mass that was conducted by Eastern churchmen according to Byzantine-Slavonic rites. The ceremonies marked the climax of a two-day conference on Eastern rites and liturgies, under the auspices of Fordham University, during which Roman and Ukrainian prelates criticized the Soviet Union for its treatment of Catholics in lands under its domination.

"We are met today in sad circumstances," the Cardinal said. "Yet in the midst of our sadness there is joy because here in this church we have an affirmation of the unity of the Eastern and Western Catholic churches.

"There is joy because of the religious guarantees of our American Constitution, whereby we may worship God in peace and in justice. But there is sorrow when we know of the desolation and misery of our fellow-Catholics in eastern Europe."

Hope existed, he declared, because clergy and layman alike have "rejected offers of schism and instead have become slaves and martyrs."

Referred to Moscow Report

Cardinal Spellman's mention of a schism was in reference to a dispatch from Moscow on March 17 that reported prelates of the Ukrainian Catholic Church had voted for reunion with the Russian Orthodox Church. The alleged reunion has been declared void by the Vatican.

The Most Rev. Ambrose Senyshyn, Auxiliary Bishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese in the United States, who was the chief celebrant of the two-hour ceremonies, told the congregation that "Bishops of the Ukrainian rite are imprisoned by Soviet authorities. Clergy and laity are in grave danger."

The pontifical concelebration, chanted in Old Church Slavonic, was based on the ancient liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, used by 10,000,000 Catholics in the Near East. A chorus of 100 voices from St. George's Ukrainian Church answered the chants and filled the edifice with music seldom heard in Roman Catholic churches.

[redacted] b6 b7C

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hoover
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease

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NOT RECORDED
87 MAY 13 1946

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This is a clipping from page 44 of the New York Times for 4-14-46

Clipped at the seat of Government.

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59 MAY 24 1946

Germany - int'l - Russia - gen.

Zhukov Will Relinquish Reich Post, Yanks Hear

By the Associated Press

BERLIN, April 4.—American authorities have been told that Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov soon will relinquish his position as chief of the Russian zone of occupation in Germany, an authoritative source said yesterday.

The same informant said Gen. Vasilly D. Sokolovsky, deputy to Zhukov, already has been appointed to succeed him.

It is understood Marshal Zhukov will assume a place in the Soviet Union equivalent to deputy minister of defense, in addition to his position on the presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes

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52 SEP 19 1946

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Communist Direction

THE democratic-government world never has gotten the real low-down on the inspiration and control of world Communism as associated with and possibly directed from Moscow. One theory is that the Communist infiltration forces all around the globe follow a set pattern, getting their orders from Moscow as to what line to take. Another theory is that some of the Communists not only receive no inspiration, encouragement or direction from Moscow but that they even sometimes make things tougher for the Soviets by their ill-considered antics. One guess may be as good as another; this much seems certain, though. High officials of Communist party groups in the United States have from time to time gone to Russia to confer with party leaders. At times they have had the services of professional rabble-rousers trained in Russian schools for this purpose and sent over to help stir up trouble in this country.

Yet Premier Joseph Stalin at times has displayed such a ruthless, almost wolfish, attitude toward his minor Communist followers, in this and in other countries, that the doubt increases in the minds of some persons that the Communists who bravely attempt to "divide and conquer" in this country are any more than tolerated by Moscow. Stalin, time after time, has indicated that he would sacrifice his "dear comrades" without an instant's hesitation if the need arose. An instance is related concerning the trip of Eric A. Johnston, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, to Russia. Talking with the red dictator on this trip, he tried to tell Stalin that the "Commies" in this country have no economic or political strength (as Communists; they have done a remarkable job of worming their way into the labor movement and even into background and policy making jobs in the Washington government) and that they have only succeeded in making relationships between the United States and Russia more strained.

Stalin is said to have grinned his wolfish grin.

"Well," he replied, "why don't you shoot them?"

Johnston replied that the United States doesn't treat minority groups in that fashion, even when they prove quite troublesome. Again the dictator grinned as he replied: "I do!"

One reason, it is reported, for this attitude is a difference of opinion right now in the Russian high command as to the means of promoting Communism and Soviet interests throughout the world. The story goes that Stalin and Litvinov advocate less interference in the internal affairs of other nations, a solidifying of Soviet gains in the war while Molotov and Vichinsky are in favor of the "boring from within" methods all over the world. But in any case, apparently, the Soviet theory is that the government comes first and if a few comrades have to be tossed overboard now and then, what does it matter?

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87 MAY 10 1946
52 JUL 15 1946

THE NEW LONDON DAY
NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT
DATE 4-3-46

Submitted by New Haven Field Division

RUSSIA AND THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

By LOUIS FISCHER

As the second strongest nation in the world, Russia plays a central role in international affairs, and the factors that make her powerful are a concern to everybody everywhere. When Stalin outlines a program of Soviet industrial rearmament all politically-minded persons pay due attention. In the same way, the activities of the Communist parties outside Russia are of interest to governments and serious observers.

The Third International or Comintern was dissolved by Moscow in 1943. But there is no proof that the Communist parties of the world have since then become independent of the Kremlin.

No Communist party has ever publicly uttered a word of criticism of the Soviet government. No Communist party has ever failed to support and commend all Soviet policies and leaders. A single instance of an independent Communist judgment on Russia would be refreshing and might serve as evidence of a divorce from Moscow. But there is no such instance.

The Chinese Communist party officially approved of the Soviet-Japanese treaty of April 14, 1941, whereby Russia recognized Manchuria as a Japanese puppet state and whereby Stalin indicated that he would be neutral in the struggle between China and Japan. A real separation from Moscow in 1943 would, logically, have induced a change in the Chinese Communist relation to this anti-Chinese treaty. But the dissolution of the Comintern brought no separation from Moscow and therefore no change.

Pro-War Organizations

The India Communist party and a small near-Communist group, were the only pro-war Indian organizations. The British government recognized this fact and took advantage of it. It was more natural for Indians to be anti-war than pro-war. The Indian communists became pro-war when Russia was attacked; their attachment to Russia was the paramount consideration. After the dissolution of the Comintern they remained attached to Russia and they remained pro-war.

Italian Communists would normally be opposed to Marshal Badoglio, Mussolini's Chief of Staff. But when the Soviet government recognized the Badoglio cabinet the Italian Communists likewise supported him. Italian Communists would normally be opposed, as all Italians are, to the surrender of Trieste to Tito's Yugoslavia. But because Trieste in Tito's hands would bring Soviet influence down to the Adriatic, the Italian Communists sided with Tito against Italy.

Germans generally mourn the cession of German territory to Russia and Poland. Alone the German Communists applaud it. Could they criticize Stalin as an imperialist? They accepted Russian annexations of German territory. They object to the separation of the Ruhr.

Always Right to Reds

The identity between Soviet policy and the acts and words of foreign Communists is too intimate to be in doubt. Whatever Moscow does is always right to the Communists.

Then what was the significance of the dissolution of the Comintern in May, 1943? It was part of Russia's retreat from internationalism. It documents the complete subservience of foreign Communists to Russia's national aims.

Stalin is the business man in politics. He keeps a little black book, so to speak, in which he enters profits and losses. When he examined the black book of the Comintern from its inception in 1919 to, say, 1939, he found few profit entries. The Chinese Communists, though they ruled large territories and had a large army, never were able to alter Chiang Kai-shek's foreign policy. The Communists had been very powerful in pre-Hitler Germany and had received over six million votes. Yet they could not prevent or overthrow the Hitler regime. The Communists had developed tremendous activity for Loyalist Spain in England, France, America, and other countries, but could not change the policy of those countries towards Spain. Nowhere had Communists decisively affected government policies.

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52 MAY 17 1946

NIPPON TIMES March 25, 1946

The reason is obvious and Stalin certainly grasped it. The Communists could succeed in staging a big public demonstration; they could capture or destroy a trade union or some other organization; they could publish effective propaganda. But none of those activities ever brought much benefit to the Soviet government because the Communists were operating in the area of protest and the best they could hope for was a successful protest. They were operating in the area of protest where there was no power.

By the dissolution of the Comintern, Stalin moved the foreign Communist parties over into the area of power.

Before 1943, the only national government outside of Russia which had included any Communists was the Loyalist government during the Spanish civil war. Since then, Communist parties—even weak Communist parties—have entered governments wherever possible. They have moved into the area of power where they can do some real good for Russia.

Preview of the Future

This analysis explains recent Communist policies and gives a preview of the future.

With a strong French Communist party in the government, France cannot join a western block or adopt a policy which the Communists regard as unfavorable to Moscow. The Italian and French Communist parties can bring about the fall of their governments; hence neither government is free in formulating its foreign policy. The Chinese Communists, who for years refused to compromise with Chiang Kai-shek, have now made peace with him; this offsets American influence in China and gives Russia a firm hold on the Chinese government.

France

Inside Russia's zone in eastern and central Europe, the Communists are Russia's direct agents. Outside that zone, their presence in an increasing number of governments will prevent those governments from saying or doing anything distasteful to the Kremlin.

This has much more value to Stalin than protests against capitalist governments. It is much better for him to have friends inside the room pulling levers than outside the building shouting slogans. On occasions the Communists may do both. But the important thing is to sit in the council chambers where official decisions are reached.

Service to Moscow

In view of the new Communist party line, principles and ideology count for much less than power and service to Moscow. The Indian Communists collaborated with British imperialists. The Chinese Communists collaborate with Chiang Kai-shek whom they have reviled as a fascist. The Rumanian communists collaborated with King Michael who collaborated with Hitler. They collaborated with Rumanian foreign minister George Tatarescu who is one of the Europe's top reactionaries. Right and left, red and black, are tertiary considerations. What matters is to control or at least to checkmate governments.

In countries like the United States where the Communists are not numerous or strong enough to get into the President's Cabinet, the same line nevertheless applies; the Communist policy is to acquire maximum influence over members of the Cabinet and over members of Congress, and to burrow into government departments, the Democratic party capitalist newspapers and radio stations, trade unions and—during the reign of Communist leader Browder—into the National Association of Manufacturers. The older Communist party line of "boring from within" applied with special emphasis to working class and left-of-center groups. But today the object is to gain influence in all institutions that have influence.

It does not matter how far to the right such institutions are. The Communists are now urging demobilized veterans to join the American Legion in preference to the younger and much more progressive American Veterans Committee, because the Legion is a potent political force in Washington.

The least that is achieved is a moratorium on criticism of the Soviet government. The Political Action Committee (PAC) of the CIO, for instance, delight in attacking the British government and of course its own American government. But as long as the Communists carry weight in it, Moscow is a sacred cow. The PAC has known Moscow to be wrong.

So by an ingenious maneuver, Stalin has got rid of an embarrassment; officially, the Comintern is dead, officially Moscow has no relation to the world Communist parties; in addition, those Communist parties are now much more useful to the Soviet government than ever.

The foreign Communist parties are an appreciable asset in furthering Soviet world aims.

file

USSR COMMUNISTS NAME NEW TOP COMMITTEES

MOSCOW, March 21 (UP).—The Central Committee of the Communist Party yesterday appointed members of the Political Bureau, and Organizational Bureau, which functions as a steering committee within the Central Committee.

The lineup of members:

Political Bureau (membership increased from nine to 11)—full members: Generalissimo Joseph Stalin, Mikhail Kalinin, Anastas Mikoyan, V. M. Molotov, Lazar Kaganovitch, Klementi Voroshilov, Andrei Zhdanov, N. S. Krushchev, A. A. Andreyev, G. M. Malenkov and L. P. Beria.

Alternate members: Nikolai Boulganin, Alexei Kossygin, N. A. Vosnesensky, and N. M. Shvernik.

Organization Bureau — Stalin, Malenkov, Zhdanov, Alexander Kuznetzov, and George Popov.

(A Moscow Radio broadcast heard in London said the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet had created a ministry of Cinematography, appointing M. Bolshakov as first minister.)

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This is a clipping from page 2 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 3-22-46

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59 AUG 29 1946

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SUPREME SOVIET ASKS STALIN TO HEAD NEW USSR CABINET

LONDON, March 15 (UP).—Moscow Radio said tonight that Generalissimo Joseph Stalin formally resigned tonight in behalf of the government he heads as Premier, but immediately was asked to propose a new cabinet. The move made before the Supreme Soviet or Parliament, was due to the recent election.

It was assumed that Stalin would retain the Prime Ministry in the new cabinet.

At the Parliament session Nikolai Voznesensky, Chairman of the State Planning Commission, said that the new Five Year Plan called for industrial production to be stepped up by 50 per cent as compared to prewar days, Moscow said. The new plan, it was added, calls for complete restoration of resources and for a considerable increase in food stuffs and consumer goods over prewar levels.

At the same time, Moscow said in a broadcast recorded here, parliament unanimously voted on motion of Deputy Nikolai Shvernik that in the future the Soviet union will adopt the style of western nations and call its cabinet members ministers instead of Commissars.

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161-16-4

MAR 21 1946

This is a clipping from page 3 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 3-16-46

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

58 APR 18 1946

Soviet People Unanimous for Peace

By JOHN GIBBONS
Wireless to the Daily Worker

MOSCOW, March 14 (Delayed).—Generalissimo Stalin's Pravda interview concerning Churchill's speech was topic number one in the Kremlin this morning as the deputies took their seats for the meeting of the Council of the Union.

"Zdorovo"—a most expressive Russian word which is the pluperfect of genuine satisfaction—was the term used as deputies folded their Pravdas.

Stalin's plain speaking came as a most welcome antidote to the people here, who were well aware that abroad there are irresponsible elements who would prefer to experiment with the atombomb somewhere in Eastern Europe rather than on a coral island in the Pacific. Regarding the atombomb as background to the "get tough with the Russians" talk, they are bitterly indignant at the unprecedented wave of hostile propaganda.

A week ago I reported that the diplomatic and propaganda offensives waged against them had occasioned a mood of sullen sensitiveness among the Soviet people. Well, on Monday when they digested the Fulton thunderings, those who were sullen and non-committal became alert and voluble.

MAINTAIN ALERT

Churchill's sabre-rattling electrified the people into increased vigilance. In the eyes of the Soviet people he is once more the Churchill of intervention days.

And what is more significant, the Russians, who take their politics much more seriously than people elsewhere and who consequently scorn the idea of Fulton being merely the embittered demagogy of an unemployed Prime Minister, look beyond Churchill to his influential backers in both Britain and America.

That people here are disappointed over the deterioration in the world situation is but a weak description of public feeling. There is a feeling of frustration caused by the knowledge that the friendship which developed during the world's greatest crisis is now being dissipated by elements who hate socialism and democracy as people in "cottages" understand it.

The Russians who would advocate control over border countries or imposition on them of the Soviet way of life is as rare as a dodo bird. The Russian, if such could be found, who would advocate a third world war against the Anglo-Saxon countries for the sake of conquest would at best be regarded as a dangerous lunatic or at worst be tried as a political criminal.

In fact the greatest political difference between the Soviet Union today and the Anglo-Saxon countries is this: In Russia inhabitants of both humble cottages and the Kremlin Palace are absolutely unanimous in their desire and strivings for peace, whereas the cottage dwellers, in the West, to whom peace is no less dear, unfortunately cannot share their unanimity with many dwellers in fairly high places.

It is frequently alleged in the British press and on BBC that Soviet press comments—as the Times Leader put it the other day—in a "bitter and provocative" tone on India, Egypt, Java, etc. Well, each morning I make a microscopic analysis of all Soviet newspapers, and for the life of me I fail to see the slightest provocative tinge in any of them.

The distinguishing feature of the Soviet press is the complete absence of sensationalism. Its news items about these countries are telegraphed by Tass correspondents who relay Reuter and other agency messages. As a rule the messages are published without comment and the giver is always quoted.

As for the alleged "enigma-conundrum" of Russian foreign policy, any Russian schoolboy could expound it as:

- Not the faintest striving for an ounce of alien territory, west or east, north or south.
- No repetition of 1941.
- Security and again security on all borders and no toleration of aggression in any shape or form.
- Sincere whole-hearted desire for peace and respect for the other fellow's way of life.
- Above all not the slightest fear of intimidation by the atom or any other weapon.

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NOT RECORDED
87 MAR 21 1946

This is a clipping from page 8 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 3-16-46

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

57 APR 1 1947

Peace Hinges On U.S., Soviet, Moscow Says

Why Should America Back British Policy? Broadcast Inquires

London, March 10 (AP).—The Moscow radio asked tonight "Why should anyone expect the United States to defend British colonial policy?" and declared that Soviet-American friendship was essential to world peace.

In London, meantime, a Foreign Office spokesman said the British government has instructed its Charge d'Affaires in Moscow to "press for an early reply" to a note asking why Russia does not withdraw Red army troops from Iran.

The Moscow broadcast decried "irresponsible talk" in the United States, which has also sent a note to Russia urging withdrawal of troops from Iran in accord with the British-Russian-Iranian treaty.

The commentator said it appeared that certain people in the United States were making "attempts to plant the seeds of a new world war, to poison the public mind against the Soviet Union."

With the United Nations functioning, the broadcast added, "every effort should be bent in all peace-loving countries to aid in its work, but there are people of various nationalities who would turn away from the United Nations, who would advocate for America an armaments race, a philosophy of force, rather than one of friendship with other great powers that bore the brunt of war."

"Clear thinking people in the United States, who have the interests of their own country and

See SOVIET, Page 2, Col. 5.

of general peace in mind, turn away, of course, from this third world war propaganda."

The Ankara radio declared the United States note on Iran "assumes an importance which goes beyond the limits of the Iranian problem." It quoted an editorial in the newspaper Ulus as saying the United States "is anxious to insure that the territorial integrity of independent countries should be respected."

Reds Assail U. S. Plan

Moscow, March 10. (U.P.)—Russian commentators today complained of American and Chinese policy in Manchuria, the alleged maintenance of "Fascist" armies in the American and British occupation zones in Germany and American slowness in prosecuting German capitalists.

Another article demanded that the Franco regime in Spain be ousted.

The articles were published as delegates for the first session of the newly elected supreme Russian Soviet or Parliament streamed into Moscow for their opening meeting Monday.

It is likely that Foreign Commissar Molotov, in a formal report to the Soviet in foreign affairs will make an important speech during the one week session, perhaps Tuesday.

Red Fleet said the "progressive press" was alarmed because Fascist army units continued to exist in the American and British zones in Germany despite persistent protests.

"Neither the Polish nor the Yugoslav units commanded by Fascist officers have been disbanded," Red Fleet said. "The preservation of German cartel and monopolies and Fascist army units are all links in the same chain.

"Anglo-American reactionary circles are not interested in the extermination of all vestiges of Fascism, the stamping out of Nazi agencies and the liquidation of the base of Nazism. Testimony to this effect is afforded by the sympathy campaign in the United States in behalf of poor Germans, carried on by pro-German circles in the United States . . . all these organizations are led by Naziphiles waging open propaganda for revision of the Potsdam declaration."

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Clipping from page 1 + 2
Wash Post
3-11-46

RECORDED

58 SEP 16 1946

5-MW

CLIPPING TAKEN FROM THE OTTAWA CITIZEN EDITORIAL PAGE DATE MARCH 5th, 1946.

The Road Soviet Democracy Takes

By Dr. Harry F. Ward, former chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The development of Soviet democracy has taken the opposite course to that followed in the British Commonwealth and in the United States. With us political democracy was first won and now we are using it in the effort to achieve economic democracy. The Soviet peoples reversed the order. They put economic democracy first and now, under the new constitution of '36, are proceeding to work out more political democracy. This was because they began the Soviet system when the machine age was well along, when they possessed very little industry and no background of democratic experience. Also because their leaders believed that once economic democracy was established the fullest possible development of political democracy would follow. So the foundation of people's control of the economy was laid in national ownership of the means of production and then the method of control was worked out through the principle of social-economic planning in successive Five Year Plans.

It was after the success of the first and second Five Year Plans had established the national economy on a basis sound enough to enable the Red Army and the people to withstand the Nazi attack, and so save millions of Allied lives, that the '36 Constitution with its guarantees of full democratic rights and the secret ballot was adopted. The facts are thus the opposite of the argument of our anti-planners: that planning necessarily destroys freedom. In the Soviet Union it was the way more freedom was won.

* * *

A Soviet Five Year Plan is not made at the top and put down on the people. The Fourth Five Year Plan is now in its initial stage and information concerning it will not be given out until the returns from the people enable the details to be filled in. The State Planning Commission—Gosplan—for short, first makes an outline of what is called "the perspective plan." This gives the rough figures of what the Commission thinks is possible for the next period in the development of the economy, education, health, standard of living, cultural advance, city, town and village planning. This outline is then sent on its way down to the last and least worker in the land. The administrative departments of the national economy, for instance those in charge respectively of heavy and light industry, break it up to be filled in by their sections, for example motors. Then the sections are sent to each industrial plant and co-operative, to every collective and state farm. There the sections are again broken into parts for each shop or farm brigade to consider in production conferences of workers and technicians and decide how much they can produce. The plans for the social services and cultural development go down for similar treatment through the various Soviets until they reach those of the villages.

After all the people who have to carry out the plan have had their say and formulated their judgment on what they can do, the parts start on their way back to the place where the outline started. On their way back the parts get co-ordinated at each level by the administrators who are able to consider all the factors involved. Thus there comes into being a plan for each industrial plant, co-operative and farm, transportation and communications unit, then for that section of the economy to which they belong. The same thing happens with that part of the plan which covers the social services and cultural development. Finally Gosplan co-ordinates all the sections into a complete plan which then goes to the Supreme Soviet for final approval.

* * *

Thus the people have participated with the administrators and planning experts in the making of the social and economic policy upon which their well-being and security depend. But Soviet economic democracy does not stop there. The plan is now a blueprint of goals, it has yet to be filled in with detailed accomplishments. This is done through yearly and quarterly "operational plans." These originate in the respective departments and again go down through the various units until they once more reach the shop in the factory, the labor brigade on the farm, or the small co-operative. Here successes and failures are checked and revisions made in conferences that are usually held monthly. I have sat in on a number of these and can testify to the tenseness of interest on the part of the workers, their consciousness of the relation of their job to the national task, and the concreteness of the discussion.

It is in this way that the workers develop what they call their "counter-plan" which is always a revision upward of their quota beyond what the experts thought was possible. In the majority of cases the higher goal or the shorter time have been realized. "Over fulfilling" another term for this practice has become quite general.

It was started in the Karl Marx metal factory by the workers themselves in the first year of the first plan when the government instructions were that the preliminary plan was to go to each department of a plant and to be discussed by each worker in terms of his job. Then the metal workers sent a letter to the press suggesting that the counterplan be adopted by agriculture. Some collective farms responded and the movement spread rapidly throughout the country. It was another combination of official action and the people's initiative.

* * *

This development served both them and us well during the war. To cite but one example out of many, an agricultural expert writing about the increase of food production in the unoccupied sections to make up for the loss in those sections the Germans were ravaging says: "It has been possible through the operation of the principle of planning throughout the whole system of collective farms and the machine and tractor stations which provided most of the machinery for their work." He adds: "The drawing up of the plan is only the beginning. It then becomes the living, practical activity of millions of people, whose daily work is determined by their part in its fulfilment."

In the early days of Soviet planning Stalin told the industrial managers, "It would be silly to think that the production plan led merely to an enumeration of figures and tasks. In reality our production plan is millions of workers creating a new life." "Inasmuch as we are realizing a purposive economy . . ." says Gosplan, "the whole working society participates consciously in the aggregate social production. . . ." "These ideas have gripped the masses," the head of one section of the economy told me. It is this constant participation in the direct control of the actual life of the nation that gives more and more reality to the representative part of Soviet government and to the constitutional guarantees of democratic rights.

INDEXED NOT RECORDED
37 MAY 6 1946
50 JUN 12 1946

File

Vladimir Potemkin Dies in USSR

LONDON, Feb. 24 (UP).—Radio Moscow reported yesterday the death after a long illness of Vladimir Petrovich Potemkin, Commissar for Education and President of the Pedagogic Academy. Potemkin was a member of Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and a Deputy of the Supreme Soviet.

RECORDED

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NOT RECORDED

87 MAR 14 1946

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This is a clipping from page 4 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 2-25-46

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57 MAY 1 - 1946

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TODAY WITH THE
SOVIETS

Everyday affairs in the cities are handled by 'councilmen'

By Arkadi Klyachkin

LENINGRAD

Who in the Soviet Union is master of the district, village or city?

The Soviet (Council) of Working People's Deputies.

And who conducts the business of the Soviet?

The deputies (councilmen) elected by the population.

In so large a city as Leningrad, each deputy of the City Soviet represents 3000 electors, equal to the population of several large apartment houses.

The electors know their deputy well; they often meet him and turn to him with all their needs and troubles.

The broad democracy of the Soviet system finds its expression in the fact that in his constituency the Deputy of the City Soviet does not work alone. He is assisted by members of the District Soviets and by volunteers among his electors.

In a report delivered at a meeting of his constituents, Dmitri Vinogradov, Deputy of the Leningrad City Soviet, said that before the war he had organized the following commissions composed of constituents in his district: a Sanitary Commission which looked after the cleanliness of public conveniences; Financial Commission, which controlled the rent charged for apartments; the Building Commission, which checked up repairs of houses and public buildings; and the Comradely Court, which dealt with grievances among neighbors in apartment houses.

He also organized in his constituency a small club in which lectures on scientific, literary, social and political subjects were delivered, and in which plays were performed.

When war broke out Vinogradov took charge of the defense work.

He organized numerous home defense groups and set up air shelters and first aid stations. Residents in the district collected presents for the frontline men and for the wounded, and they also went on duty in the hospitals.

Money was collected in Vinogradov's constituency for building a tank column for the Red Army, and scores of kilograms of nonferrous scrap metal were collected for the war factories.

When the war came to an end, a period of energetic rehabilitation in Leningrad set in.

Scores of people are now working in the prewar commissions in the district.

Assistance is regularly rendered to sick members of commissions.

Doctors are called out to the homes of patients, and medicine is bought for persons living alone.

Helped many

During the period of his activities as Deputy of the Leningrad City Soviet, Vinogradov received 506 persons who applied to him for various kinds of assistance.

Of these he was able to settle 409 cases himself. The remainder he took up with the respective departments of the Soviet.

Such is a brief summary of the activities of one of the Deputies of the Leningrad City Soviet in his own constituency.

Like all members of the City Soviet, Vinogradov naturally takes an active part in the administration of the city.

He is a member of the Building Commission of the Leningrad City Soviet, one of the 10 permanent commissions of the Leningrad City Soviet.

The others are Housing, Municipal Services, Budget, Public Health, Education, Local Industry, City Transport, Trading, Heat and Power.

These commissions prepare material for the sittings of the Soviet and its executive committee. They check on the work of organizations and institutions under the jurisdiction of the Soviet and draft resolutions to be passed by it.

The volume of work of the Leningrad Soviet can best be realized when it is said that its budget for his year has been set at almost one billion rubles, of which 350 million will cover the expenditure on municipal services and 492 million on social and cultural institutions.

The Soviet Working People's Deputies have to enter into all details of the life of so great a city as Leningrad, with its large population, hundreds of educational establishments and colossal streetcar, trolley, bus and autobus traffic.

Such a large volume of work can be carried out by the City Soviet because of the thousands of volunteers from among the Leningrad citizens who are taking an active part in this work.

Each of them is working indefatigably for the common good.

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APR 1 1946

This is a clipping from page 6 of the People World for 2-25-46
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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58 APR 11 1946

99.7% of Soviet Electors Voted

LONDON, Feb. 14 (UP).—Radio Moscow reported tonight that 99.7 percent of registered electors voted for deputies to the Supreme Soviet Council in last Sunday's election. The figure compared with 98.6 percent for the last elections in 1937.

The registered electorate totaled 101,717,635 persons, of which 101,450,936 voted, the broadcast said.

(Only 800,000 voted against the candidates of the Communist Party-non-party bloc, Associated Press reported. That is approximately 0.7 percent.)

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87 MAR 11 1946

This is a clipping from page 1 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 1-15-46

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FBI

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. B. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lack
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. C. H. Timm
Mr. R. R. Roach

File

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800,000 Voted 'No,' Moscow Radio Says

By the Associated Press

LONDON, Feb. 14.—The Moscow radio last night said more than 800,000 Soviet citizens voted against the official candidates of the Communist Party and the non-party bloc in last Sunday's elections for deputies to the Supreme Soviet.

It was announced previously that 99,076,353 persons—99.5 per cent of the registered electorate—had voted in the elections.

There was only one candidate for each deputy post and the only way to vote against a candidate was by scratching his name, which was printed on the ballot.

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87 MAR 4 1946

50 MAR 7 1946

Clipped from WASHINGTON EVENING STAR for 2-14-46

File

Germany
Russia - Military & Political
Russia - Political

TODAY WITH THE
SOVIETS 6

How the Russians got ready their first postwar election

MOSCOW

The campaign for the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, held February 10, were carried on in many different ways.

In the great cities and populous centers, thousands of voters attended huge meetings to hear speakers talk on the tasks facing the country and on election procedure and to meet the candidates nominated by the people.

An atmosphere of great elation surrounded the election campaign meetings, as was also seen at the nominating meetings.

The Soviet people felt that this, their first postwar election of Deputies to the supreme organ of government, was a further demonstration of Soviet democracy.

In the more remote sections of the USSR, the campaign was being no less thoroughly carried out, whatever difficulties may have faced the election commissions and canvassers. No Soviet citizen lacked information on the election or proper facilities to enable him to participate in it.

In the Pamir Mountains, sometimes called the "Roof of the World," for instance, election literature and other printed matter was sent from Stalinabad, the capital of the Tajik SSR, to a town called Khorog, the center of an electoral area which elects a Deputy to the Soviet of Nationalities, one of the two Houses of the Supreme Soviet.

The party started by automobile, transferred to burros when the roads became impassable, strapped the literature to the backs of men when the burros could no longer follow the trail, dynamited their way through an avalanche, and delivered the precious election material.

Planes had been unable to fly the material in, because of ice which formed on their wings. Planes are used in many parts of the more remote sections.

Newsreels were shown on Soviet screens which portray election activity.

They showed a meeting of the Soviet of Nationalities Commission of the Russian SFSR; a meeting of the housewives of one election precinct listening to an explanation of procedure by a canvasser; a talk to a mass meeting of voters by President Golyakov, of the Supreme Court of the USSR, on the electoral law.

Another sequence showed steelworkers who carried on a competition to celebrate the election by raising the production of their plant.

This sort of celebration was conducted in most Soviet plants by workers who show their love for their country by seeking to repair the damage done by war as quickly as possible and to rise to new production levels.

In the Red Army and Navy, where they have full electoral rights, including the rights to nominate candidates and to run for office, the campaign is active.

Posters and streamers were prominent in Soviet military installations as reminders of the elections. The Constitution of the USSR and the election regulations were studied, particularly by the many young servicemen who cast their first vote in this election.

Election commissions have been elected by the servicemen.

Members of these Commissions are chosen from among both officers and men, Party and non-Party persons, and women who are usually doctors and nurses. The task of these Commissions is to conduct the election.

Question sessions are organized where any question may be asked and answered.

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57 APR 11 1946

This is a clipping from page 6 of the People's World for 2-13-46
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

FILE

Letters to

Revolution Not Repudiated

Assumption as to Russia's Position Held to Lack Basis in Fact

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Your editorial "Stalin's Party Line" rightly emphasizes the importance of the recent pronouncement of the Soviet leader. It is difficult to quarrel with your assertion that "the basis of the policies of the United States and other Western nations during and after the war has been the assumption that they and their political and economic systems could live in peace and cooperation with Russia and her political and economic system."

I am much puzzled, however, by your next statement—namely, that "that assumption was based on the Soviet Government's explicit renunciation of any aims of world revolution, supported by Stalin's doctrine of 'socialism in one country' and climaxed by the dissolution of the Comintern."

I know of no "explicit renunciation of any aims of world revolution" by the Soviet Government nor would such a renunciation be compatible with the basic tenets of communism. Stalin's twenty-year-old doctrine of "socialism in one country," as you are aware, merely stated that socialism in one country was feasible, and it was never interpreted, except by the most ardent and impatient followers of Trotsky, as a repudiation of world revolution. This interpretation, needless to say, was not accepted in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Dissolution Act Cited

The act of dissolution of the Comintern of May 22, 1943, published in full in your columns, declared that "the whole development of events in the last quarter of a century and the experience accumulated by the Communist International convincingly showed that the organizational form of uniting workers, chosen by the first congress of the Communist International, answered conditions of the first stages of the working-class movement, but it has been outgrown by the growth of this movement * * * and has even become a drag on the further strengthening of the national working-class parties. * * * Communists have never been supporters of the conservation of organizational forms that have outlived themselves. They have always subordinated forms of organization of the working-class movement and methods of working of such organization to the fundamental political interest of the working-class movement as a whole, to the peculiarities of the concrete historical situation and the problems immediately resulting from this situation."

No Repudiation Seen

I fail to understand how this lucid albeit awkwardly phrased statement could be interpreted as evidence of repudiation of world revolution by the Soviet Government. The reasons for the dissolution of the Comintern are self-evident: so long as political and economic conditions throughout the world remained tolerable the Comintern served no useful purpose and merely consumed some of the Soviet scant reserves of foreign exchange. Moreover, the dissolution of the Comintern, by lending itself to misinterpretations, smoothed the opposition to the flow of lend-lease supplies, which was a factor of immeasurable importance in the victories of the Red Army, even though Stalin made no reference to it in his address.

I found nothing in Stalin's speech that would not be almost painfully familiar. If the assumption to which you refer does not seem to hold good, the blame should not be put on the doorsteps of the Kremlin. In his international policy Stalin remains faithful to the aims of communism, although the pundits of Marxism may well argue that the imposition of Communist dictatorships by the Red Army on the devastated and helpless countries of central and eastern Europe is not the "inevitable" revolutionary process visualized by Marx, Engels and Lenin. It is the result that counts, however, and in a perverted and un-Marxian sense the celebrated dictum "Capitalism is digging its own grave" would seem to be justified.

MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY.

New York, Feb. 11, 1946.

58 MAR 20 1946

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lardner
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
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Mr. Egan
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87 MAR 12 1946
EX-69

This is a clipping from page 22 of the New York Times for 2-13-46

Clipped at the Seat of Government

The Soviets go to the Polls

By JOHN GIBBONS /

MOSCOW (By Cable).

THIS Sunday 90 million voters in the USSR will go to the polls to elect approximately 1,200 deputies to the new Supreme Soviet.

For over a month now, the election campaign and the preliminaries connected with it, have overshadowed all else in the country.

Both the number of voters and the vastness of the country, together with the desire to get the greatest number of voters to the polling booths, are the reasons for the highly efficient electoral machinery and the enormous amount of energy being put into the campaign.

The technical side of the election, which began with the compiling of the electoral register and will end with the counting of the votes, is delegated to a series of election committees.

These committees range from a precinct or constituency committee in an electoral area, to an election committee for a given republic and finally to a national committee. In each case, nominations for these committees are submitted to special meetings called for that purpose.

KUZNETSOV HEADS COMMITTEE

Among the dozen or more members of the National Election Committee, is Vassili Kuznetsov, the outstanding Soviet trade union leader, who is committee chairman. Other members are Shapilin of the Steel and Smelter Union from Magnitogorsk and collective farmer Peter Golovaty from the Volga region.

Science, education, law and medicine are also represented. In the lower committees too, the position of chairman is, as a rule, held by a trade unionist.

These committees are ratified locally by the district Soviets and in the case of the National Committee, by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

Its local committees, which are augmented by voluntary enthusiasts—the Russians call them "activisti"—from among the population who, to use Sinclairian language, do "Jimmy Higgins" work of verifying voters lists, canvassing, organizing meetings and distributing election literature.

The committee rooms are easily distinguished by their swathings of scarlet bunting and array of posters and life-size photos of the candidates which are prominent in most of Moscow's streets.

STALIN NOMINATED

The largest and most enthusiastic meeting I saw was a great open air rally in Stalin's consistuency in Moscow at which a hundred and thirty thousand people wildly applauded the nomination of the Soviet leader.

In the constituencies represented by the more prominent Soviet leaders, these again were the unanimous choice of the electorate. Indeed, so keen was the competition for the honor of having men like Stalin, Molotov, Kalinin, Kaganovitch, Marshal Zhukov and other leading military men as their deputies that many constituencies requested them to stand.

But, as expected, the Soviet leaders plumped for their old constituencies. Elsewhere, in numerous constituencies where two and more candidates were nominated, selection conferences and meetings are held to discuss the pros and cons of the respective nominees with the view of reaching agreement on one man.

One change must be noted as compared to the previous (1937) general election. The nomination age for a candidate was then 18—the same as the voting age—now, while the voting age remains the same, candidates under 23 cannot be nominated.

Experience has shown that young people

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Date 2-10-46

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(Continued from Page 1)

under 23 cannot be nominated.

Experience has shown that young people under 23 have not yet acquired the "schooling" necessary for the serious work of a parliamentary deputy. Altogether apart from the educational qualifications, vital training in civic duties derived from work in local councils, in administrative jobs in industry, agriculture, in trade unions and cooperatives, etc., etc., is the apprenticeship which young people have not yet experienced.

Electors have more confidence in candidates possessing these qualifications since the Supreme Soviet needs the best type of administrative worker, the decision was made to raise the age.

One Party

To outsiders it may seem strange that only one political party—the Communist Party—is putting forward candidates. But the strangeness begins to disappear the moment one looks more closely and shall I whisper the word, "objectively" at Soviet society which, unlike capitalist society knows no rival classes with conflicting economic and political interests.

There is no capitalist class enriching itself at the expense of the working class. Since political parties, in the final analysis, are the outgrowth of different social classes, it logically follows that in the Socialist Soviet Union conditions which elsewhere give rise to rival parties no longer prevail.

But, the vast majority of the Soviet population, while eagerly following the leadership of the Communist Party are, not members of the party.

Certainly the Communist Party, thanks to its able and skillful leadership both before and during the war enjoys prestige and popularity never attained hitherto by any political party in any country.

But, the electorate is close to 90 millions whereas the Communist Party membership is less than six million.

Hence, the election platform is popularly known as a "bloc of party and non-party people." A considerable number of candidates already registered do not belong to the Communist Party but are being canvassed for by Party members while Party candidates are enjoying the support of non-party people.

Yardstick Of Success

The yardstick by which the success of the election will be measured both at home and abroad will be the number registering their votes on the polling day.

While all indications point to a record poll, the election committees are leaving nothing to chance. Organization of facilities are such, that the process of voting will require not more than five minutes of the voter's time.

The choice of midwinter for the campaign is most convenient for the peasantry who constitute the bulk of the electorate. With the countryside blanketed with snow there is little field work and consequently there is more time for election meetings, committee work, canvassing etc.

Then the polling day, Sunday, being a non-working day in town and country, provides ample opportunity for the rural and urban dwellers to go to the polling booths which open their doors at six in the morning and close at 12 midnight.

Election Literature

Those people abroad, who profess to see the decline of Marxism in the USSR would derive scant solace from election literature. Of special interest in this connection, is a booklet entitled "Socialism and the Individual" which contains a masterly summary of the history of society from primitive Communism to the October Revolution.

In the pamphlet on Soviet democracy, the author answers foreign critics who cannot think in terms of democracy without plurality of political parties.

"Our people had at one time various political parties but resolutely rejected them and followed the Communist Party," the author says. Critics, according to this author, forget that "one of the greatest rights of all—is the right of the people to choose their own party."

Another of the election pamphleteers again discussing the blessed word "democracy," found in American literature shattering evidence in support of his thesis. Mark Twain's candidate for governor story apparently appealed to him and is liberally quoted. Sinclair's "Mike Skully" character in the "Jungle" is also used to good effect as is Louis Celine's "Journey to the End of Night."

From the latter author he takes a conversation between a young man looking for a job at Ford's and the doctor who examines him: the doctor tells the applicant, "Education won't do you any good here. You come here not to think but to repeat motions they will teach you. We don't want people with imagination at the factory—we want chimpanzees."

The author then lists names of soldiers, trade unionists, school teachers, farmers and other candidates nominated for the Supreme Soviet. The Soviet system, he concludes, does not suppress the individual. On the contrary, no where else in the world has the individual been elevated to such heights or accorded a recognition so full, as in the USSR.

CLIPPING TAKEN FROM THE OTTAWA CITIZEN
dated January 31st, 1946.

Stalin's Power Said Less Than Churchill Had

MONTREAL, Jan. 30—(CP)—Dr. Harry F. Ward, an authority on the Soviet Union and former chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union said here today that Joseph Stalin, during the war, never had as much actual power over the people of Russia as Churchill and Roosevelt had in Britain and the United States.

Speaking under the auspices of the Quebec division of the National Council for Canadian Soviet Friendship, Dr. Ward said that Russia today has a socialist democracy different in many respects from the capitalistic democracy of the western nations, which was not enforced against the wishes of the Russian people.

Western nations must come to realize that it is only because Russia is a democracy that we can co-operate with that country in the building of a peaceful world.

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MAR 27 1946

Reds Call U. S. Press the 'Bunk'

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., Jan. 24 (AP)—Edwin L. James, managing editor of the New York Times, said tonight that Russians consider the American ideal of a free press to be "bunk—that and nothing more."

"The Russians are very frank in their ideas about newspapers," he said in an address at Vassar College. "To their way of thinking our ideal of a free press as a great instrument of factual information is bunk—that and nothing more."

James said the United States and Russia "stack up today as the two great countries of the world." Of Russia he declared:

"As they see it, the role of their press is to serve as an instrument of their regime, as an agent of their revolution.

"We believe that the press should tell all truths to the members of a democracy so that the citizenship, individually and collectively, may exercise its judgment in a really democratic form of government. Not at all, say the Russians.

"They argue that the real role of their press is to tell the people of their country that which will be useful to the government. The government, or Communist Party, decides [illegible] thing [illegible]

Russia

Clipping from page 2
Wash. Times
1-25-46

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87 FEB 8 1946

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Communist

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87 FEB 12 1946

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This is a clipping from
page 12 sec. Mag of
THE WORKER
Date 1-20-46
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Government

WHEN the Russians Vote
1-20-46

87 FEB 12 1946

When the Russians Vote

There are no poll taxes, no phony educational tests, no ban on soldiers, no restrictions because of race. Here's how the Soviet's universal, secret and direct ballot stacks up against our own system.

By JAMES H. DOLSEN

THE man with a ballot in his hand in the Soviet Union is very different from a man with a ballot in his hand in a capitalist country like America.

In the Soviet Union, the man with the ballot is one of the owners of the country's entire wealth.

In a capitalist country, the real power stays in the hands of those who own the country—and that is not the working man with the ballot.

These contrasts illustrate the difference in the estimation of what constitutes "democracy" in capitalist America and socialist Russia.

In our country the great mass of the voters, who are working people, have to arrange to do their voting so as to interfere as little as possible with their jobs. In the Soviet Union the elections "are to be carried out on a non-working day." They were accordingly set for a Sunday. Thus every possible opportunity is given to enable every voter to cast his ballot unhurriedly but with careful consideration of the issues involved. The object is to get the largest possible turnout.

Does anyone doubt that a similar arrangement here would very substantially increase our turnout?

In conformity with the Soviet Constitution the deputies to the Supreme Soviet—corresponding to our Congress—are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

All citizens 18 years of age or older, irrespective of race or nationality, sex, religion, educational and residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote. The only exceptions are the insane and persons convicted by a court of law whose sentences include deprivation of electoral rights.

18 Year Olds' Right to Vote

In the United States there has been somewhat of a movement to lower the voting age to 18 years on the ground that since young persons of that age were considered mature enough to be drafted to fight for their country, they were mature enough then to vote—to participate in the political decisions which they had to help carry out on the fighting line. In Georgia the voting age was lowered to 18 years. That is the only state to have taken such action to date.

In the U. S. restrictions on the franchise of a racial or color kind such as disqualify millions of Negroes in the South or which bar certain nationalities—like that enforced in the southwestern states generally against Mexicans—do not exist in the Soviet Union.

In these respects democracy in the Soviet Union is so much wider and deeper that even such a confirmed poll-taxer as our Secretary of State James Byrnes must have had some momentary qualms of conscience during the recent Moscow Conference in posing as a representative of American democracy.

Educational requirements are a method which supplements the poll-tax in restricting the franchise in the South.

Perhaps quotation marks should be put around the word "educational" for such tests as reading any required section of the Constitution and having to explain its meaning to the satisfaction of the election officials are merely rigged up tests, sure to exclude the would-be voter.

How many hundreds of thousands of Americans—principally workers—are barred from voting in every election because of not having lived in their voting district the required months or years it is impossible to tell. Clearly it runs into hundreds of thousands and may total several million throughout the country in a Presidential election. No matter how recently a Russian may have moved into a new locality to work or live there, he still keeps his voting right.

Soldiers Have Voting Rights

Restrictions here based on social origin, or property status, do not exist in direct form with a few exceptions, but it is plain to all that the class which suffers the largest degree from the various restrictions on the franchise is the working class.

Contrary to the practice in our country and all other capitalist nations, soldiers and officers in the army exercise all the rights of any other citizen in voting and being elected to the Supreme Soviet.

MOSCOW PREPARES FOR ITS COMING ELECTIONS—A scene inside Election District 10 office in Moscow as a precinct election commission checks the voters' lists. Electors (top photo) are shown in a conference at the same precinct headquarters.

To make sure that everyone can vote, election districts are set up of the most varied kinds.

Thus military units and formations comprise separate electoral precincts. On ships with at least 25 electors, such group of voters comprise a voting precinct.

Voting precincts are established at hospitals, maternity homes and invalid homes where there are no less than 50 voters.

Even on long-distance trains en route during election day—as on the Trans-Siberian Railroad—the passengers and crew comprise a voting precinct.

Nominations for members of Congress are made either by direct primary or conventions. In either case, the party bosses here work closely with the respective big corporative interests with which they are connected. So that, in very many cases the final election affords the people only a choice between Tweedle-de-dee and Tweedle-de-dum.

What a contrast in the Soviet Union! There the Soviet Constitution grants the right to nominate candidates to the Supreme Soviet "to public organizations and societies of the working people; Communist Party organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations and cultural societies."

This right is exercised both by their central bodies and lower units and in mass meetings of workers in the enterprises, servicemen and women in the army units, in general meetings of peasants on the collective farms, in their villages, etc.

Representatives of public organizations and of the working people who have been specially authorized for the purpose as well as representatives of the press have the right to be present during the tabulation of the votes.

Must Receive A Majority

In order to be elected to the Supreme Soviet a candidate must receive over half of the total votes in his district.

If no candidate gets that proportion of the total votes, the two highest candidates take part in a run-off election within two weeks time. In case less than half the number of qualified electors vote, a second election must be held within two weeks time. In case of a vacancy on the Supreme Soviet between national elections, the Presidium of that body must call a replacement election within two months.

Persons attempting by violence, deception, intimidation or bribery to prevent citizens from freely exercising their electoral rights are punishable by imprisonment up to two years.

Officials who forge election documents or deliberately miscount votes are punishable by imprisonment up to three years.

The overwhelming majority of the population of the Soviet Union participate in the elections. They participate enthusiastically in the weeks and months of preparation for the final elections.

To them Soviet democracy is the real thing. They know the difference between the limited right of the people in the capitalist democracies to organize within all the financial and political restrictions and opposition set by their ruthless class enemy—the capitalist class—and the right of the Soviet people to control through their own self-established democratic procedures the entire present and future development of their own government in a classless social system.

Cominform Unit Set Up

PEIPING, Nov. 29 (UP)—Communists from seven Far Eastern countries have set up an international information bureau at Vladivostok, Russia, closely paralleling the "Cominform" organized two months ago in Europe, the Peiping World Daily reported today.

The countries reported represented at a conference in Harbin, Manchuria, which ended last Thursday, were China, Korea, Mongolia, the Philippine republic, India, Burma and French Indo-China, the World Daily said.

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Sunday
Washington
Times Herald
11-30-47

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
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Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Eagle

Around the Rim of Conflict:

This Is Winter of Decision for Soviet Drive to Expand

By WILLIAM H. NEWTON
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

LONDON, Nov. 24—Russia is engaged in a determined program of expansion all along its 7000-mile frontier.

I have just ended a two-months journey along this perimeter of the Communist world from Korea to Trieste. I found that the aggressive drive of world Communism has been stopped cold in some places, temporarily stalled in others and is making headway in still others.

By force of arms the Communists are gaining ground in China, which has a fifth of the population of the world. In proportion to its size, and strategic importance, China has received less American aid than any other beneficiary of the Truman Doctrine.

At the same time it is obvious China is suffering more from Communism and fighting harder against its spread than any other nation.

MAIN DRIVE THIS WINTER

Elsewhere in the world, resistance to the spread of Communism is rapidly crystalizing and it seems likely Russia will make the strongest possible effort to gain still more territory this winter.

If she is unable to do so, it is probable that the frontier between Communist-controlled nations and the rest of the world will remain about what it is for some time, except in the Far East.

The initial Russian effort, of course, is not actually to occupy smaller nations herself, but to install Communist puppets who will swing the victims into the Soviet bloc.

TWO REASONS WHY

There are two reasons why resistance to Communism is growing:

- First is the plain fact that the peoples of the border nations have seen what Communists do to a nation and to its government, once they get control. And the people do not like it.
- The other is the Truman Doctrine, which has given hope to weak nations all along the frontier, that they do not stand alone.

To learn what the people think of Communist rule you have only to stand on the 38th parallel in Korea, as I have done, and listen to the stories of some of the thousands of refugees streaming down thru the mountains from the Soviet-occupied zone in the north to the American-occupied zone in south Korea.

TALK TO REFUGEES

Or talk to refugees from Communist-held territory who are huddled in the mud outside the walls of Nationalist China.

Or interview Romanians and Yugoslavs who risked their lives to flee from behind the Iron Curtain to Turkey.

Or talk to old women and farmers who were driven off their land by the Communist led Greek guerillas.

Or you can visit a nation which is struggling to its feet, as Italy is doing, only to have the Communists organize strikes and mob violence when they are defeated at the polls.

Americans on the scene can tell you what the aid program alr[illegible] has meant to the nations.

"If we had not come t[illegible] this country would be und[illegible] munist control today," [illegible] Griswold, head of the Am[illegible] aid mission to Greece, told [illegible] Athens. I did not find a si[illegible] competent observer who disagr[illegible] with him.

In Turkey little American aid ha[illegible] arrived. But Americans in Istanbu[illegible] and Ankara were unanimous in their praise of steps which have been taken to give the Turkish people greater voice in their government. And they believe the moral effect alone of American aid has immeasurably strengthened Turkish resistance to Communism.

In Italy you can measure for yourself the progress that is being made to restore the economy of the country by simply spending an American dollar. Three or four months ago, the dollar was worth 700 or 800 Italian lira on the black market, and the rate was going up.

Now it is down to less than 500 lira, and the black market rate is much closer to the legal rate of exchange. The drop reflects growing confidence in the government and in the economic stability of the country, by the people themselves.

The municipal elections in Rome showed substantial gains for anti-Communist forces. Communists no longer participate in the Italian government. As American aid becomes effective and prices go down, the Communists lose ground. And so, in Italy and in France as well, they turn to mob violence as a last resort.

They know they have got just one more winter.

Scripps-Howard Correspondent William H. Newton has just completed a 7000-mile trip around the rim of Communist penetration. This is the first of three articles summarizing the conflict between Communism and the free peoples of Siam, India, Turkey, Greece and Italy.

WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS
CITY EDITION
DATE 11-24-47

F B I
76 DEC 26 1947

Peasants vs. Cominform

2 New Internationales in Century-Old War

CONFIDENTIAL

By Cynthia Lowry

TWO new-born descendants of the bearded philosopher Karl Marx are arming for a giant propaganda battle.

Both the Communist Information Bureau and the Peasants' Internationale have a broad common ground. Each gives at least lip service to the cause of redistributing wealth, ending class distinctions and abolishing the capitalist system.

Their point of conflict is a century-old dispute over how to achieve this end: Revolution versus evolution.

The revolutionists came back out into the open early in October. Moscow proclaimed the formation of a nine-nation Communist Information Bureau (immediately dubbed the "Cominform") with headquarters in Belgrade. Its avowed purpose is to fight the Marshall Plan and what it considers "United States imperialism."

Despite heated Moscow denials the British Foreign Office labeled the bureau merely a "resuscitation" of the prewar Communist Internationale, or Comintern. There had long been widespread speculation on the honesty of the "dissolution" of the Comintern in 1943. Marshal Stalin said then that it had been killed in the interests of better inter-Allied relations.

Since its establishment in 1919 the avowed purpose of the Comintern was to spark the world revolution which was—and presumably still is—the keystone of the Communist credo.

Reinforcements Coming

EARLY in July four former leaders of three nations now within the Soviet sphere announced from Washington the formation of a "Peasants' Internationale" to fight communism, help free their countries and aid all nations against overt or underground Communist influences.

The leaders were Ferenc Nagy, former Hungarian Premier; Dr. Milan Gavrilovich, Serbian peasant leader; Dr. George Dimitrov, exiled head of the Bulgarian Peasant Party, and Dr. Vladko Machek of the Yugoslav peasants.

Grigore Buzesti, former Romanian Foreign Minister, is an added supporter, and presumably there will be further enlistments, such as Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, the Polish Peasant Party leader, who recently escaped to England.

London, it is assumed, will be the jumping-off place of the new organization, which will work in the sympathetic sanctuary of the British Labor Party, as much an arch enemy of communism as are the major parties of the United States.

The basis for the running battle between socialism and communism came into being almost exactly 100 years ago. In the fall of 1847, 29-year-old Marx and another German student, Friedrich Engels, were drawing up their famed "Communist Manifesto." It inveighed against a system which it said permitted a powerful capitalist class to take, in the form of rent, interest and profits, the surplus remaining from the production of the workers after payment of "subsistence" wages.

Marx had the idea of establishing a sort of international debating society where Socialist groups could discuss mutual problems. His "International Working Men's Association"—now known as the First Internationale—had its first meeting in London in 1864.

It was not a strong organization, but governments feared it because trade unionism was expanding and there were strong Socialist movements all over Europe. The Internationale intervened in 1867 when Paris bronze workers were locked out and it gave a hand to English unions trying to halt importation of cheap labor from the Continent.

Died With Commune

AFTER five years, internecine warfare broke out. The first point of friction resulted from the inclusion of Mikhail Bakunin in the Internationale. The Russian anarchist immediately announced himself the "apostle of universal destruction."

Bakunin and his followers were read out of the organization a few years later and formed their own internationale. Within a short time this splinter group was responsible for bloody civil strife in southern Spain.

The event which really killed the Marx internationale was the rising of secretly organized French Socialists in the ill-fated Paris Commune of 1871. The "working men's republic" collapsed and more than 20,000 were killed.

Marx issued a manifesto praising the Communards—and for years the internationale was suspected of organizing the insurrection. Moderates shied away from the organization, the internationale moved its headquarters to New York, and quietly expired in 1875.

The Second Internationale came into being in 1889. In the 15-year interim Socialism all over Europe had made long strides. But the Second Internationale was almost as innocent as the first, a meeting place for the discussion of Socialist tactics. With the approach of World War I it split on the rocks of nationalism, with most of the membership supporting their own governments.

Blood Brothers Split

THE RUSSIAN revolution put the Bolshevists in power and they established their own Third Internationale, the Comintern, to foster world revolution.

Meanwhile, still another internationale—this one with Vienna headquarters—was formed, and a number of Socialist groups refused to affiliate with any internationale organization. In the early 20's the Vienna and Second Internationales had merged, but by this time European socialism was split into two distinct camps. Compromise between socialism and communism was impossible.

A threat to the Comintern appeared briefly when Trotsky, in Mexican exile, talked of a Fourth Internationale, but it never materialized.

Historically, the Comintern seems to have followed faithfully the course charted by Lenin. It has changed its line and propaganda approach, but Lenin anticipated that changing situations would require temporary concessions to capitalist or socialist countries.

Comintern headquarters, Lenin

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
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(C)

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WASHINGTON POST
Page 2

GRIGORE BUZESTI

FERENC NAGY

VLADKO MACHEK

. . . Three of the exiled peasant leaders who are currently participating in the Peasants' Internationale

KARL MARX

. . . First Internationale

NICOLAI LENIN

. . . Third Internationale

announced soon after its genesis, would be "for the moment" in Moscow, but later would move to countries in which the economic system and proletariat were advanced along Communist lines. The new Comintern headquarters are in Marshal Tito's Yugoslavia.

Basis for Fusion

LAST year representatives of the Socialist movements of the world's democratic nations met in London with the British Labor Party as host. They organized as the International Socialist Conference and formally assumed the assets and liabilities of the dormant Second Internationale. Headquarters is in Antwerp.

Meanwhile, the new Peasants' Internationale would seem to be, even more than the Socialist Conference, the ideological heir of the Second Internationale. The cause of the exiled Socialist leaders is the more dramatic. The Socialists of the United States and western Europe are infinitely more comfortably situated as recognized minorities whose power is gained principally by coalitions with middle-of-the-road and even right-wing groups.

Inevitably, it seems, the two groups will pool their strength in a drive against communism.

But whatever the alignment of forces, the battle will be between the proponents of democratic processes and those of civil strife.

— *The Associated Press*

6, 1947
WASHINGTON
P. M. 2 B

Cominform Starts Its 'House Organ'

Belgrade, Yugoslavia, Nov. 12 (AP).—The first issue of the new Cominform's official organ, entitled "For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy," appeared on the newsstands today.

A front page editorial said the journal would "exert every effort to help the Communist Parties rally their peoples into a united camp" and would conduct a struggle against "bourgeois ideology."

The editorial said the new journal would report on Communist activities, elaborate questions of the "invincible theory of Marxism-Leninism," strengthen the mutual contact and "fraternal solidarity of working people of different countries" as well as to carry material showing the construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R.

The paper is published in French, English and Russian and is to appear twice a month, dated the 1st and 15th.

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RECORDED & INDEXED

The Washington Post
Date: November 13, 1947
Page: 4

ITALY - INT SEC

9-Nation CP Heads to Meet

ROME, Nov. 10 (UP)—Italian Communist leader Palmiro Togliatti said tonight that the executive committee of the nine-nation Communist Information Bureau would meet in mid-December in Belgrade. He denied that he or any Communist leader would become secretary-general of the organization.

"The nature of the bureau excludes the necessity of the position of secretary," he said. It "has an executive commmittee which will hold its first meeting in the middle of December in Belgrade."

File

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61-16-17

This is a clipping from Page 3 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 11-11-47
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

FILE

53 NOV

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61-16

Communist Party Here to Avoid Link With the Revived Comintern

By ALEXANDER FEINBERG

The Communist party of the United States has decided, after a month's wait, not to affiliate openly with the Communist Information Bureau.

This was announced yesterday in behalf of the national board by William Z. Foster, chairman, and Eugene Dennis, general secretary.

In the first official expression of party reaction, establishment of the unit abroad was termed an event of great significance and the bureau was declared to provide a tonic for "patriots" everywhere defending national freedom. However, the party's statement said, affiliation at this time was not possible because of the political situation in the United States.

Fear was expressed lest affiliation bring new repressions to the party. Unstated was the consideration that joining with the Communist parties of nine European countries might mean invoking of the Voorhis Act, which requires that agents working in behalf of foreign governments register with the State Department. After passage of this Act, it was recalled, the Communist party here withdrew from the Third Communist International (Comintern) before formal dissolution of that predecessor of the new bureau.

The way seemingly had been opened to affiliation by Jacques Duclos, French Communist leader and enunciator of party world doctrine. He said last Monday in Paris that admission to the bureau could be "requested" by the Communist party of any country. In reply to a question by Henry Cassidy, correspondent for the National Broadcasting Company, M. Duclos declared that the decision on joining in the case of the Communist party of the United States must come from the party here.

This decision was provided in yesterday's statement.

"The national board of the Com-

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COMMUNISTS HERE SHUN UNIT ABROAD

Continued From Page 1

munist party," it said, "has concluded that the present political situation in the United States is such that the Communist party should not affiliate. The reactionary and pro-Fascist forces now whipping up anti-Communist hysteria and war incitement in our country would undoubtedly seize upon such action by the American Communist party as a pretext for new provocations and repressions against the Communists and all other sections of the American labor and progressive movement."

Previously the reaction of domestic Communists had been confined to editorial expression in The Daily Worker. It said the new organization was anti-Wall Street and not, as the successor to the Comintern, anti-United States.

The national board's statement followed this line and coupled it with criticism of the Marshall plan, as follows:

"Confronted by the Marshall plan — Wall Street's program for enslaving Europe and the world — it is natural that these [nine Communist] parties should again prove themselves the best champions of the national independence of their own countries and of the welfare of all freedom-loving peoples."

Declaring that establishment of a clearing house for Communist information and activity coordination "has heartened anti-Fascists, anti-imperialists and lovers of peace in every land," the statement added:

"It is already clear that their joint declaration of views and their formation of an information bureau have everywhere strengthened patriots defending national freedom and the cause of peace, making more effective their resistance to the program of imperialist expansion, intervention and war of which Wall Street is the chief instigator."

The statement closed with a declaration that the Communist party of the United States "will continue to advance the cooperation of all peace-loving peoples, and especially the friendship of the American and Soviet peoples, as the main hope of international cooperation for peace among nations."

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AS USUAL

COMMUNIST PARTY leaders in the United States announce that they endorse, but have decided not to join, the "information bureau" set up by the Communist parties of Russia and eight other European nations.

Chairman William Z. Foster and General Secretary Eugene Dennis explain that they and other members of the national board believe it would be unwise to affiliate, under the present "political situation." It might bring new "repressions" against Communists in this country.

The so-called information bureau, of course, actually is a new Comintern, directed from Moscow. Its purpose, plainly, is to make certain that Communists in other countries operate in close harmony with the plans and in strict obedience to the orders of Soviet Russia.

The Communist Party in the United States is in complete sympathy with this international conspiracy, but has strategic reasons for not admitting membership in it. That's the real meaning of the Foster-Dennis announcement.

Few Americans, we think, will be fooled by it. The fact has become too obvious that wherever a Communist Party exists in any country it is an agency of the Kremlin. Communists here are simply playing Soviet Russia's game, as usual, when they say they have decided not to join the new Comintern. They will continue, as usual, to get and obey orders from Moscow.

Our Government can not afford to slacken its efforts to expose these servants of the Kremlin and to show up what they are doing. Such efforts are what Messrs. Foster and Dennis mean by "repressions." There should be more of them.

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WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS
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Socialistic, Cominform Link Foreseen

London, Oct. 29 (AP).—Early formation of "Socinform," a left-wing Socialist information bureau which, based in Prague, would seek to form a united propaganda front with the Belgrade Cominform, was predicted by European political informants here today.

Soon after the secret meeting of Communist Party leaders from nine European countries took place in Poland early this month, "informal and private talks" were held on the "Socinform" project among Polish, Czech and Italian Socialist leaders in Warsaw, the sources reported.

An informal approach already has been made to some British left-wing Laboratories, it was stated.

One British legislator who was among those approached said that the Labor Party would certainly frown upon "group membership" in any form.

Socialists said to have attended the Warsaw talks included Joseph Cyrankiewicz, Polish Prime Minister; Zdenek Fierlinger, Czechoslovak Vice Premier, and Pietro Nenni, leader of Italy's Socialists.

Cominform

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Extra

Invites All Reds Into 'Cominform'

PARIS, Oct. 27 (INS).—Jacques Duclos, leading French spokesman for International Communism, was quoted tonight as issuing a virtual invitation to Communist parties throughout the world to join the new nine-nation "Cominform" established at Belgrade.

In a statement to the French Press Agency, Duclos by implication made the American Communist Party along with all others eligible to affiliate with the Communist "information organization set up last month.

At the same time, a spokesman for the French Communist Party revealed that the Albanian Party has requested admission to the Cominform." The spokesman said this is likely to be granted.

Duclos, one of 18 Communist chiefs who set up the Belgrade organization, said other parties may joint the "Cominform" with "their free consent." He is regarded as one of the most influential Communist policy-makers outside Russia.

Doclos' statement seemed to contradict previous official statements, including those of Pravda, that the "Cominform" was not a new Comintern. Pravda said revival of the Comintern would mean taking "a step backward."

His statement apparently foreshadowed a more widespread Communist effort to "ruin" the Marshall Plan, an objective to which the "Cominform" has dedicated itself in its war on "American imperialism."

In a letter to Henry Cassidy, European news director of NBC, Duclos said Communist parties outside the "Cominform" could "make any intervention they judge necessary to the Bureau of Information, with request for admission."

As for the U. S. party, Duclos said he could not foresee the "attitude this party may be led to adopt in full responsibility for the determination of its policy."

Cominform

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Comintern's Death Is Denied

The Comintern never ceased to exist, according to Father Bela Varga, former president of the Hungarian National Assembly and No. 2 man in the ousted government of Ferenc Nagy.

Fr. Varga

Father Varga, a Catholic priest who fled Hungary after the Communist coup on May 31, arrived here yesterday and held a press conference in the office of the American Hungarian Federation. Speaking through an interpreter, he said that proof of the Comintern's continued operation could be found in Hungary, where leaders of the Communist Party were "tools of the Soviet Minister" and got their orders from Moscow.

"An independent Communist party cannot exist," he declared, "but must be a part of the overall Communist organization." Establishment of the Cominform—new organization of Communists of nine nations—was an open provocation to the rest of the world, he said.

"The Russians," Varga asserted, have no intention of stopping at the boundaries of the countries now dominated, but will extend their activities west to include Italy and France."

There is a striking parallel between what Russia is doing today, he pointed out, and the activities of prewar Germany, which also struck at the small countries around her first.

"Those small countries," Varga said, "are not in a position to break up the power of a world-wide organization without help from the rest of the world."

In Hungary, he said, whoever has a chance now flees to the western part of Europe. Varga stated that in Hungary today those suffering most are the people who have shown signs of friendship toward the west.

Varga said he would write and make speeches, especially to the Hungarians in this country, "to tell the world what is going on in Hungary and behind the iron curtain."

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Comintern Expected To Be Formed Soon For This Hemisphere

Montevideo Is Reported Selected for Meeting Like That Held in Poland

By Constantine Brown

A Comintern for the Western Hemisphere, patterned after that organized for Europe last month in Poland, is expected to be formed before the end of this year.

This information, which reached Washington last week, indicates that the activities of Communist Party leaders in North and South America have increased considerably recently. They have had secret meetings and been visited by "specialists" from Russia, Poland and Yugoslavia.

Montevideo, Uruguay, has been selected for the reunion of party leaders and will occupy a place in the Western Hemisphere comparable to that of Belgrade in the European organization, according to the reports received.

The removal of Nikolai V. Novikov as Russian ambassador to the United States is believed to have been part of the arrangements for this new setup and to have been motivated by Moscow's decision to renew an aggressive campaign in this hemisphere.

Asia Organization Planned.

Mr. Novikov was a run-of-mine government official and not a graduate agitator. His successor, Alexander Panyushkin, is of a different type, however. Before his appointment as Soviet Ambassador to Chungking in April, 1944, he was a prominent member of the Communist Central Committee in Moscow, and in this capacity was closer to the Politbureau than most Russian diplomats.

Mr. Panyushkin left China because of ill health — genuine not diplomatic—and after his recovery he became liaison man between the Communist Committee and the Soviet Foreign Office. He has organizational abilities for militant communism which, as a rule, are lacking in the ambassadors Russia sent abroad during and after the war.

Reports reaching Washington also indicate that a Comintern is planned for Asia and will be created early next year for the purpose, principally, of [illegible] the activities of the well-organized and powerful Communist Party in China with the weaker organizations in Japan, India, Indonesia and Indo-China.

Moscow is reported to believe that the Asiatic organization must be given more time than the Western Hemisphere Comintern, because of the handicaps confronting the Japanese and Indian Communists. The Asiatic Comintern will be established only after the Chinese Communists, under the leadership of Gen. Mao Tse-tung and Gen. Chou En-lai, have gained a better foothold in Manchuria and scored some more spectacular victories over Gen. Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists.

These plans are, of course, known to the United States and other governments, and form a pattern for the encirclement of the "capitalist-imperialist" countries.

The decision of Brazil and Chile to break off relations with the U. S. S. R. was due mainly to their knowledge that before winter the Communist minorities in those countries will be organized in one unit, subject to Moscow's orders.

The governments of Brazil and Chile decided to break off diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R. in order to remove from their countries the principal cells of Communist organization, which had been able to operate effectively thanks to diplomatic immunity.

Although the Chilean government did not specify any actual charges against the Yugoslav diplomats who were ordered out of the country, it is known that these agents of the Comintern — whom Belgrade clothed in diplomatic immunity — were working on preliminary plans for organization of the Western Hemisphere Comintern.

The same thing was true of Brazil, where the excuse for the break with Russia was the appearance of articles in the Soviet press insulting President Eurico Gaspar Dutra.

Former Ecuador Envoy Fears Communist Gains

By the Associated Press

Galo Plaza, former Ecuadorean Ambassador to the United States, believes Communism will gain ground in the Western Hemisphere unless the United States helps Latin America "maintain at least its meager standard of living."

Mr. Plaza outlined his views on Communism in Latin America in a letter from Quito, which he authorized the Associated Press to quote.

The ex-diplomat, who is mentioned as a probable candidate in Ecuador's presidential elections next June, declared:

"I am convinced that in the near future the United States will realize that the real Communism front is not so much in the Balkans or the Dardanelles—but right here in your back yard."

"The United States," he said, "will realize, too, that fighting Communism in the new world will not be a shooting war—but a war of infiltration."

And, he added, if Latin America's "common man" can be convinced by the Communists that "democracy is not delivering the goods," the threat of Communism will be more dangerous than ever.

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File

ASSERTS MANUILSKY IS COMMUNIST AGENT

Louis Budenz Calls Soviet Ukraine Delegate To UN Leader Of Revived International

New York, Oct. 17—(NC)—Louis F. Budenz, former managing editor of the communist Daily Worker and now professor at Fordham University here, asserted that Dmitri Manuilsky, delegate of the Soviet Ukraine to the U. N., is the new secret head of the revived Communist International. He made this assertion before 1,500 members of the St. Joan of Arc Holy Name Society in the St. Joan of Arc school auditorium here. Close to 1,000 women who could not get into the crowded auditorium listened to Mr. Budenz over the public address system in the church.

The former communist editor also charged that 90 per cent of the leaders of the Communist party in the United States were products of the Lenin school at Moscow and added that the party operates "schools for treason" in the United States.

The Catholic Review

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The Review, Baltimore, Md
10-24-49

Communist Idiocy

Well, if it is of any comfort—and especially if it will keep you from losing any sleep about Communist infiltrations into Hollywood or about concealed Communist propaganda in the monthly magazines—we offer you proof of something that we have long suspected; namely, that the proportion of prime jackasses among the Communist hierarchy is even larger than among politicians in general. The proof is in the result of the recent municipal elections in France.

It is plain from the election returns that virtually the whole of the French Center has been driven into the arms of General de Gaulle and his Rally of the French People. It is also plain that they have been driven there by the knowledge that the French Communist Party is nothing else than the mindless instrument of Moscow which is being used to further Russian interests and not the interests of the French people. It is also clear that the only hope of preventing a return of General de Gaulle to power after the next parliamentary elections is in the resurrection of the Front Populaire on which M. Leon Blum burned his fingers many years ago. Thus it is that the French Communists, in a sudden about face, are now once more paying assiduous court to M. Leon Blum, parroting his vocabulary, and appealing to him to save the French working classes from the threat of Caesarism.

Yet it was only two weeks ago that the French Communists, through their representatives, were singing an entirely different tune about M. Blum. The MM. Duclos and Fajon, French Communist leaders, were signatories to the manifesto announcing the creation of the new Communist Information Bureau, which is to all intents and purposes nothing but the old Comintern. The manifesto declared that—

> The anti-imperialist, democratic camp has to close its ranks . . . and to work out its tactics against American imperialism, against its English and French allies, against the Right Wing Socialists above all in England and France . . . The Right Wing Socialists are the traitors in this common cause . . . The French Socialists and the British Laborites—M. Ramadier, M. Blum, Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevin—facilitate by their servile placidity the fulfillment of American capitalistic aims, encouraging it to blackmail, and pushing their own countries on the road to vassallike dependence on the United States of America.

That was the party line as of midnight Saturday. The party line as of yesterday is sufficiently indicated by an editorial on the French elections in the New York *Daily Worker*

> The *working class parties* totaled 51 per cent of the four million votes thus far counted, divided as follows: Communist, 29.7 per cent; Socialist, 20.6 . . . This means that despite a hysterical campaign against the "Communist menace" and the usual scare propaganda of the reactionaries, the French working class held solid as a rock . . . The election figures show that a united working class could be the majority group in France. This is the big need now in the defense of the French Republic. (Italics ours.)

Whatever MM. Blum and Ramadier may decide about the advisability of another popular front, the sickening contrast of the Communists' language of last week and their language today has cost them a loss of "face" everywhere in Europe. The hypocritical opportunism behind all of their movements is now naked for all to behold. The situation in which the Communists find themselves in France—the necessity of eating their words and going hat in hand to the Socialist "traitors"—is not very different from the situation to which their international diplomacy has led them. They have, as we say, outsmarted themselves, and it is by no means the first time that they have done so.

Mr. Tolson
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The Washington Post
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61-16

Stalin Said to Call Revival Of the Comintern Utopian

By The Associated Press.

LONDON, Oct. 22—Konni Zilliacus, Left Wing Laborite, tonight quoted Prime Minister Stalin as having said that reestablishment of the Communist International would be "Quixotic and Utopian," and that Russia was not afraid of attempts to isolate her.

Mr. Zilliacus, leader of the party of eight legislators who saw Marshal Stalin recently at the Black Sea resort of Sochi, quoted the Soviet leader as having said that creation of the Communist Information Bureau in Belgrade "does not and cannot change Russian foreign policy."

He quoted Premier Stalin as saying that the Soviet Union stood for improvement of political and economic relations with all countries beginning with the United States and Britain, but that Russia "can wait if attempts to isolate her were made."

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This is a clipping from page 3 of NEW YORK TIMES
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"FBI"

REDS HERE SCORE TRUMAN

President Again Compared With Hitler at Mass Meeting

President Truman was compared again with Adolf Hitler at a mass meeting for which The Daily Worker, Communist organ in New York City, was sponsor, attended by 2,000 persons at Manhattan Center, 311 West Thirty-fourth Street, last night.

"Wall Street reactionaries" and "American Big Business" were assailed by William Z. Foster, Communist party chairman in the United States and principal speaker. Mr. Foster said not only that "the Soviet Union won the war" but that "the present United States policy can have no other reaction than a resurgence of fascism all over the world" and "for the American people it would inflict a ruinous and lost war."

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This is a clipping from page 10 of NEW YORK TIMES
Date 10-21-47
Clipped at the Seat of Government

R251

"FIVE"

GOVERNMENT AIDES SEIZED IN POLAND

Arrests Resumed by Security Police—U.S. Embassy Clerk Questioned for Hours

By SYDNEY GRUSON
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WARSAW, Oct. 19—Polish security police officers have arrested in recent weeks a number of prominent officials of state organizations during intensified police action to eliminate Opposition elements, it was learned today.

The extent of the action in Warsaw alone has been such as to recall the period immediately before last January's elections when the police tried to break the back of the Opposition Peasant party's electoral activities by wholesale arrests.

Charles Whitehead, 35-year-old Polish national who has worked in the commercial section of the British Embassy for nearly two years, was among those taken into custody. Mr. Whitehead, who comes from an Anglo-Polish family, was arrested in his sister's shop Friday after the secret police had searched his rooms at the Polonia Hotel.

A request by British Chargé d'Affaires Phillip Broad for an interview with the Foreign Office has so far gone unanswered. The embassy statement said Mr. Whitehead had been employed all the time on non-confidential work.

[A United States Embassy source said Mrs. Wanda Sgoka, a United States citizen employed as an embassy clerk, had been seized by three security po-

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GOVERNMENT AIDES SEIZED IN POLAND

Continued From Page 1

lice officers while en route to her home in suburban Zalesie, The Associated Press said. She was questioned for five hours at security headquarters at Warsaw and finally released, showing evidence of bruises and maltreatment, the informant said.]

Three officials of the state-owned airline are in custody. They are M. Zielynski, the general director; M. Zomkowski, technical director, and Augene Roland, chief engineer. As usual, neither the Government nor police authorities has said anything about the arrests and it is not known on what charges they are being held.

Two other men actively engaged in Polish economic affairs, M. Litwinowicz who represents the Ministry of Foreign Trade on the purchasing commission in France, and M. Nowicki, one of the top officers of the State trading organization Polimex, also are in custody. Numerous other persons connected with these two organizations also are reported to have been arrested.

Another phase of the police activity has been concerned with eliminating the elements connected with the old London Government-in-Exile. Several persons who served as delegates from London to the underground parliament that functioned in Poland throughout the German occupation have been jailed. Those arrested include Bronislaw Zielinski, department head of the state-supported Western Territories press agency Zap and at least two others who held prominent positions in that agency.

Link to "Comintern" Seen

Observers here profess to see some connection between the stepped-up police action and the Communist leaders' meeting in Poland at the end of September. They foresee intensive measures by the secret police forces of all countries on the fringe of the Soviet Union to wipe out the last vestiges of internal opposition.

Judging by the number of reported arrests recently the process has begun anew in Poland following a period of relative quiet after the election.

The security police, it was learned, released Price Janusz Radziwill, who was detained along with all other males in a party of nineteen members of the Polish nobility who returned from the Soviet Union a few weeks ago. The others were released after a few days but Prince Radziwill was held for investigation on charges that, as chairman of the Polish Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, he had supported Col. Joseph Beck's pro-German policy before the war.

The party had been kept together in the Soviet Union for several years under partial house arrest in a village near Moscow. All told friends that they had been well treated and had received good accommodations and food.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

File

Poland - Int-Sec-C

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RECORDED

61-16-4 EX-4
FBI
48 NOV 5 1947

RECORDED & INDEXED

EX-4

This is a clipping from page 1 of
NEW YORK TIMES
Date 10-25-47
Clipped at the Seat of Government

R251
60 NOV 12 1947

The Deadly Parallel

By Jonathan Stout

WASHINGTON, D. C. — On the highest levels in the State Department the view is expressed that the Kremlin's "war-mongering" propaganda barrage against the United States is intended to lead the American people to fear that war is imminent as a psychological softening-up process so that Americans might be ready to accept with a sigh of relief any deal the Russians would then advance for the dividing up of the world into two hemispheres of hegemony.

Responsible officials in the State Department do not believe war is imminent within the next five years. With that view, they are urging a policy of not giving an inch to Russian aggression anywhere along the line. At the same time, they are urging every measure of strengthening the remaining European democracies—principally Italy and France—against the internal bids for power in those countries by the Communists.

* * *

ON December 10, 1940, Adolf Hitler declared war to the death against the democracies. In his important speech to the workers of the Rheinmetall-Borsig plant he said:

"We are involved in a conflict in which more than the victory of any one country or the other is at stake; it is rather a war of two opposing worlds. . . . The fact remains that two worlds are face to face with one another. . . . I grant that one of the two must succumb.

"If in this war everything points to the fact that gold is fighting against work, capitalism against peoples, and reaction against the progress of humanity, then work, the peoples and progress will be victorious."

And on October 5, 1947, the Comintern emerged from its underground channels and declared war to the death against the democracies in a resolution which states:

"Two opposite political lines have crystallized; on the one extreme, the USSR and the democratic countries aim at whittling down imperialism and the strengthening of democracy. On the other side, the United States of America and England aim at the strengthening of imperialism and choking of democracy. . . .

"The battle of the two opposite camps — capitalism and anti-imperialism — is waged amid conditions of a further sharpening of the universal crisis of capitalism."

The deadly parallel above is making it difficult these days to decide whether Stalin is cribbing from Hitler or whether Hitler originally cribbed from Stalin.

It was noted with interest in Washington, however, that, as in Hitler's October 10th speech, the Nazis were frank enough to scorn a pretense of democracy. Said Hitler on that occasion:

"We National Socialists have never maintained that we were representatives of a democratic viewpoint, but we have openly declared that we only made use of democratic means in order to gain power, and that after the seizure of power we would ruthlessly deny to our opponents all those means which they had granted us during the time of our opposition."

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RECORDED
INDEXED

61-16

EX-14

EX-14 This is a clipping from Page 3 of the NEW LEADER

Date 10-18-47
Clipped at the seat of Government

File 61-16

32 NOV 14 1947 R257

Which proves, perhaps, that, in honesty, at least, the one thing lower than a Nazi is a Communist; as note the Comintern's continued use of the word "democracy" to describe Communist regimes.

* * *

IT is proving difficult to find anybody in Washington who has any real faith in President Truman's food conservation program to aid Europe. Despite the speeches, nobody here appears to believe it will work.

Observers here regard the President's food conservation plan as an effort to diminish the American consumer's role as a bidder in the competitive food market. It is apparently hoped by the White House that this may slow down the inflationary spiral, permit the Government to go into the food market in behalf of Europe on a smaller budget than a wild inflation would make possible, and restrain American public opinion from opposing Administration efforts to aid the remaining European democracies.

It adds up to a voluntary lowering of the American standard of living. But observers here feel little optimism that (1) this will happen; and (2) that it would do any good if it did.

It is pointed out that if the profiteers refused to restrain their greed during the war, it is not likely they will restrain it now. So that, in a situation where aid to Europe's democracies makes it necessary for the Government to compete against the domestic consumer in the food market, the profiteers will shoot the inflationary spiral up no matter what the domestic consumer does.

Students of the food situation here say there is enough food available to feed the American domestic consumer and aid the European democracies at the same time. It is their conclusion that the real answer to the Administration's problem is a curb on profits and control of prices.

It is pointed out as a possibility that if the President's apparently naive faith in what is fundamentally a lame propaganda program fizzles out, the White House might then be in a position to advance more realistic measures.

But apparently the American people are due to go through the wringer a little longer before common sense is brought to bear on the problem.

The Sixteen Sheep and the Nine Bad Wolves

by William Rust

WHY is it that when some American politicians talk about peace they always drag in atom bombs and warplanes? Enraged by the decisions of the Warsaw conference of the nine leading European Communist parties, Mr. Averell Harriman, U.S. Secretary of Commerce, rushes in to declare that America must build up its military power and air force—in order to preserve peace!

Whom does Mr. Harriman think he's bluffing?

The Warsaw conference was a movement of millions of people. Apart from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, whose world standing is well understood, the other eight parties represented a membership of 6,800,000 and a voting strength of 25,000,000.

And more millions are now answering the call of the conference for a united struggle against the Truman-Marshall plan and in defence of peace and the independence of the European countries.

★ ★ ★

THESE millions are not suffering from weak nerves. Unlike the 16 sheep who recently met in Paris, the nine bad wolves of Warsaw are neither to be bought by dollars nor scared by atom bombs.

Another Mr. H., now deceased, once frightened Europe with his posturing and threats. But those days are over and the lesson has been learned. Retreat before aggression leads to war.

by WILLI

Today the initiative has been taken by the peace-loving and progressive forces of Europe in both the East and the West.

The profound meaning of this great world event cannot be disguised by blood-curdling talk about the rebirth of the Communist International or the sheer nonsense that the British Communist Party, which did not participate, has thereby suffered a contemptuous rebuff.

But in all fairness it must be conceded that some of the commentators are at last displaying a certain horse sense.

If the Communist view of the Marshall plan proves "well-grounded," writes The Times, "the new turn in their policy would bring big returns." The Communists have seized the initiative, sadly declares The Observer in an article which reaches the conclusion that Russia "has stolen the first march on the drowsing (sic!) giant across the Atlantic."

★ ★ ★

THESE comments are somewhat wiser than those of Minister of State Hector McNeill, who belongs to the "revival of the Comintern" school and who had to be publicly told by Vyshinsky that he is suffering from hallucinations.

The Comintern was dissolved at a timely moment in 1943, but long before that date it had become clear that a centralised international of this kind had played its historical role. The Comintern had mighty and inspiring achievements to its credit, but, as was pointed out in the statement on dissolution its form of organisation had "even become a drag on the further strengthening of the national working class parties"

EX-104

Clipping from page 2 Daily Worker London, England 10-17-47

61-16

2 NOV 25

To revive the Comintern would be a step backward, not forward. The new Information Bureau is not a new international but a means of co-ordinating the work of nine European Communist parties on a voluntary basis. The Bureau will consist only of those parties which set it up.

Those propagandists who think that they can scare people with nonsensical talk about the Comintern are trading on the Red Bogy psychology created by Goebbels' propaganda. They should remember just where that well-trodden path leads.

★ ★ ★

SO much publicity has been given to the abusive reactions of the Right-Wing Socialist leaders to the Warsaw conference that it may not be appreciated that there are other influential Socialist leaders who take a quite contrary view.

The secretary of the official Italian Socialist Party, led by Nenni, has given the Warsaw decisions a warm welcome. In Poland the rank-and-file of the Communist and Socialist parties are carrying on a lively discussion, and a further strengthening of the united front is confidently foretold. The leader of the Hungarian Socialists says that there is nothing surprising in the Warsaw decisions in view of "the aggressive American policies of the last months."

The denunciations made by Morgan Phillips in Britain and Leon Blum in France are so curiously alike that the existence of a spot of "co-ordination" may be suspected.

AM RUST

Not that there would be anything surprising in this as no less than four international conferences under Right-Wing Socialist leadership have been held during the last two years and an international office was established in Transport House some 18 months ago. In November, 1946, these same leaders turned this office into an International Socialist Consultative Committee, representative of all the parties and charged with the publication of a bulletin.

This body looks much more like an international organisation than the Information Bureau to be set up in Belgrade, and Dennis Healey, secretary of the Labour Party's international department, has toured the European capitals on missions which look suspiciously like "Orders from London."

If these leaders were to display a little less hypocrisy and a franker recognition of the role of American dollar Imperialism in undermining the independence of their countries the workers would be inclined to pay more attention to their arguments.

As it is, the members of the Labour Party seem to know more about what America is trying to do to Britain than their secretary, Morgan Phillips.

★ ★ ★

AMONG the wild charges flung at the Communists is the fantastic contention that the Warsaw conference revealed a speculation on the growth of misery and economic chaos.

The absurdity of this charge can be measured by the fact that seven of the parties represented are actively engaged in carrying through economic plans in their countries and can proudly report great progress in reconstruction and rising living standards.

The other two parties, the Italian and French, also have their plans but are prevented from taking their rightful place in the governments of their countries by the despicable tactics of the Right-Wing Socialist leaders who, under orders from Washington, co-operate with the capitalist parties against the Communists.

It is not difficult for the ordinary man to understand the meaning of the contrast between the steady progress of the planned economies of Eastern Europe and the economic crisis and hunger which are afflicting France and Italy and the danger of what Cripps calls "economic strangulation" in Britain.

The sheep who accepted the Marshall plan are being sheared.

The Times argues that the Communists are calculating on the outbreak of an economic crisis in the United States.

The Communists are doing nothing of the kind. But they are quite alive to the realities of the economic situation in that country and they refuse to close their eyes to the signs of crisis.

There were economic crises in America in 1920, 1929 and 1937, and the fear of a new crisis of overproduction is one explanation of the Marshall plan, which is aimed at capturing more markets and breaking down the tariff defences of the British Empire.

Far from speculating on increasing misery, it is the Communists who are in the forefront of the fight to avert the danger threatening Europe and the world and, in the words of the Warsaw declaration, are doing their utmost to save Britain and France from being pushed down the road "of vassal dependence on the United States."

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*A recent Gallup poll recorded that 57 per cent of the people interviewed held the opinion that America will want a say in running Britain's affairs before further help is given; there were 51 per cent who said that help on such terms should be rejected, and the majority of these were Labour supporters.

Walter Winchell

In New York

The Comintern-International Octopus

Here is an excerpt from a speech delivered by Stalin before the meeting of the Comintern on May 6, 1929: "A word or two regarding the tasks and the mission of the American Communist Party. I think, comrades, that the American Communist Party is one of the few Communist parties in the world upon which history has laid tasks of a decisive character...I think the moment is not far off when a revolutionary crisis will develop in America. That will be the beginning of the end of world capitalism as a whole. It is essential that the American Communist Party should be capable of meeting that historical moment fully prepared and of assuming the leadership of the impending class struggle in America. Every effort and means must be employed in preparing for that. For that end the American Communist Party must be improved and Bolshevized."

Americans must not lull themselves to sleep with the lullaby that the Comintern conspiracy has not made headway here...At the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International—the American members were praised for "penetrating and conquering 200 organizations in America!"

The galling hypocrisy of the Comintern is exemplified by its flip-flop some years ago when it suited Russia's strategy to temporarily cuddle up to the U. S. It switched the Comintern slogan to: "Governments of the World Unite to Preserve the Peace of Europe."

The original slogan was: "Workers of the World Unite to Destroy All Capitalist Governments!"

Stalin's book, "Problems of Leninism," is Russia's "Mein Kampf"...It is the most-widely distributed tome in the Soviet, and all Russian Communists are required to know it thoroughly. It has been translated in all languages—for the guidance of Comintern members and their followers in every nation.

Stalin admits in this book that the success of his regime in Russia is not sufficient. He states it is just a prelude to similar victories in other countries: "The Russian Revolution is a prerequisite of World Revolution."

In the same book Stalin supports Lenin's declaration: "It is inconceivable that the Soviet Union should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialistic states. Ultimately one or the other must conquer."

P.S.: Russian propagandists are now accusing America of being an "imperialistic state"!

There you have a portion of the overwhelming evidence that convicts Communist Russia (with the words and acts of their own leaders) of planning to destroy all opposition—including America. They don't want World Peace—but World Revolution...Which makes their raps at the Marshall Plan and their refusal to demobilize simple to savvy: They want hunger to brew dissension and chaos because it is all part of the plan for Der Tag.

And when the Comintern was dragged into the open again—it offered glaring proof that they haven't changed their plans.

The Comintern is not just an international political organization—it is a lethal weapon designed by the Kremlin for eventual world conquest. Its members are fanatic Communists throughout the globe who owe allegiance to Moscow. Their aim is the overthrow of every gov't that opposes their nefarious plans. Their methods are propaganda, espionage and violence. The members infecting every land (outside of Russia) are part of a Communist invading army.

Lenin once candidly admitted the Comintern aims via an address before that outfit. He bluntly stated: "International imperialism disposing of the might of capital cannot co-exist with the Soviet Republic. Conflict is unavoidable, and here is the greatest difficulty of the Russian Revolution; its greatest historical task, that of provoking the International Revolution."

Stalin later echoed Lenin's words with: "The more effective the assistance rendered by the first socialist country to workers and toiling masses of all other countries, the more rapid and thorough will be the development of world revolution...We must raise revolts against the capitalists and, in the event of necessity, *COME OUT EVEN WITH ARMED FORCE!*"

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Stalin's promises to "dissolve" the Comintern (in 1943) were full of airy nothings...During the recent Russian Spy Trial in Canada, documentary evidence was made public (consisting of official records of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa) proving the Comintern has continued to function with accelerated activity as a master instrument in Soviet espionage in every part of the globe.

The Comintern Academy in Russia has trained its agents for their sinister activities. After Russia publicly called for the "dissolution" of the Comintern, it secretly sent out its well-trained Comintern agents to every nation—where they carried on plans to incite world revolution without fanfare.

After the Comintern came out in the open again several days ago, Moscow's mouthpieces babbled that the Russian Gov't had no connection with the activities of this outfit...Nevertheless, among the Communist leaders who took part in the meeting "to reorganize the general staff of the world revolution" were Andrei A. Zhdanov and Georgi M. Malenkov—who are among Stalin's closest advisers and members of the powerful Politburo.

The Soviet's pop-off artists in the UN and the lie merchants in Moscow would have you believe Russia adopted its current truculent attitude simply because America nixed its peaceful intentions after the war ended and became a leader of "imperialism."

Actually, Russian plans to communize Europe as the first step toward reddening the globe were hatched long before the 2nd World War exploded...In 1935 the Russian Government's magazine, "The Communist" (distributed to Comintern members), said: "Socialism cannot forget that the aims of the Capitalist governments allied on the side of the Soviet Union are entirely different from our own. Therefore it must not enter into a 'civil peace' with them...Our aim must be first to defeat Fascism and *THEN TO ORGANIZE IN COMMON WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE VICTORIOUS GERMAN REVOLUTION THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY OF EUROPE.*"

Now who is the warmonger, Vishinsky? Is it the Russian Gov't that admits it plans to destroy our way of life? Or is it an American newspaperman who spotlights their dangerous words in an effort to awaken his country to the perils threatening its existence?

RECORDED

EX-9

R755

OCT 17 1947

New York Daily Mirror

Page

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
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In New York

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THE DAILY MIRROR (NYC)
Page 6
Date 10-17-47

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Herr Vishinsky: Put that in your pipe of peace and choke on it.

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Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Meat for the Comintern

Reports do not agree on who started it or why, but the Paris transit strike—now followed by a new seamen's walkout threatening to cripple all ports in France—certainly has all the earmarks, as Premier Ramadier says, of a political maneuver. The French Communists have indorsed it after having at first opposed it, and undoubtedly they will indorse the maritime tie-up as well. Their sudden about-face is in line with the recent manifesto of the "revived" Comintern. They can be expected to make the most of the trouble. It is meat for them and meat for their masters in the Kremlin.

In itself, the paralysis of subway and bus services in Paris may amount to little more than a distressing but not grave inconvenience in the life of the city, and it may be ended soon by the special measures being taken by the Ramadier government to mobilize all available private and military transportation facilities. But its significance as a symptom, as an indication of deep and continuing restiveness in the ranks of French labor, is too disturbing to be ignored. Here is a country urgently in need of industrial peace and more and more production. Yet, despite its critical economic situation, its workers follow a union leadership that stands behind not merely the transit strike and the potentially far more serious nation-wide maritime strike, but also a strike vote in the Renault automobile plant and a possible railroad strike.

Accordingly, unless the majority of workers follow the example of members of two independent unions—who returned to work yesterday, what France is likely to suffer now is a repetition of last summer's widespread walkouts that shattered the government's efforts to curb inflation. To have this happen all over again—at a moment when the country is more than ever in need of internal economic stability, hard work, and steady output—would be a blow of the first magnitude. It would be such a blow even if the Communists did not exist to exploit disorder and chaos on behalf of Moscow's drive to expand its totalitarian sway westward through Europe.

But France's Communists do exist. They exist in large numbers, with exceptional power, and the prospect is doubly serious for that reason. If large-scale industrial strife breaks out, they can be counted upon to intensify it as much as possible to undermine the projected Marshall recovery program and otherwise promote the Comintern's dominance-seeking objectives. This ought to be obvious to all Frenchmen in labor's rank-and-file. The question is whether they will see it clearly enough and in time, to avoid victimizing themselves and their country.

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EX-93 F B I
71 NOV 18 1947

80 NOV 3 1947

Clipped from WASHINGTON EVENING STAR for 10-17-47

U. S. GETS DATA ON COMINTERN'S FAKED REVIVAL

Canadian Royal Commission Report Shows How Reds Fooled Allies in 1943.

'DISSOLUTION' WAS FALSIFIED

Records Indicating That Moscow Kept Third International Going Are Received.

By EDWARD NELLOR.

Special to THE NEW YORK SUN.

The New York Sun Bureau,
Washington, Oct. 17.

Proof that the Russian Government had deceived the Allies in 1943, with assertions that the Comintern had been dissolved, is contained in the records of the Canadian Royal Commission's report on Communist espionage in North America, a thorough check by The New York Sun revealed today.

Documents seized from Russian agents during the atomic bomb trials in Canada establish irrefutably that the Kremlin-directed international spy ring functioned directly under the Politburo throughout the war. This proof gives the lie direct to Red assertions of "reviving" the

Continued on Page 15.

RECORDED

The Corby Case

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22 NOV 4 1947

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2 NOV 15 1947

Sun

OCT 17 1947

PROVES COMINTERN WAS NOT DISSOLVED

Continued from Page 1.

Comintern, as announced recently by Communist leaders from nine European nations.

At the time the Russian Government allegedly abolished the Comintern, United States officials from the President down praised the Communists for "this democratic step." The Russians watched the United States and British governments swallow the bait, and played to the hilt the opportunity afforded to them by the diplomatic gullibility.

Documentary Proofs.

Igor Sergeilvitch Gouzenko, the code clerk in the Russian embassy in Canada, after fleeing the Reds sent to apprehend him, informed the Royal Commission that "the announcement of the dissolution of the Comintern was probably the greatest farce of the Communists in recent years." He told the startled Canadians, to whom he fled with coded documents from Moscow directing spying in Canada and the United States, that "actually the Comintern exists, and continues its work, because the Soviet leaders have never relinquished the idea of establishing a Communist dictatorship throughout the world."

Gouzenko furnished documentary proof to bear out his assertions. He added that "it is clear that the Communist party in democratic countries has changed long ago from a political party into an agency net of the Soviet Government, into a fifth column in these countries to meet a war."

Gouzenko presented the commission with one document seized from the embassy code room which listed the Comintern center as having the only biographical data on Sam Carr. Carr is the missing Red spy who was connected with the Canadian espionage ring, but since has fled or been killed.

Spy Links Traced.

Carr was known to have traveled through the United States, Mexico and Cuba in his flight, before he vanished. A main link in the global spy network, he was an associate of several American citizens on the suspect list. The coded data was sent from Moscow in 1944, a year after the alleged dissolution of the Comintern.

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Spy Links Traced.

Carr was known to have traveled through the United States, Mexico and Cuba in his flight, before he vanished. A main link in the global spy network, he was an associate of several American citizens on the suspect list. The coded data was sent from Moscow in 1944, a year after the alleged dissolution of the Comintern.

Another decoded document revealed that a Capt. Pantzerney, who had been in New York as a naval engineer with the Russian Commercial Counselor, traveled to Ottawa in 1944 to confer with the Red spies. Patzerney was linked by the documents to the Comintern Intelligence System, which dealt in espionage and biographical material on North American communists and their sympathizers. The entire Gouzenko report, in fact, disclosed tenacles reaching across the world directly from the Kremlin.

The Russians place great emphasis upon the Comintern's value. Russian leaders chose it, in fact, as the one agency which they would publicly, but falsely, sacrifice in the move to lull American and British governmental leaders into false security.

Focus of Revolution.

In "reviving" the Comintern, the Reds took a calculated step, designed to spread its full measure of propagandistic fear throughout Europe, and to bring American and British diplomatic efforts to a standstill. This time, however, the shock appears to be less effective than was the pleased reactionary of American officials from the late President Roosevelt on down over the faked dissolution in 1943.

The Comintern was and is the brain of the Red revolutionary effort, backed by the Red Army, and financed on a global basis by the Kremlin. American intelligence reports always have been skeptical of the dissolved Comintern.

Now, with proof available that the Comintern functioned with ease throughout the war, the announcement of "reviving" the espionage group is taken lightly; brainchild of Europe's nine com- in one respect. There remains the puzzle, however, of the real meaning of the so-called revived Comintern, labeled an "information bureau," which was the munist leaders.

French Papers Link Paris Strikes to New 'Cominform' Tactics

By the Associated Press

PARIS, Oct. 15.—Socialist and MRP (Popular Republican Movement) newspapers today editorially linked the crippling Paris subway and bus strike to new "Cominform-style" tactics of the Communists.

The word "Cominform" apparently was a reference to the recently organized nine-nation International Communist Information Bureau at Belgrade.

The Communist paper L'Humanite attacked Socialist Premier Paul Ramadier and headlined its account of the transport walkout: "The whole population supports the strikers."

Political Motive Charged.

Mr. Ramadier has announced that the wage increase demands of the strikers would receive no consideration until they go back to work. He has declared that the strike was politically motivated.

Some quarters saw in the transport strike and other pending strike votes and strike threats the skeleton framework of widespread work stoppages throughout France just prior to Sunday's municipal elections.

Strike threats or strike votes were pending among building workers in Lyon; maritime workers numbering nearly 40,000; automobile workers in the Renault plant; railwaymen; gas and electric workers, road transport workers and the Paris taxi drivers. Some of these called only for one-day protest strikes in support of the bus and subway workers.

Thousands Walk to Work.

As thousands walked to work, the MRP newspaper, L'Aube, said editorially:

"That the Communist Party, responsible for the general work stoppage, hasn't hesitated to gravely inconvenience the Parisian population on the eve of the elections opens revealing perspectives on the new tactic, Cominform-style.

"It seems that the possible loss of several thousand votes counts much less than the mobilization of the 'masses' and their revolutionary training."

Le Populaire, the Socialist paper, accused the Communists of exploiting workers' discontent for political motives, and said the Communists also were "inspired by the desire to execute operations fitting in with the great lines of a new international politic."

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Clipped from WASHINGTON EVENING STAR for 10-15-47

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Gandy

Northern Korea: Base for Oriental Comintern and a School for Reds

By CLYDE FARNSWORTH
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

SHANGHAI, Oct. 15—Northern Korea, under Russian tutelage, has become an international school for Oriental Communists and a base for a new Oriental Comintern, it is learned here.

This information was furnished by a reliable Korean informant who recently arrived in China from Korea. He didn't want his name used for fear of assassination.

WAR TIE-UP

He said the Comintern, which really never was abolished by the Kremlin, was flowering anew north of the 38th parallel, alongside a program of military preparation whose objective, among other things, is Sovietization of all Korea.

He said all adaptable industry in the Russian zone had been turned to war work. Its exportable surpluses of small guns and ammunition are being shipped into the battle for Manchuria, which is where international Communism in the Far East needs it most.

Northern Korea was said to have drawn Communist agents from several parts of Asia, but especially Japan. The Communists feel that the Japanese are the most deserving of re-education and reindoctrination in revolutionary techniques and party principles because of their wartime isolation from the mainstreams of "world revolution."

Besides, it's a short haul across the Korea Straits from Japan. Jap Reds leave and re-enter Korea by underground methods, this informant said. In northern Korea they can study and compare notes with "post-graduates" from Manchuria and Sinkiang—where revolution not only is preached but practiced.

'COLLEGE OF COMMUNISM'

Sovietization of all institutions of learning in northern Korea and creation of the Korean "Peoples Army" has permitted a combination of ideological tutoring with military instruction. An added advantage of the Korean "College of Communism" is that "students" don't have to be admitted to the Soviet Union itself.

The center of instruction in the Russian zone was said to be the "Political Institute," reportedly established by the Russians at Heijo.

This Korean informant interpreted the situation as re-establishment of the Comintern on an Oriental regional basis, comparable with the recent emergence of a nine-party European combine with Moscow's blessing.

The Communists kept a Korean "Communist government" at Yenan, Chinese Red capital, during the war with Japan until Russian occupation of northern Korea set them up in business. Thus, the Korean "People's government" started off with strong regional affiliations with the Chinese Communists.

If this Oriental Comintern ever gets around to proclaiming its existence, it would include Korea, Inner Mongolia, Communist China, probably tie in a revolutionary "government" for Sinkiang, China's turbulent northwestern province, and might include Communist parties or front organizations in Indo-China and Burma.

MANIFESTO UNLIKELY NOW

Whether the Oriental Comintern ever issues a manifesto appears to be a question of formality and whether it would do the Communist cause more good than harm. For the present, it would hardly square with Russia's protestations of non intervention in the Orient for Soviet officials to join openly in such a move as they did at the nine-nation conference in Poland. For that reason alone, the Oriental Comintern may keep to the shadows for some time.

This Korean informant said the whole population of north Korea had submitted to Communization with varying enthusiasm.

Koreans, he said, were calling themselves vegetables of various kinds. In the north there are two kinds—carrots and turnips. Carrots, with reddish orange texture from the skin to the core, are greatly outnumbered by red turnips, which have a red skin and white inside.

In north Korea there are no white-skinned turnips and in south Korea there are no carrots.

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71 OCT 23 1947

WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS
CITY EDITION
DATE 10/16/47

Raymond Moley — THE U.S. AND THE COMI

The average American's thinking on foreign affairs will be clarified by the creation of the new Comintern.

He can view the new situation as a challenge in a long political war which need not become a shooting war. He will sharpen his interest in helping Western Europe. He will view with justified suspicion left-wingers here who loudly declare that American capitalism is rotten at the core. He will demand more positive action against Communism in America. And he will finally believe that, if there are to be two ideological worlds, it is time to clarify and rationalize what our side of the world stands for.

His conclusions ought to provide the principles through which we should mobilize ourselves for a long political conflict.

There is no question about the challenge which Russia and her satellites have offered. The basis of the new manifesto is quite unlike that of the old Comintern, which once called itself the "international of deeds." It appealed to the proletariat of all countries. And Lenin, its high priest, called for the end of the "state" and hence of all old concepts of nationalism and sovereignty. The new Comintern pictures the same enemy, "capitalist imperialism." But its appeal is to nationalism, national sovereignty and "democracy."

Against this torrent of propaganda, Americans, together with free people everywhere, must build their defenses. Our aid to the nations of Western Europe ought to take on more positive form. It cannot be a mere dole to more-or-less shaky governments which offer us no assurance that they have a common interest in the economic unification of Western Europe. It is not the mere reconstruction of Germany that we seek and the bolstering of anti-Communist governments in Italy and France. The concept of Western Europe must be an economic union built around the great economic powerhouse of the Ruhr. The Comintern aims at unifying Eastern Europe. Our answer in Europe must be a counter-unity in the west.

In the United States we must at long last develop [illegible] about Communism. [illegible] of that policy should [illegible] denial of any legal ri[illegible] party which aims at the destruction of our civilization. In short, we should, by Federal and State action, outlaw the Communist party or any other party which takes orders from the new Comintern. All the old soft-headed arguments against such a positive step have now lost their force. To the argument that to outlaw Communism is to drive it underground, the answer is that it has been underground for a long time. Any illegal activity is underground, and it is the business of the police power to root it out.

Finally, the concern of Americans should be a clearer definition of our own point of view. We cannot be merely anti-Comintern. We must be pro-something, and that something must transcend the generalities of freedom and democracy. The materials for an American manifesto are at hand. We must, in co-operation with those all over the world who are now under attack, raise an ideological standard of our own.

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LOS ANGELES TIMES
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OCT 15 1947

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Vast Program by Communists To Dominate World Disclosed

Reds Seen in Fourth Phase of Campaign, Softening Nations for Next Offensive

By George Weller

Special Correspondent of The Star and the Chicago Daily News

The Communist Parties of the world today are entering their fourth historical phase of open and secret action aimed at the violent overthrow of free enterprise, capitalism and democratic socialism.

The Communists are infinitely better armed for this effort than they were in the three phases of the defeated Paris commune of 1871, the partly successful Russian revolution of 1905 and the 1917 triumph of the Soviets.

World War II ended in a triumph for the Red Army with the imposition of Communist or Communist-dominated governments on seven European states: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia. Two Communist semistates have been created in Asia: The Chinese Communist government centering in Manchuria and the Communist state of Northern Korea.

Only one postwar coup has failed—in the Western Persian (Iranian) state of Azerbaijan.

Springboard of Attack.

Stalin's success, due largely to the American policy of retreat-and-pay begun at Teheran and Yalta and generally continuing today, has provided the Russia Politburo, the top brain of world revolt, with an astonishing array of new instruments. The outspread fan of new bases in Eastern Europe has enormously increased the springboard of attack, direct and disguised, available to the Comintern.

(The Comintern, or Communist International, is the next downward rung of the ladder of organization below the Soviet Politburo.)

The world is entering on a long, slowly intensifying process of being softened up for the next Communist offensive. It is a period similar to that from 1923, when the last postwar Communist revolt in Europe failed, to 1943, when the designs were laid that have brought nine states into control of the Politburo.

Loosely stated, the aim of the Politburo is openly to paralyze free government in Western Europe and secondly to dig deeper into the anarchic situations in Indonesia, Indo-China and India.

Chart Tells Story

The Star presents today on Page 4 a chart of the vast Communist organization in France, an example of the means by which the Soviet Union is attempting to extend its domination throughout Europe—and the world.

In this accompanying story, George Weller analyzes the status of the Communist world offensive.

Phase V in Asia.

The world revolution, having passed through phase IV in Europe, will proceed, if these plans are carried out, to phase V in Asia.

The final assault against the United States Government must wait until the investment by communism of the Eurasian heartland progresses to where Eastern Europe is now.

These phases do not mean that the Comintern is prepared today to seize government in Western Europe, as hysterical Americans fear and backers of the Marshall aid plan assert. The groundwork is being laid, but the Soviets are not ready to move. War now would be premature to them.

The decisive role in the next revolutionary situation, as in the postwar 1943-1947 period of conquest, is likely to be assigned to the Red Army. The Red Army is the newly hired wet nurse of Communist revolution.

It is the Red Army which creates the political situation under which the local Communist Party, Communist key ministers and Communist police leaders take over.

Sometimes the seizure is quick and violent; sometimes the method is slow strangulation of democracy through "treason trials" and electoral terror.

"Guards" the Revolution.

Usually the Red Army stands by in containment; open intervention is rare. The army "guards" the revolution.

Except in Russia itself there never has been a homespun Communist revolution that was successful spontaneously. The pattern of Red Army intervention has repeated itself seven times in Europe.

In Asia the Russians have raised a Red Korean Army in addition to their own and in Manchuria the Soviet Army set up the Chinese Communist Army from Shantung in the position front which it has been fighting for two years.

When the Soviets founded the Comintern in January, 1919, under Gregory Zinoviev, first editor of Pravda, who was executed in the Moscow trials, they were ready in two months for three revolutions. Two weeks after the first Comintern adjourned, the Hungarian revolt broke out. In another fortnight the Bavarian Communist government had been formed. By June there was a Red putsch in Vienna.

All three revolts failed. So did the revolt of George Dimitrov, future leader of the Comintern, in Bulgaria in 1923. So did Stalin's effort in Canton, China, in 1927.

Reason for Failure.

The reason in all cases was the same—no Red Army was on hand to "keep order." To "keep order" mean to give arms, hence power, to the Communist Party and deny them to all others, thus excluding all other solutions but a Communist one.

To Communists, parliaments, national or international, are only sounding boards like newspapers and radio. A meeting is only an outlet for propaganda; real action takes place outside.

All legislated aims are "reformism," temporary and tactical only. The great end aim is dictatorship by the Politburo "for the masses."

Of course, if dictatorship could be achieved by parliamentary means, the Communists would not refuse it.

But they live and act on the assumption that power can be acquired only by force. The axiom has proved correct.

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Pg 1

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Instruments of Force.

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The revolutionary doctrine always ... until 1943-1947 changed it—... Communist Party in any c... first must penetrate the tr... unions and the army and impo... local revolution through win... them over.

cautious Lenin always insisted that there also must be a reserve force of "workers" behind this spearhead, prepared to make sure that the Communist-led unions and army could not yield in a crisis, pushing them from behind as well as following them.

The great American retreat from Eastern Europe, once dominated and then abandoned by the American Air Force, opened the way for a new Stalinist technique, rendering Lenin's out of date. A vacuum of power was created by this retreat.

To establish communism in this vacuum neither trade union nor local army was necessary. The Red Army could play the rôle of both.

Not even a crisis of hunger, need of destruction was necessary. Czechoslovakia came through the war almost unscathed, and Bulgaria and Romania hardly suffered a scratch. Yet they fell.

Only Nucleus Required.

The Russian planners required only a nucleus of determined Communists and a monopoly of arms, with the Red Army standing in the background with folded arms.

The Partisan movement, topped by selected Communist expatriates like Czechoslovakia's Gottwald and Bulgaria's Dimitrov, furnished the armed nucleus. In the anti-Nazi countries like Poland, Albania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, the Partisans were real guerrillas who actually had fought the Germans (though far less than they claimed).

In the enemy countries, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria, the Partisan movement was whipped up from phony cadres of "anti-Fascist" second guessers and corrupt police eager to redeem their collaboration with the Nazis by serving Soviet masters.

In Asia the Chinese Communists are in the fighting class, and the Northern Koreans belong with the opportunists.

To lull the Americans and British before the coups it was necessary in 1943 to "dissolve" the Comintern. Even its revolutionary newspaper ceased publishing. The western world swallowed the bait and hailed Stalin's new "co-operative policy," former American Ambassador Joseph E. Davis leading the chorus.

Never Dissolved.

Actually the Comintern never was dissolved. It merely went underground inside communism.

In the Canadian atom bomb spy case the Soviet agent's papers still referred to the Comintern in 1945. Victor Kravchenko, former Soviet purchasing agent, who deserted and took refuge in the United States, described the dissolution as a "maneuver."

The Comintern became less prominent in the 1945-1947 period of Communist consolidation in Eastern Europe because the situation had raced ahead beyond comintern jurisdiction.

Stalin was able to deal directly through his army marshals, like Voroshilov, for example, who named the Communist Minister of the Interior in Hungary without American dissent.

The Comintern is still functioning today, unconnected with the new "information bureau" at Belgrade, which some observers have mistakenly termed a "revived Comintern." The Comintern never died and so never needed to be revived.

Time Aids Red Army.

In postwar Europe the Politburo and Comintern are the brains of revolution, but the Red Army is the tool. Time is on their side.

The peace treaties are signed, but their provisions weaken only the already enfeebled American forces in the struggle for power, not the Red Army.

The Russians withdraw only from Bulgaria, a nation of 8,000,000 held by a Communist dictatorship armed with artillery, airplanes and tanks.

The Americans pull out of Italy, a nation of 46,000,000 in ferment, not reserving themselves even a base for their Mediterranean fleet nor a field for their bombers.

As long as the Red Army remains in Germany, Eastern Europe's two most powerful countries, Poland and Czechoslovakia, are clenched in the Communist nutcracker.

The squeeze is gentle. The Kremlin sees no need to help anti-Communists in these countries by open pressure or excesses, inasmuch as their economies and policies are subservient already.

But in a military sense the Red Army's right of transit to Germany—used mainly in Poland—is decisive.

"Communication Troops."

As long as the Red Army remains in Austria, Southeastern Europe likewise lies trussed on the table. The peace treaties, with America's costly signatures on them, give Russia the right to maintain "communications troops" in Romania and Hungary until Austria is settled.

The Communist dictatorships of Albania's Enver Hoxha and Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito, the most absolute in the Balkans, take care of the Adriatic. The homeless American Mediterranean Fleet now uses that inland sea on their tolerance.

After the Red Army the newest political instrument of the Politburo is the "People's Front."

The old popular front technique which shattered France before the war is now being used to join Communists and compliant leftish Socialists in Communist-steered "People's Fronts."

This technique widens the parliamentary base of the Communist Party and makes it possible to maneuver the legitimate opposition into a place where it depends on the permission of the People's Front for existence. Take away that permission and the opposition goes down in an inquisition of "treason" trials and witch hunting.

People's Front Congress.

The People's Front Congress is a sort of limited style comintern, but the purpose seems to be mainly boosting through propaganda and open self-criticism. In his speech to the September congress in Belgrade Tito gave the delegates a sharp dressing down for not being aggressive enough.

Another useful and little suspected instrument of the Soviets is the Russian Orthodox church. The church is handy both to attack the Vatican obliquely and to put an amber religious filter on the old doctrine of "Moscow, the third Rome," which is 20th century communism.

Recent dispatches from Korea say that the Russian church in Seoul in the American zone is being used as a post office of Soviet espionage.

In the world plan the immediate assignment of the Moscow patriarch, Alexei, seems to be to bring the Istanbul patriarch, Maximos, under his control. Alexei recently invited all patriarchs to Moscow, but Maximos refused.

The Bulgarian Orthodox Church, oiled with Soviet aid, is already a willing creature of the new, pious Politburo.

Youth "Feeder Belts."

Organizations like the August Youth Festival in Prague are feeder belts for proselyting youth. The technique is to propose to politically inexperienced students a large humanitarian dilemma like "How shall better wages be obtained for the world's workers?"

The Communist belwethers then answer them in the Marxist terms, while spokesmen for free enterprise never get the floor. It is the

old technique of excluding a hearing to every other solution but the Communist one, and then "solving" the question.

Veterans organizations are also convenient hosts for the penetration of communism. This attempt in the United States resulted in a split in the American Veterans' Committee. But in countries where there is no real army, and the veterans' organizations are partisan controlled, the movement is a good cover for Communists.

In many countries there are nationalists veterans' groups which partly off-balance the Communist-penetrated ones.

The full dimensions of Soviet penetration among the veterans cannot be measured until the last German and Japanese veterans, trained as agitators in Soviet prison camps, come home and feel safe to start their work. The fifth column has hardly broken the surface yet, because Americans are still in Germany and Japan.

Soviet "Diplomacy."

Soviet "diplomacy," meaning not only legitimate missions but also that horde of governmental agents of all kinds that descends on unguarded countries, makes another wing of the new, vastly improved Soviet net. While at peace with Japan during the Pacific war, Russia kept eight times as many people at Canberra, the Australian capital, as did the United States which was carrying the main burden of the war.

Today there are about nine Russians "officially" in the United States for every American in Russia.

Lately there has been the new invasion of "diplomatic" missions from the seven Soviet satellites. The anti-Communist diplomats all have been fired, reassigned overseas or thrown into prison at home. The missions are almost purely communistic. The missions of the seven Soviet satellites represent a new spread of listening posts for international communism.

These satellite missions are now moving over from passive intelligence into active operations.

Chile has just expelled two members of a Yugoslav mission for fomenting revolution in Chile's unions and for smuggling Communist agitators with falsified papers into Chile.

Seven Possible Outlets.

In every country counter-Communist agencies must now reckon with seven possible outlets—all protected by diplomatic immunity—where there were only Soviet embassy and economic agencies hitherto.

In the present period of preparation for open anticapitalist war, as in 1919-1943, it remains true that the Communist parties and the industrial unions penetrated by them—about 16 in America—are the spearhead. America is the enemy.

There are Soviet attacks in the rear as well as frontally, wherever the United States leaves an opening.

For example, when President Truman makes an unreservedly pro-Zionist speech, the Russians make hay with the whole Islamic world from Dakar to Afghanistan.

When American food is voted for Germany, Polish and Czech Communists make persuasive use of this help to an ex-enemy. When the Soviets are loud and America silent on the colonial wars in Asia, the Communists gain.

The general Communist objectives are to talk a big game in Europe and blackmail America into more "loans," building high the pyramid of depression.

To bleed America white and thus win an unarmed, impotent isolation and new vacuums to fill—that is the Soviet aim.

It is the Soviet means of striking America that have multiplied.

How a Soviet Net of Intelligence Works in a Foreign Country

Example: France

(chart)

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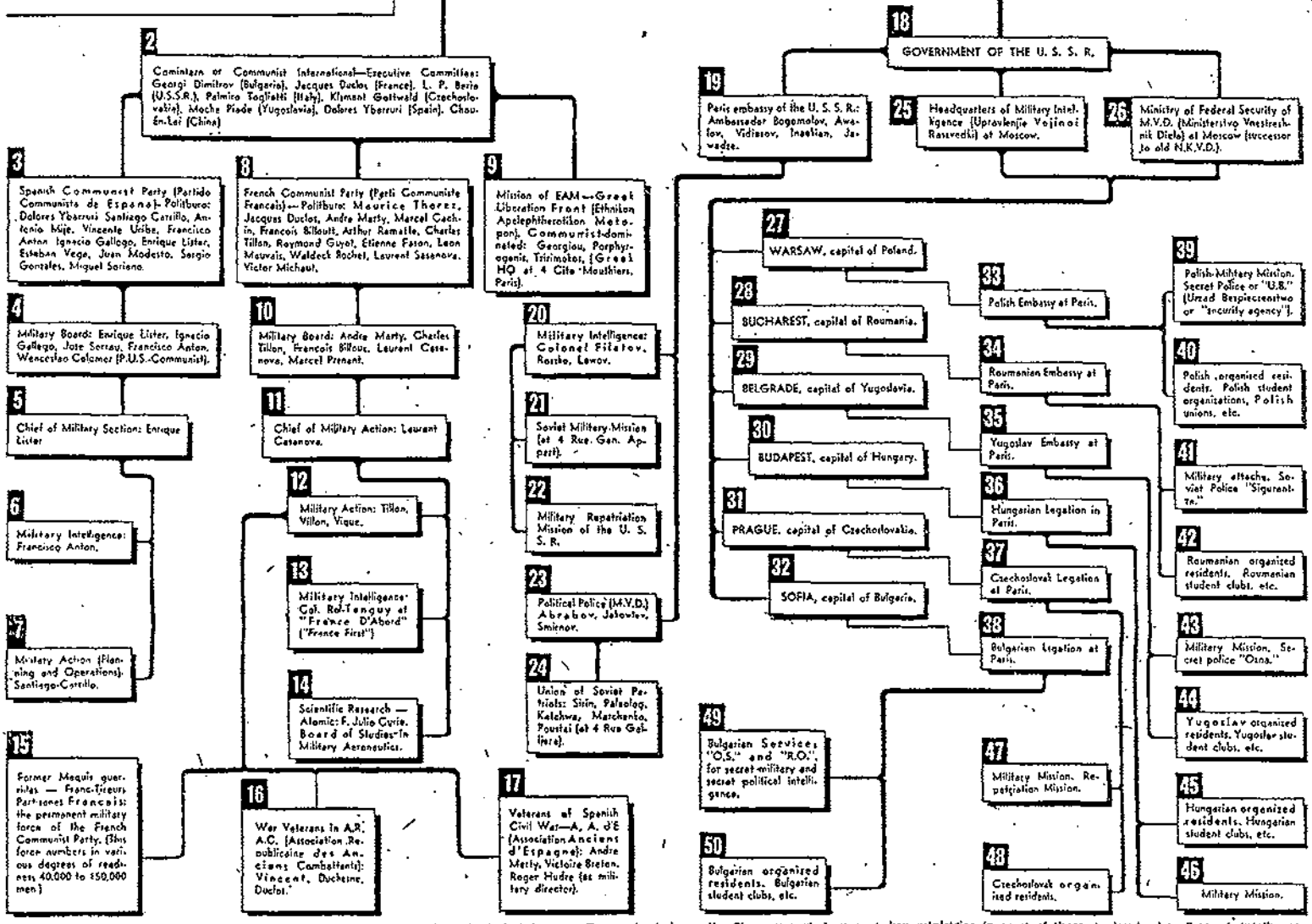
October 18, 1947
Pg A-4

HOW A SOVIET NET OF INTELLIGENCE WORKS IN A FOREIGN COUNTRY. EXAMPLE: FRANCE



The Politburo of the Soviet Union is the supreme headquarters of international communism. The Politburo in Moscow (numbered 1 in the diagram) controls not only the Russian government (18) but also the Comintern (2).

Officially the Comintern (2) is supposed to be abolished. Actually it is alive and flourishing. The Comintern still enjoys authority over strategy in the Communist Parties in other countries, who have their own tactical direction. But the Comintern is subordinate itself to the superstrategy of the Politburo in Moscow.

The chart shows, for the first time, the names of all members of the new Comintern board.

As shown here, the Politburo sits at the top of a flow of intelligence channeling world-wide information to Moscow. Everything from political reports and economic plans of strategy to secret military and naval intelligence goes to the Kremlin in this way. The intelligence coming in determines the orders for strategy being sent out.

A chart bigger than this newspaper would be required to show the world-wide scope of the Soviet intelligence network. This chart shows only how the net covers a single country—France.

France is shown rather than the United States, not because the American net is less important, but because France is a more dynamic and complex network and is on the firing line of the Soviet push westward.

With the Balkans already inside, the Soviet sphere, France today is the center of the approaching—though not necessarily imminent—effort by the Communist Parties to take over Western Europe, partly by political elections, partly by armed pressure.

The chart shows the elaborate, carefully planned intelligence system of the French Communist Party (8 to 17). On each side it shows also the two most active Communist Parties in France: The Spanish (3 to 7) and the Greeks (9). The Greeks are only a mission in France, their Politburo being divided between the Slave-supported guerrillas in the mountains, the Athenian underground and the exiled leaders like Mitsos Partsellides in the Aegean Islands.

On the right side of the chart can be seen the rich flow of intelligence about France which reaches the Soviet Politburo through the Russian government (18). There are two main inlets: From the Soviet diplomatic mission in Paris (19 to 24) and from the two main security bureaus—military intelligence and federal secret police security, both in Moscow.

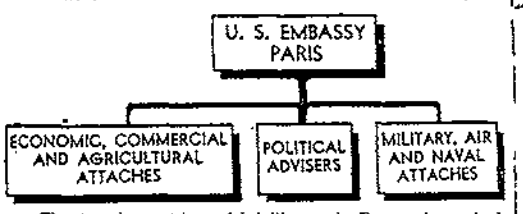
Looking one rung further down, one sees how these two Russian bureaus receive direct reports from the satellite capitals of Eastern Europe and the Balkans (27 to 32). Communists hold the key ministries in most of these governments. Thus the satellites, in respect to intelligence, are like an extra system of microphones for the Soviet government and the Politburo above it, not only in France but anywhere.

The satellites get their information from France independently, out of their own embassies and legations in Paris (33 to 38). Another step down the ladder of information are the national subsystems of the satellite powers in France (39 to 50), including everything from students' and residents' clubs to secret police, often trained by the Soviet MVD successor to the old NKVD.

This chart shows the regular day-to-day flow of intelligence from the Soviets' outermost instruments in France up to the Politburo, but it does not show the downward route of the ensuing orders. Their route is often obscure, and capable of fast shortcuts when necessary.

How would a chart of the Soviet network in America look?

At the top it would look the same as this chart. But instead of having semimilitary organizations (like 7, 15, 16, 17), mostly born of the French marquis underground, which has no American equivalent, the American chart would show political "feeder" organizations, "liberal" societies under masked Communist control, and key unions, especially in communications and electronics.



The American system of intelligence in France, in marked contrast to the elaborate Russian organization, is detailed in this small chart.

Target Of The Reds

By Barnet Nover

Socialists And The New Comintern

IN THE WARSAW manifesto setting up the new Comintern, violent denunciation of the United States is matched by an equally vitrolic assault on the right-wing Socialists of western Europe.

NOVER

Cited by name as "traitors" are Leon Blum and Premier Paul Ramadier of France, Prime Minister Clement Attlee and Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin of Great Britain, Dr. Kurt Schumacher of Germany, President Karl Renner and Vice Premier Adolf Schaerl of Austria and Giuseppe Saragat of Italy.

These men, says the Warsaw manifesto, "aim at hiding the true face of imperialism behind the mask of democracy and Socialist phraseology." They are "faithful toddies of the imperialists" and are "pushing their own countries on the road to vassal-like dependence on the United States of America."

THIS COMMUNIST denunciation of Socialists is neither new nor surprising. But it happens to have a very special significance at this time. It means that the Communists have burned the bridges that, until recently, linked them with their non-revolutionary fellow-Marxists. It is the equivalent of a warning to the world that they, the Communists, are out to achieve power on their own.

Nobody denounced the right-wing Socialists more violently than did Nikolai Lenin, the founding father of the Soviet regime.

For years all cooperation between Communists and Socialists was ruled out. In Germany, during the critical period leading up to the establishment of the Hitler regime, the Communists preferred from time to time to make common cause with the Nazis against the Socialists, rather than become part of an anti-Fascist front.

It was not until the Soviet leaders suddenly came around to the realization that the Third Reich was a menace to Russia that the ban against Communist-Socialist cooperation was dropped. Then the Communists, blandly ignoring their former attitude, became the most ardent advocates of the united-front program.

WHEN THE WAR ENDED, the Communists became part of the government coalitions in nearly all the liberated countries of Europe.

Nowhere were they in a majority. Nowhere was it possible for them to secure a majority in any free, fair and unintimidated election.

Throughout eastern Europe and the Balkans they managed to take over, as their share of the apparatus of government, those governmental functions which enabled them to manipulate election returns.

The Communists are now completely dominant in Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, Poland and Hungary and in those countries the embittered and disillusioned Socialists find themselves tied to the Communist chariot.

IT WAS THIS repeated demonstration of Communist bad faith that the Socialists of western Europe, notably those of Belgium, France and, to a lesser extent, Italy, broke with their erstwhile Communist allies.

In France this split was deliberately provoked by the Communists themselves, at a signal from Moscow. Moscow apparently believed that the time had come for the Reds to be relieved of the responsibility of government so that the blame for the anticipated economic breakdown and political chaos that would follow would fall on the Socialists and the other moderate groups.

It has not worked out that way in France. In Italy, the Communists, having been instructed by what happened in France, fought tooth and nail against Premier de Gaspari's plan to kick them out of the cabinet. Together with Pietro Nenni's left-wing Socialists who have made common cause with the Reds, the left-wing coalition has 40 per cent of the seats in the Assembly.

UNTIL NOW Communist strategy both in France and Italy has centered around the plan to bring the Reds back into the government. This idea appears now to have been abandoned.

It is open to question whether, had they been given a free choice, Maurice Thorez in France and Palmiro Togliatti in Italy would have done what, under orders from Moscow, they have now been forced to do.

The creation of the Belgrade Internationale pins the label of foreign agent on the French and Italian Communists, a label which they have so ardently sought to repudiate.

In their desperate attempt to smash the Marshall Plan which, they fully realize, represents the greatest potential threat to the spread of communism in western Europe, the men of the Kremlin are prepared to sacrifice immediate advantages for long-range gains.

Realizing that neither the French nor the Italian Communists are in a position, at this moment, to take over power in their countries, Moscow has apparently decided to use the Communist movement in western Europe as the instrument with which to produce chaos. Whether they succeed or fail will depend, in large measure, on this country. But we must move fast.

RECORDED
F B I
71 OCT 22 1947
EX-19

THE WASHINGTON POST
PAGE 13
DATE 10-14-47

File

STRATEGY

The Comintern Is Back

That old Sleeping Beauty, the Communist International,* came back to life last week. At a secret meeting "somewhere in Poland," delegates from nine European Communist Parties met to reorganize "the general staff of the world revolution." The importance of the move was highlighted by the presence of Andrei A. Zhdanov and Georgi M. Malenkov, both members of Russia's ruling Politburo and close advisers of Joseph Stalin. Other top Communist brass who attended: Rumania's Ana Pauker; Yugoslavia's Vice Premier Edward Kardelj; Poland's Vice Premier Wladyslaw Gomulka and Minister of Industry Hilary Minc; Jacques Duclos, secretary of the French Communist Party; Italy's Luigi Longo and Eugenio Reale, and delegates from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Purpose of the meeting, as reported in full by Moscow's *Pravda*: to coordinate Communist forces against U.S. imperialism and wreck the Marshall Plan, which the congress called a U.S. device for the economic and political control of the world. They charged that the U.S. and Britain had fought World War II purely for imperialist reasons. Specifically named as "imperialist toadies" and traitors to the working class were Britain's Prime Minister Attlee and Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin; France's Premier Ramadier and Socialist Leader Léon Blum; Italy's Giuseppe Saragat, and Dr. Kurt Schumacher, German Social Democratic leader.

Most important act of the new Comintern: a proposal to organize an "Information Bureau," composed of two representatives from each of the central committees of the Communist Parties at the congress. Official purpose: "To organize and exchange experience and, in case of necessity, coordinate the activity of Communist parties on foundations of mutual agreement." Headquarters: Belgrade, conveniently close to the seething situations on the frontiers of Greece and Trieste.

What did the revival of the Comintern mean? It meant: 1) all-out Communist concentration against U.S. efforts to achieve economic and political peace in Europe, a new era of Communist power politics; 2) Russia's open reassumption of her place (dropped for tactical reasons during World War II) as leader of the world revolution; 3) intensifying of the battle of ideologies (Communism *v.* democracy), as a prelude to the battle of systems (Communism *v.* capitalism). The Comintern revival might also mean that Russia was tightening Communist organization for a series of imminent political (and perhaps military) actions in Greece, Italy, France, Yugoslavia, Austria, and eventually Germany.

In Moscow, the news sent a chill through many average Russians who have no way of controlling their Government. Said one: "If this doesn't mean war, what does?"

* The Communist International was founded (in 1919) by delegates from twelve European countries, "to overthrow [the bourgeois world] order and to erect in its place the structure of the Socialist world order."

RECORDED 61-16-1

Time Magazine
October 13, 1947
Pg 30

61-16

'Nine Party Conference Strengthens Democracy'.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain at its meeting over the weekend discussed the declaration of the nine leading European Communist Parties and passed the following resolution:

"THE Executive Committee of the Communist Party greets the decisions of the conference of the nine leading European Communist Parties representative of millions of peace-loving people.

"It expresses its full agreement with the call for the strengthening of the forces of peace and democracy in the struggle against the plans of American imperialism for the political and economic enslavement of Europe.

GREATER UNITY

"It is confident that the greater unity and strength which the democratic peoples in Europe will have as a result of the nine-party conference, will greatly assist the struggle of the British people to find a constructive solution of the grave problems now facing them, and to resist the attempts to lower their standard and to reduce Britain to a position of political and economic dependence on the United States of America.

"With this aim, the Communist Party will intensify its campaign to rally the Labour movement and democratic opinion for a reorganisation of the Government in which those Ministers responsible for the present disastrous position are removed, and their places taken by representatives of the progressive section of the Labour movement, pledged to a people's solution of the crisis and an alliance of the peace forces of the world."

Clipping from page 3 Daily Worker, London Eng.

10-13-47

61-16193

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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b7C

Russia Has Established Axis for Next War, Says Landon

By United Press

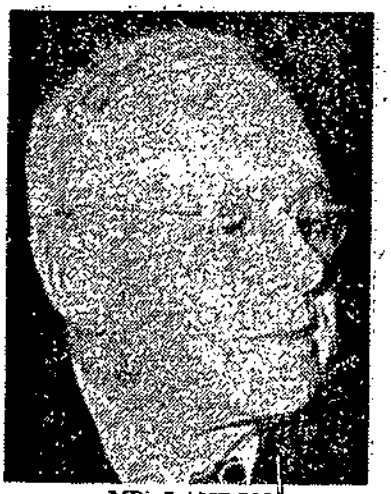
TOPEKA, Kan., Oct. 13—Alf M. Landon charged today that the "gangsters who rule the Kremlin" have openly established the axis for the next war and that we should keep ourselves armed beyond a point which any other nation ever before contemplated.

The Kansas Republican saw in the Comintern's re-establishment a "sort of counter-attack" by the Russians against the Marshall plan. He said the Comintern's revival was difficult to overestimate. "It is the counterpart of the formation of the Axis," Mr. Landon said.

He attacked sharply the "third party movement in the hands of those who are now its sparkplug" in this country and declared "it is purely and simply the Russian party in American politics attempting to stab us in the back." He said a third party of Americans for Americans and by Americans is always in order, but added:

"A third party taking its orders from any foreign country is nothing but a den of traitors."

He charged, without mentioning names, that the third party movement was being "formed, financed and sparked by the Russian international."



MR. LANDON
"Den of traitors."

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WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS
FINAL EDITION
DATE 10-13-47 69

An American Manifesto

Rebirth of Comintern Calls for Proclamation of Our Own Ideological Standards

By Raymond Moley

The average American's thinking on foreign affairs will be clarified by the creation of the new Comintern. He can view the new situation as a challenge in a long political war which need not become a shooting war. He will sharpen his interest in helping Western Europe. He will view with justified suspicion left-wingers here who loudly declare that American capitalism is rotten at the core. He will demand more positive action against communism in America. And he will finally believe that, if there are to be two ideological worlds, it is time to clarify and rationalize what our side of the world stands for.

His conclusions ought to provide the principles through which we should mobilize ourselves for a long political conflict.

There is no question about the challenge which Russia and her satellites have offered. The basis of the new manifesto is quite unlike that of the old Comintern, which once called itself the "International of Deeds." It appealed to the proletariat of all countries. And Lenin, its high priest, called for the end of the "state" and hence of all old concepts of nationalism and sovereignty. The new Comintern pictures the same enemy, "capitalist imperialism." But its appeal is to nationalism, national sovereignty and "democracy."

Against this torrent of propaganda, Americans, together with free people everywhere, must build their defenses. Our aid to the nations of Western Europe ought to take on more positive form. It cannot be a mere dole to more-or-less shaky governments which offer us no assurance that they have a common interest in the economic unification of Western Europe. It is not the mere reconstruction of Germany that we seek and the bolstering of anti-Communist governments in Italy and France. The concept of Western Europe must be an economic union built around the great economic powerhouse of the Ruhr. The Comintern aims at unifying Eastern Europe. Our answer in Europe must be a counterunity in the west.

* * * *

In the United States we must at long last develop a policy about communism. The basis of that policy should be a firm denial of any legal rights to a party which aims at the destruction of our civilization. In short, we should, by Federal and State action, outlaw the Communist Party or any other party which takes orders from the new Comintern. All the old soft-headed arguments against such a positive step have now lost their force. To the argument that to outlaw communism is to drive it underground, the answer is that it has been underground for a long time. Any illegal activity is underground, and it is the business of the police power to root it out.

But to outlaw the Communist Party does not necessarily mean outlawing the Communist press. The principle of a free press admits no censorship or restrictions beyond those imposed by present law. The miserable Communist sheets which would survive the extermination of the Communist Party could be checked by our own press. The relationship of such a subversive press with foreign powers could be ruthlessly exposed. The following of the Comintern line could be systematically shown. Such an alien press could do little damage thus exposed to public view.

Finally, the concern of Americans should be a clearer definition of our own point of view. We cannot be merely anti-Comintern. We must be pro-something, and that something must transcend the generalities of freedom and democracy. The materials for an American manifesto are at hand. We must, in co-operation with those all over the world who are now under attack, raise an ideological standard of our own.

RECORDED 161-16-A
EX-75 71 OCT 31 1947

clipping from page C4
Wash. Sunday Star
10-12-47

File

Pollitt Shows the Need for Nine-Parties Plan

From MALCOLM MacEWEN

MR. HARRY POLLITT, the secretary of the Communist Party, listed three factors behind the manifesto of the Nine Parties when he broadcast in Friday Forum last night.

They were:

1 The undoubted military and political preparations on the part of American Imperialism for a new war against the Soviet Union and the new democracies in Eastern Europe.

2 The speech of Mr. Hector McNeil, the Minister of State, who was willing to admit quite cheerfully at U.N. that when the war ended the nations which fought the war together also parted with identity of purpose.

3 The coming November conference of the Foreign Ministers on Germany, in which it was already clear that the aim of America and Britain was to rebuild German monopoly capitalism as a bastion against the spread of Communism from the East.

The Communist conference in Poland, he said, would rouse the vigilance of all peace loving peoples against the undoubted war propaganda of America which, unfortunately, was supported by the reactionary foreign policy of our own Government, associated with right-wing social democracy everywhere.

The other speakers in the forum, Professor Laski, of the Labour Party Executive, Mr. Walker Smith, a Tory M.P., and Mr. Harold Nicholson, formed a united front to attack the new Communist move.

They could not agree, however, about America. Mr. Laski did admit that America was fantastically dominated by fear of a non-existent Russian desire to dominate the world, and forces in America were pursuing objectives incompatible with the maintenance of peace.

Mr. Walker Smith thought that it was fantastic to talk about American Imperialism and war mongering. Mr. Nicholson agreed and pleaded that our policy must be "co-operative" with America because our standard of life depended upon assistance from the U.S.

Mr. Pollitt asked why, if America was genuine in its desire for peace, it did not abolish the atom bomb instead of using British scientists to build them up not only against Communism but to blackmail Britain into being a junior partner for another Imperialist war

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Clipping from page 6
Daily Worker
London, Eng.
10-11-47

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. R. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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b7C

COMINTERN DENIAL ISSUED BY PRAVDA

Soviet Communist Organ Says Set-Up Is 'Forward' Step—U. S. Policy Its Target

MOSCOW, Oct. 10 (UP)—The newspaper Pravda said today the forming of the new Information Bureau in Belgrade by the Communist parties of the Soviet Union and eight other European countries was not a rebirth of the Comintern. It was the next step in the development of the international working class movement, Pravda asserted.

In a front page editorial, Pravda, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party and the first Soviet newspaper to comment on the new organization since its formation was announced Sunday, said Communist parties had developed so strongly since the Comintern's dissolution in 1943 that "direction by (of) them from a central organization" was no longer necessary.

"The documents which have been published (Sunday) say clearly that the setting up of the Information Bureau by representatives of some Communist parties does not signify at all the restoration of a single world Communist organization with centralized leadership such as the Communist International (Comintern) used," Pravda said.

Comintern's Role Cited

"The Communist International was dissolved in accordance with mutual agreement of the Communist parties in 1943 and in accordance with conditions and demands of the historical situation.

"Since the Comintern's dissolution, the Communist parties of separate countries have grown considerably, have strengthened and have increased their influence among the masses. In such a way, the dissolving of the Comintern has fully justified itself and played a positive role in the development of the working class movement."

Pravda said that "to return at present to the Comintern would mean going backward, not forward."

Retorting to Western press criticism and comment on the new organization, Pravda said:

"The bourgeois press has raised a hue and cry in connection with the conference of the nine Communist parties. THE NEW YORK TIMES, The Manchester (England) Guardian and Figaro (Paris), in desperation are outdoing one another in the prattle about the Communist danger and a Communist conspiracy.

"They are echoed by Churchill and the Churchillian politicians of imperialism. What is the matter, gentlemen? Why all the alarm?

"They resent, above all, the fact that representatives of nine Communist parties have decided to meet at a conference and organize an information bureau.

Notes Socialists' Efforts

"But what is there extraordinary about that? Socialists of nineteen countries, together with Laborites, recently held two conferences and have already managed to set up their own international. One asks why should Communists be refused the same right?"

Pravda castigated the "imperialist camp headed by the United States" and said that the "Soviet Union and countries of the new democracy represent a serious hindrance to the realization of imperialists' plans."

"The clamorous hysteria of the imperialist propagandists, the sickening yelling about the Communist danger do not testify by any means to the strength of the reactionary camp," Pravda concluded. "It is necessary to bear in mind that there is a vast gap between the desire of imperialists to unleash a new war and the possibility of organizing such a war.

"The people of the world do not want war."

Lovett's Remarks Attacked

MOSCOW, Oct. 10 (AP)—In addition to Pravda's article, the Soviet press also published today the first comment from abroad on the new Information Bureau. Under the headline "Lovett Threatens Europe," Soviet newspapers printed the remarks of Robert A. Lovett, United States Under-Secretary of State, that the Communist parties' move was an effort to prevent the recovery of Europe.

Pravda's editorial emphasized that the Communist parties represented in the new international organization at Belgrade would resist every phase of what is considered by them to be "dollar diplomacy" by the United States.

The party representatives at their recent meeting in Poland, Pravda said, had "decided to put on the Information Bureau the job of organizing an exchange of experience, and in case of necessity, to coordinate the activity of the Communist parties on the basis of their mutual consent."

Pravda left no doubt that the words "in case of necessity" could cover opposition to such things as the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall plan, and that opposition to "American imperialism" was the real reason for creation of the bureau.

RECORDED: 61-11-19

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THE NEW YORK TIMES
Date 10-11-47
Page 6

61-18

THE REBIRTH OF THE COMINTERN

JOSEPH EXONAVICH

THE NEW REPUBLIC

RECORDED & INDEXED 61-16-11 F B I 63 OCT 28 1947 54418

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61-16

71 NOV 15 1947

The Rebirth Of the Comintern

ONLY to the utterly credulous and politically feeble-minded who believed that "Stalin has discarded Communism" and forever severed all ties with his puppet parties can the resurrection of the Communist International be astonishing. It was to be anticipated that the connection between Moscow and the other Communist parties, which had never been broken, would come into the open after the special reasons for the ostensible "abolition" of the Comintern had ceased to obtain. The rebirth of the Comintern comes, however, as the announcement of an imminent new offensive, elaborated and prepared in all its details. It is a concrete strategic plan for political attack, intermingled with military operations.

It is not difficult to discern Stalin's authorship of the published documents as well as of the plans for the projected offensive. The ideology upon which the manifestos are based rests on the juxtaposition of "the two extremes—the USSR, aiming at whittling down imperialism, and the United States and England, striving at a strengthening of imperialism and choking of democracy." This concept of the polarization of the peoples of the world around Russia, on the one hand, and the Anglo-Saxons on the other, is a mere repetition of what Stalin said at the four-

ZHDANOV
Stalin's Mouthpiece

tenth congress of his party some twenty years ago. "Two principal but polar centers of attraction are being created in the world," he then declared: "the Anglo-American center for the bourgeois governments, and the Soviet Union for the workers of the West and the revolutionary East."

The multitude of military terms employed in the new proclamations in referring to political action—attacks, offensives, campaigns, outposts, battles—are typical of Stalin's style of expressing himself. And, finally, the whole plan implicit in the announcements is the typical product of Stalin's mind: this setting of the stage for an ambitious operation by local Communist forces with active support from outside.

* * *

Italy Is Next on the Agenda

AT its very end, the manifesto contains a most important rebuke of certain (unnamed) Communist parties. "The main danger for the working class at this moment," the new Comintern declares, "lies in the underestimation of its own strength." What this serious accusation really means has been revealed by Marshal Tito in a lengthy address made simultaneously with the Communist conference in Poland. He assailed the Communist leaders of wartime resistance movements "in certain countries" who have "not carried out their organizational tasks" and are responsible for the fact that "the fight has not yielded the desired results and reaction has again taken hold." Tito failed to name Italy and France, but specifically excluding the Greek Communists from his accusations, he made amply obvious at whom his criticism was directed.

Of the two Communist parties which, according to the Comintern, failed to live up to expectations and who were invited to the revival meeting in Poland, the French CP is in the more difficult position because France is surrounded by non-Soviet states and in case of Anglo-American help to the government, no Russian-sponsored forces could rush to the aid of the French Communists. Therefore Italy is the next target. The headquarters of the new Comintern—the old leaders of the International used to call it the "Headquarters of World Revolution"— will hence be located in Belgrade, in the proximity of the Italian border. The Italian Communist Party has a membership of over 2,000,000—a figure that in Moscow seems adequate to insure the successful seizure of power; it counts on Pietro Nenni's pro-Communist Party as a willing reserve. The Italian Government possesses a rather small military force, in accordance with the peace treaty, while the Yugoslav army, which is scheduled to hasten to the aid of Togliatti's men, numbers around 400,000—the biggest continental army outside of Russia. War production in Yugoslavia has been stepped up in recent years. *American and British forces are due to leave Italy in two months, and this is why the strategy of the Communist offensive is now being mapped in detail.*

This is also why the new International is at the beginning being confined to nine members. It contains the Soviet Union and six of its satellites, which will be compelled to give all the possible aid to the planned attack; a considerable role is being assigned to Tito's government and army; and to the French Communist party, which dominates the trade unions and is in a position to call a general strike, will be assigned the task of preventing French intervention in Italian affairs and the transportation of troops and munitions from overseas across France in case of civil war in Italy.

The old Comintern was responsible for a number of *putsches*, which cost many human lives. With unbelievable and criminal foolhardiness it provoked insurrections in Hamburg, Central Germany, Estonia, Canton; all of them were easily suppressed. Now, made wiser by experience, Stalin prepares the operations on a grand scale and takes all military precautions into consideration. To him the major danger is, first, the military forces of the US and Britain, and, second, the political force of continental Socialism.

He, therefore, declares political war on both of them. An uncompromising attitude toward the United States is pledged in the manifesto; the propaganda campaign will mount from day to day; when the time comes—the Comintern trusts—the "imperialist intervention" of the US in European affairs will be made psychologically impossible. The same applies to the resistance which the Socialists of England and France will seek to put in the path of the new Soviet campaign. While the independent Italian Socialists, led by Saragat, are to be destroyed physically, those in Western Europe are to be paralyzed by internal dissension as a result of Communist maneuvers.

France's turn will come after Northern Italy is firmly in Communist hands. The borders of the new Soviet Empire will have been advanced to the frontiers of France, and the French Communists hope that by that time the nation will have been paralyzed and unable to resist "liberation" from the East.

In all these well-mapped drives the Communist attack is directed against democratic countries and, if successful, will be marked by rows of gallows for popular leaders, by concentration camps for hundreds of thousands of their opponents, by the suppression of civil liberties, and by a wave of

(Continued on Page Fourteen)

The Rebirth of the Comintern

(Continued From Page One)

terror exceeding in dimensions and ferocity the records so recently established by Hitler and Himmler, Yagoda and Yezhov.

* * *

Ignoramuses or Traitors?

AT this juncture, grave and ominous for all the free peoples of the world, it is necessary to give Stalin credit for his first-rate success in "dissolving" the Comintern four years ago, and at the same time to question the conduct of those politicians and commentators in this country who have consistently rallied to Stalin's defense. When Moscow reached the decision to dissolve the Comintern, a noisy and self-confident crowd hastened to aid Stalin in his scheme of grandiose deception. Among them there was our former Ambassador to Moscow, Joseph E. Davies, who asserted that "Stalin's word is as good as the Bible"; there were the editors of *The New Republic* and *PM*, and fellow-travelers on the staff of many newspapers; there were some foreign correspondents in Moscow and a half-dozen little Henry Wallaces—the whole brood undoubtedly interspersed with a quota of paid Moscow agents and Soviet propagandists with the titles of American professors. They really deserve the Order of Lenin for their endeavors on behalf of the defunct and resurrected Comintern! We should never forget how all kinds of "authorities" lulled the American people into tranquility, assuring us that Stalin had become a mere nationalist; that the Comintern would never rise again; that Stalin destroyed Trotsky in order to embark on a peaceful, non-aggressive policy for Russia.

"Stalin found the Communist International," *The New Republic* tried to tell us editorially, "an embarrassment in the nationalist course upon which he long ago embarked.... It did not meet anyway since Stalin came to full power." The *New York Herald Tribune* declared that the abolition of the Comintern was "the climax of a process that began when Stalin won his duel with Trotsky for leadership in Russia—the organization of that country into a national state.... Stalin found the connection with Communist parties outside of Russia embarrassing rather than helpful." And Max Lerner then explained why the Russian leaders will "not revive the Communist International" after the war. He concluded that he saw "no reason as yet for doubting that Russia will play her part with sincerity in the United Nations set-up." Yet with arrogant nonchalance Lerner wrote in *PM* of Oct. 7, that "No one in his senses has really doubted for several years that something like a Comintern in effect has been operating from Moscow."

The disorientation wrought by such false prophets during the first years after the war has well served Stalin as he has consolidated his empire and prepared the next attack.

* * *

A New Pearl Harbor?

AS a result of these and other influences, the policy of the United States in regard to the growing menace from the East has been weak and vacillating. The reaction of this country has always lagged behind events. Our leadership has not been bold enough. The response of the country has not been uniform. There has been sabotage of the Truman Doctrine and of the Marshall Plan; penny-wise politicians too often block decisive action.

Are the people of the United States going to condone the Soviet offensive and sit by idly while one nation after the other is conquered by the Comintern? Will it not awaken before a new Pearl Harbor spells out the truth in bloody letters? The longer aggression is permitted to proceed unimpeded, the harder will be the eventual fight, if it comes, and the greater will be the sacrifices.

Or shall this country remind the world that freedom and democracy are not helpless and defenseless; that sufficient energy can be marshaled to check the gangster law of the Comintern in action before it strikes its blow at a new Pearl Harbor?

BELGRADE BUREAU NO NEW COMINTERN, SAYS PRAVDA

THE Information Bureau set up by the Warsaw Conference of Communists is not a revised Comintern, said Pravda yesterday.

"The published documents clearly reveal that the establishment of an information bureau, consisting of the representatives of certain Communist parties, by no means signifies the restoration of a global Communist organisation with a centralised leadership, such as the Communist International represented at the time," said the paper.

"As is well known, the Communist International was dissolved in 1943 with the mutual understanding of the Communist parties in accordance with the conditions and requirements of the historical situation.

"Since the dissolution of the Communist International, the Communist Parties of individual countries have grown considerably, have become stronger and have increased their influence among the masses.

"Thus the dissolution of the Communist International has completely justified itself and has played a positive role in the development of the working-class movement.

"The Communist International, which has played a positive role in the cause of educating leaders of the working class, has long become a past stage in the history of the development of the international working-class movement.

"To return to the Communist International now would mean to go back, not forward. This, warmongers of the type of Churchill and the like, frightened to death, cannot understand."

Pravda said that the role played by Communists in the struggle against Fascism had gained them firm authority among millions of ordinary people of Europe.

'INDIGNANT'

What, asked Pravda, was there extraordinary about the new Bureau? "The Socialists of 10 countries, together with the Labourites, recently held two conferences and have already managed to set up their international.

"Experience has shown that there is a direct need for the exchange of experience and co-ordination of actions by the various parties."

It was for these reasons, Pravda added, that the Bureau was formed to organise exchange of experience and, if necessary, co-ordinate activities on the basis of the agreement.

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EX-74

clipping from page 6 Daily Worker, London, Eng. 10 11 47

61-16

FOR PROGRESS

Comintern Not Revived, Says Pravda

MOSCOW—(UP)—Pravda, the official newspaper of the Communist party, said today that the setting up of an information bureau by the Communist parties of nine nations was not a restoration of the Comintern, but the next step beyond in development of the working class movement.

It said that a revival of the Comintern—the Communist International—now would be a step backwards, not forwards, because since the days of the Comintern strong national Communist parties have been formed and "It is now possible to begin collaboration between these parties rather than direction of them from a central organization."

* * *

"DOCUMENTS which have been published say clearly that the setting up of the information bureau by representatives from some Communist parties does not signify at all a restoration of a single world Communist organization with central leadership such as the Communist International used to be," Pravda said.

"The Communist International was dissolved in accordance with the mutual agreement of the Communist parties in 1943."

"Since the dissolution of the International, Communist parties in various countries have grown considerably, become stronger and increased their influence among the masses.

* * *

"THUS THE dissolution of the Communist International has completely justified itself and has played a positive role in the development of the working class movement.

"An end was put to slanders by the enemies of Communism alleging that the Communist party does not act in the interest of its respective people but on orders from without."

RECORDED

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OCT 24 1947

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

Oct 10, 1947

61-16

'Information Bureau' Of Reds in Paris Held No Cause for Alarm

Move Gives Democracies Opportunity to Reply To Cominfern Charges

By David Lawrence

If nine nations, including the United States, were to band together and open an "information bureau" in Paris to advance the cause of "democracy" and oppose the doctrines of "totalitarianism," the plan would hardly cause a ripple inside this country. But the Russians might be just as perturbed as some Americans are today over the nine-nation information bureau to be set up by the Communists.

The incident should be welcomed, for it gives the democracies a great opportunity to make a counter move. So long as the "Communist" organization proposes to confine itself to accusations, distortions and misrepresentations — mere printed and spoken words—there should be no cause for alarm.

If the new organization proposes to engage in violence or revolutions inside democratic countries, this can be dealt with as the democracies know well how to cope with "fifth columns." Indeed, there is good reason to doubt that any such objective is intended, for the purpose of the new information bureau is apparently political—to win supporters for the political parties sponsored by the Communists in various countries.

Should Be Cheered.

The decision to carry on a campaign of words in favor of Communist policies, and particularly of the maneuvers of the Soviet, should be greeted with cheers by those Americans inside and outside the Government who last year urged Congress to appropriate substantial funds for the "Voice of America."

While the amount asked for by the State Department then was around $25,000,000, Congress hesitated because of a belief that the money would not or could not be disbursed effectively. What is needed now is an appropriation of perhaps $50,000,000 to $75,000,000 or even more to finance a network of information bureaus and radio stations throughout the world to answer Russian misrepresentations and to put forth the facts about Russia's nonoperative policies.

This is not the kind of thing that the American people relish. Propaganda by their own Government, no matter how worthy its purpose, is not palatable. But in the midst of what has become a state of "cold war" between Russia and America, precedents go by the boards.

The United Nations Assembly is not the place for these debates and propaganda battles. That organization might better confine itself to the more dignified aspects of international relations. But propaganda bureaus now become for the United States at least a necessary evil.

Contest of Information.

The contest of the future in the countries outside the "Iron Curtain" is wholly one of information. Unless the press and radio of the various countries are told the truth about America's purposes in connection with the Marshall Plan and unless information in answer to the contradictions and misconceptions issued by the Russians is disseminated, it could conceivably happen that the billions of dollars about to be voted by Congress might be used by foreign governments controlled by political forces actually responsible to the Communists.

It is apparent from past experience that the peoples of Western Europe and other countries are reachable by the printed word and by radio. It is apparent also that Russia is considerably worried about public opinion outside Russia or else there would be no such ambitious project established as that which is soon to be put into operation from Belgrade.

While controversies of words are to be deplored as perhaps inflaming peoples and arousing hates that might lead to hostilities later on, there is always the possibility that bitter words can neutralize each other and persuade the major governments of the world that maybe they can find a more sensible means of resolving their differences.

When it comes to "information," however, either by printed or spoken word, there's an old slogan famous in the automobile world which can now be adapted for the occasion: "When bigger and better propaganda bureaus are built, America will build them."

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MY DAY

I Wasn't Surprised by Reinstatement of the Comintern

By ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

NEW YORK, Tuesday—I cannot help smiling a little when the United States is accused of imperialist designs on Europe and the rest of the world.

U. S. history in the course of recent years would seem to show that it has very little interest in expansion. Cuba is free; the Philippines are free. We took no land anywhere as a result of World War I, and I have a feeling that the overwhelming opinion of the people of this country would demand the freedom for any peoples outside our borders who demomstrated clearly that they desired freedom and were willing to stand on their own feet.

It is true we fought a war to keep some of our states within the union, but that was a long while ago and settled once and for all our internal solidarity as a nation.

We have been an enterprising nation industrially, and no one will deny we have helped to develop other countries and have profited by business enterprises in many parts of the world. But if it ever should come to attempting military control over large groups of people who desire their independence, I am convinced that the public opinion of this country would never tolerate it.

On the other hand, we deeply resent interference within our borders, or what we consider more or less underhand interference within the borders of the other nations.

* * *

I WAS not very much surprised by the announcement the Comintern had been reinstated. I never really believed that in fact it had disappeared by proclamation. There were too many signs thruout the world of activity that was well directed and unified. So the announcement that again the Communist parties in different nations will act under the direction of a central group does not seem to me to change matters very much.

When we are accused of warmongering and saying things which incite to war, I wonder what can be said about the following, taken from the text of a manifesto issued in connection with the establishment of the new Comintern Information Bureau: "In the same way as the appeasement policy of Munich led to Hitler's aggression, today concessions to the United States and the imperialist camp may cause its instigators to grow more shameless and aggressive.

"In consequence the Communist parties should place themselves in the vanguard of the opposition against the imperialistic plans of expansion and aggression in all its manifestation whether in the sphere of state administration, politics, economics of ideology, and they should at the same time unite and co-ordinate their efforts on the basis of a common anti-imperialistic and democratic platform as well as gather around themselves all democratic and patriotic forces in their respective nations."

* * *

It would seem that in the nations of the world where there are Communist parties they are now going to take over the label of democracy and national patriotism. The two theories of democracy and national patriotism do not merge with Communism and Comintern control.

Most Americans will agree this whole thing is phony!

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Talk

The Return of the Comintern

~~Here~~ we are again. After a five-year spell during which the Communist International was at least formally dissolved, it is now back again as an open and declared weapon in the Communist struggle for power. In one sense the resumption of business at the old stand was inevitable, given the current tensions between Russia and America. The cold war between the two Powers has become an all-out cold war, in which every weapon short of a shooting war is called into use.

Let us assume – what no one in his senses has really doubted for several years – that something like a Comintern has in effect been operating from Moscow. The new manifesto says that a need has been felt for "an exchange of experience between the Parties." One asks why such an exchange could not have been carried on, as so much else has been carried on, behind the scenes. The answer is that the effect the Communists want can be achieved only by a public announcement of the unity of the nine Communist Parties in their common cause.

Pep Talk

One of the key sentences of the Manifesto (the whole document is worth the most careful study, phrase by phrase) is this: "The main danger for the working class at this moment lies in the underestimation of its own strength and overestimation of the force of the imperialist camp." This gives the clue to what it is that the masters of the Comintern are trying most to fight – the widely bruited report throughout Europe of the enormous strength of America, economic, military, atomic. Elsewhere the Manifesto speaks of a "further sharpening of the universal crisis of capitalism, a weakening of the forces of capitalism." No doubt the signers believe this, as one of those long-term propositions that Marxians are trained to make. But for the immediate future they have no illustrations about American capitalism being weak. The Politbureau has undoubtedly come to the conclusion that the thing it has most to fear in Europe is fear itself – the fear of American strength which is leading many workers and intellectuals to throw in their lot on America's side and against Russia. The new Comintern is calculated to fight that fear.

There will be many Americans who will ask about this move, as they asked about Vishinsky's UN speech, why the Russians do it, and whether they do not understand the effect it will have on American opinion. The answer, of course, is that whether the Russians understand or not, their eyes are not on America right now. Their eyes are on Europe. They have written American opinion off. The members of the Politbureau, who make all the basic decisions for world Communism including the decision to re-constitute the Comintern, have evidently decided that they can do little to shape American policy of opinion. The "objective facts" – as Marxians like to put it – will shape that. The struggle now is a struggle for Europe. The newly resumed Comintern is an effort to line up as solid a Communist front in Europe as possible, to bolster Russia's strength whether the outcome of the present struggle prove to be peace or war.

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The Time Is Now

Which means that the Russians recognize that the struggle for Europe has now come to its decisive phase. Why now? Partly because of the pressure of the Marshall Plan on European opinion. Partly because the Russians want to shift some of the onus of the Communist decisions in European countries from Russia itself to the praesidium of the new Comintern. Partly, no doubt, because there are conflicting national interests between such Communist Parties as the French, the Italian, and the Yugoslav, and some clearing-house of decisions will serve to keep discipline in the political armies of Communism.

But the main reason is that the struggle to win over the European working-class has now reached its decisive stage. Anyone reading the new Manifesto carefully must be impressed by the amount of emphasis it places on the Socialists of Europe. "Treasonable," "faithful toadies of the imperialists," "traitors in this common cause," "servile placidity": these are the phrases applied to the right-wing socialism of Blum and Ramadier, Attlee and Bevin, Saragat, Renner, Schumacher. If one studies the structure of the manifesto, it is apparent that even the bitter denunciation of the United States as "imperialist" and "anti-democratic" is the prelude to the even more important and violent attack on the Socialists. The effort is to discredit the Socialists by linking them with "American imperialism." To put it most barely, the effort is to sharpen the existing split of the Socialist movement in Europe, and win over as many as possible of the doubtfuls and the waverers among Europe's Socialist workers into the camp of cooperating with the Communists.

It would seem, in short, that the Communists of Europe don't place the same undervaluation on the Socialists that the American State Department does. They know that European Socialism is today, for all its divisions, the key to Europe's destiny.

Note also the weapon on which the new Comintern most relies. It is not, as was true of the old Comintern, the weapon of minority revolution. The Manifesto has few of the phrases of world class-struggle. The fact is that the men of the new Comintern are themselves in the seats of power, except in France and Italy—and even in those countries they lead movements with the largest blocs of power. Some of the men who were at the last World Congress of the Comintern in 1935, and who helped dissolve it in 1943, are now members of the ruling group in eastern Europe. They are very skilful in their use of semantics in the Manifesto—with the extremely dubious result that Russia is depicted as wholly "anti-imperialist" and "democratic" and America as wholly "imperialist" and "anti-democratic." But most of all they show their skill in their appeal to the passion of nationalism.

The Communists, says the Manifesto, "must grasp in their hands the banner of national independence and sovereignty in their own countries." This ties in with the attack on American motives in the Marshall Plan, as aimed at "the economic and political subjugation of Europe through American imperialism." In other words, the main propaganda effort of European Communism will be to identify American pressures as anti-national, and equate Communism with patriotism. This is a formidable propaganda line. There is little question that in some countries the Communists will lose strength in immediate terms, because they will so openly be taking orders from a trans-national Comintern. But the Russians are evidently willing to risk this immediate loss, and hope to make up for it by exploiting the theme of nationalism and patriotism.

The moral for America is a dual one. If we mean not to lose Europe, we must make our basic alliances with the Socialists of France and Britain, and not with the steel and cartel barons of Germany. And we must rely not on hand-outs which influence Parliamentary votes (as recently in Italy) but on the real economic reconstruction of Europe from within.

—MAX LERNER

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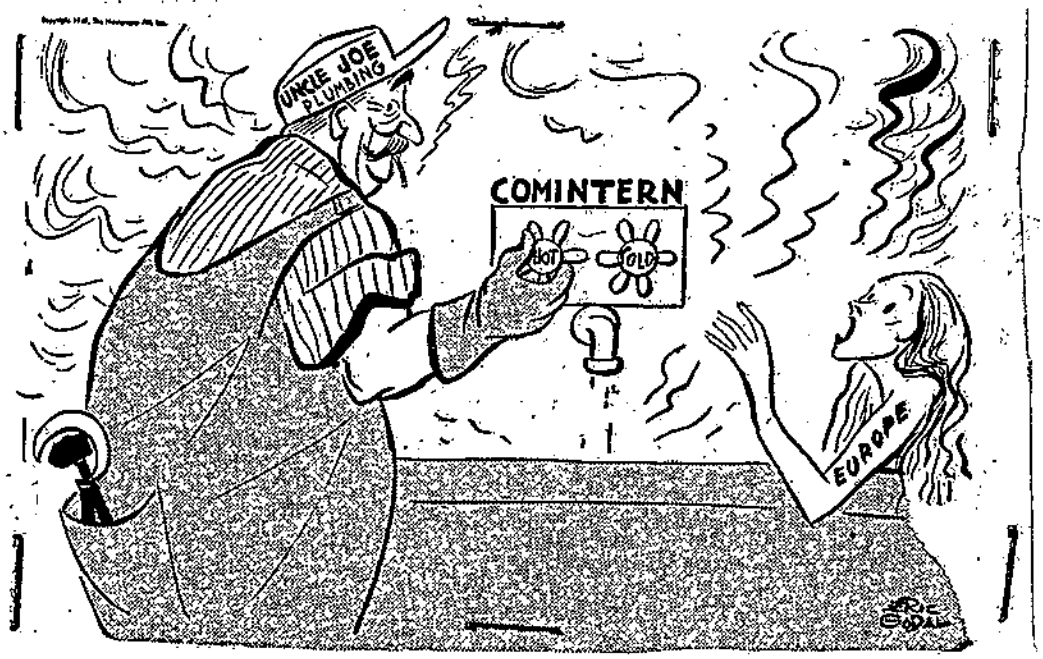
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BELGRADE'S CHOICE AS CENTER SCANNED

Its Geographic Value for Reds and Yugoslav Party Standing Noted by a Diplomat

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Oct. 6—Except on the highest levels, Yugoslav officials knew no more about the new Communist international organization today than the man in the street.

Most officials are exceedingly pleased that Belgrade has been chosen as headquarters of the organiaztion, thus making this capital more important. Against this, about the only reaction discernible among citizens here is their uncomfortable feeling that Belgrade as such headquarters would be a high priority target for the atomic bomb in event of another war.

One ranking foreign diplomat who knows this country and some of its leaders, said he had been expecting such a move for more than a month and had so informed his Government.

His reasons were, first, that such men as Edvard Kardelj, Vice Premier under Marshal Tito, and one of the Yugoslav representatives at the nine-nation meeting in Poland, and Moshe Piyade, veteran Serbian party official, were Communists of international reputation and patently sincere men with an "apostolic fervor."

Yugoslav Leaders Indigenous

He mentioned these two men, the diplomat said, because he had wtached them at international conferences—both represented Yugoslavia at the Paris peace conference in the summer of 1946—M. Kardelj, a Slovene school teacher, young and energetic, is apparently the foreign affairs expert. M. Piyade, venerable Serbian intellectual, is fluent in nine languages. Both men, the diplomat said, appeared sincerely to believe that communism was to save the world.

This diplomat believed, further, that the party leadership here was vigorous and indigenous.

While such men as Premier Georgi Dimitrov of Bulgaria (former general secretary of the Third International), Matyas Rakosi of Hungary and Polmiro Togliathi of Italy are also home-grown, they spent the war in Moscow and apparently do not have the same feeling for country nor local following that exists here.

Marshal Tito was in the woods. He has, in his own words, a "qualitative" rather than a "quantitative" Communist party in Yugoslavia.

Another reason for the choice of Belgrade for an international headquarters could be that Yugoslavia is the seat of an "expansionist" communism." Bounded by Italy, Austria, Hungary and Greece, where—in thhe view of its proponents—communism must still grow and develop, this country has in Belgrade a center from which those lands are most readily reached.

Greek Party's Absence Noted

A few other aspects of the situation in the winds of observers here are:

Why was China not presen tif this was a call for a new International; and what about Albania? Also, the Greek Communist party was not at the meeting.

Kent Zilliacus, Left-Wing Labor member of the British Parliament, who heads a London Parliamentary delegation that is flying to Moscow from here tomorrow, likened the new Communist Information Bureau to the organization that "Transport House (British Labor party headquarters) has set up for the European Socialists parties."

M. Zilliacus further remarked that, "broadly speaking, what the Communists declaration states is not an unfaithful picture of the actual situation existing today."

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TEXT OF RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY 9 EUROPE COMMUNIST PARTIES

Following is an unofficial text of the resolution on the international situation as adopted at a meeting in Poland last month of leaders of the Communist Parties in nine European countries. The text printed below is the one published by the United Press as a translation of the one appearing in the Russian Communist newspaper, "Pravda." Translated texts published by newspapers in this country have shown marked differences in the wording.

Representatives of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia—Comrades Edvard Kardelj (Yugoslav Vice-Premier) and Milovan Djilas (Yugoslav Minister without portfolio); Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communist)—Comrades Vulko Chervenkov and V. Pontomov; Communist party of Romania—Comrades (Gheorghe Gheorghiu) Dej and (Mrs. Anna) Pauker; Hungarian Communist Party—Comrades M. Farkash and Jozsef Reval; Polish Workers' (Communist) Party — Comrades (Vice-Premier Wladyslaw) Gomulka and H. Minc; All-Union Communist Party (Soviet Union) —Comrades A. (Andrei) Zhadanov and (Georgi M.) Malenkov; Communist Party of France—Comrades (Jacques) Duclos and (Etienne) Fajon; Communist Party of Czechoslovakia — Comrades R. Slansky and S. Bashtovansky; and the Communist Party of Italy—Comrades (Luigi) Longo and (Eugenio) Reale—having exchanged viewpoints on the question of the international situation, have come to an agreement about the following declaration:

G. M. MALENKOV

Essential changes have taken place in the international situation as a result of the second world war and in the post-war period.

These changes are characterized by the new disposition of the main political forces operating on the world stage, by changing relations between victor states in the second world war and by their regrouping.

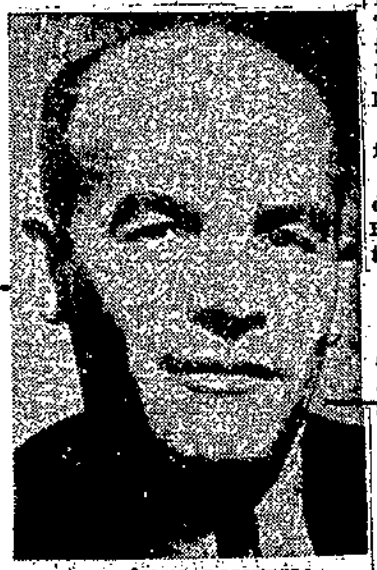
While the war was going on, Allied states in the war against Germany and Japan joined together and formed one camp. However, in the Allied camp, even during war time, there existed different war aims and also (differences) of tasks of the post-war organization of peace.

The Soviet Union and democratic countries considered as the main aims of the war the setting up and strengthening of democratic structures in Europe, the liquidation of Fascism and the prevention of the possibility of a new aggression on the part of Germany and the creation of prolonged co-operation among the peoples of Europe on all sides.

The United States and, in agreement with it, England set for themselves another aim—to get rid of competitors in markets (Germany and Japan) and establish their dominating position. This difference in war aims and task of the post-war organization became deeper in the post-war period.

Two opposite political lines formed:

On the one side is the policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and democratic countries directed toward undermining imperialism and strengthening democracy, on the other side is the policy of the United States and England directed toward strengthening imperialism and strangling democracy.



WLADYSLAW GOMULKA

Since the USSR and countries of the new democracy became a hindrance in carrying out imperialistic plans for the struggle for world domination and the smashing of democratic movements, there was proclaimed a campaign against the USSR and countries of the new democracy, reinforced also by threats of a new war on the part of most zealous imperialistic politicians in the United States and England.

In such a way, two camps formed — the imperialistic and anti-democratic camp, which has as a main aim the establishment of world domination of American imperialism and the smashing of democracy, and the anti-imperialistic and democratic camp which has as a main aim the undermining of imperialism and the strengthening of democracy and the liquidation of the remnants of Fascism.

The struggle of the two opposite camps—of imperialist and anti-imperialist—is going on in a situation of further sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism.

(Continued on Page 9)

EDWARD KARDELJ

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of the weakening of the forces of capitalism and the strengthening of the forces of socialism and democracy. In this, the imperialistic camp and its leading force, the United States, is displaying especially aggressive activity.

This activity is developing simultaneously along all lines—in the direction of military and strategic measures, of economic expansion and ideological struggle.

The Truman-Marshall plan is only a constitutent part, the European section of the general plan of world expansionist policy carried on by the United States in all parts of the world. The plan of economic and political enslavement of Europe by American imperialism is supplemented by plans for the economic and political enslavement of China, Indonesia and South America.

The aggressors of yesterday—the capitalistic magnates of Germany and Japan—are being prepared by the United States for a new role—to become the instrument of the imperialistic policy of the United States in Europe and Asia.

The arsenal of tactical measures utilized by the imperialistic camp has many forms. Here are combined the direct threat by force, blackmail and extortion, all measures of political economic pressure, or bribery, of utilization of internal contradictions and controversy for the reinforcement of their positions—and all this covered by the liberal-pacific mask designed for deceit and fooling people who are not experienced in politics.

A special place in the tactical arsenal of imperialists is occupied by the utilization of the treacherous policy of Right-wing Socialists of the type of (Leon) Blum (former French Premier and Socialist Party leader) in France, (Prime Minister) Attlee, and (Foreign Secretary Ernest) Bevin in England, (Dr. Kurt) Schumacher (Social Democrat) in Germany, (President Karl) Renner (Socialist) and (Vice-Chancellor Adolf) Schaerf (Socialist) in Austria, (Right-wing Socialist Giuseppe) Saragat in Italy, et cetera, who try to hide the real bandit essence of imperialistic policy under the mask of democracy and Socialist phraseology and who, in reality, in all respects are loyal assistants of imperialists, introducing disintegration into the ranks of the working class and poisoning its conscience.

JACQUES DUCLOS

It is not accidental that the foreign policy of English imperialism has found, in the person of Bevin, its most consistent and zealous executor. In these conditions, the anti-imperialistic, democratic camp must rally together and work out a coordinated platform of actions to work out its tactics against the main forces of the imperialistic camp, against American imperialism, against its English and French allies, against Right-wing Socialists—first of all those in England and France.

In order to frustrate the plan of imperialistic aggression, the efforts of all democratic, anti-

ANNA PAUKER

imperialistic forces in Europe are necessary.

Right-wing Socialists are traitors in this cause. With the exception of those countries of the new democracy where the bloc of Communists and Socialists, with other democratic progressive parties, forms the foundation of resistance of these countries to imperialistic plans, Socialists in the majority of other countries, and first of all French Socialists and English Laborites—French Premier Paul Ramadier, Blum, Attlee and Bevin by their slavishness and officiousness are facilitating the task of American capital, are encouraging it to extortions and are pushing their countries along the road of vassal dependency on the United States.

Hence, it follows that a special task falls upon Communist parties. They must take into their hands the banner of defense of national independence and sovereignty of their countries.

If the Communist parties strongly stand on their positions, if they do not permit themselves to be frightened or blackmailed, if they stand bravely on guard for the democracy, national sovereignty, freedom and independence of their countries, if they succeed in their struggle against the attempts of economic and political enslavement of their countries and head all forces which are ready to defend the cause of honor and national independence, then no plans for the enslavement of the countries of Europe and Asia can be realized.

At present this is one of the main tasks of Communist parties.

It is necessary to remember that between the desire of imperialist to develop a new war and the possibility of organizing such a war there is a great gap.

The peoples of the world do not want war. The forces which stand for peace are so considerable and great that if they are firm and solid in the cause and defense of peace, if they will display firmness and solidarity, the plans of the aggressors will suffer complete collapse.

It must not be forgotten that the noise of imperialistic agents over the war danger is designed to frighten weak-nerved and unstable ones and obtain, by means of blackmail, concessions to the aggressor.

The main danger to the working class at present consists in underestimation of its forces and in overestimation of the forces of the imperialist camp.

As the Munich policy in the past unbound the hands of Hitlerite aggression, so concessions to the new course of the United States and the imperialist camp may make its inspirers still more insolent and aggressive.

This is why the Communist parties must head the resistance to plans of imperialistic expansion and aggression along all lines—state, political, economic and ideologic—they must rally together, uniting their efforts on the basis of a common anti-imperialistic and democratic platform and must gather around themselves all democratic forces of the people.

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File

Austria Seen as Target

Communist International Believed Brewing New Rows

London, Oct. 6 (AP).—Diplomatic sources said today creation of a new international Communist organization was the signal for openly intensified political and possibly economic warfare between the Soviet Union and the Western powers.

Reports from European capitals indicated such a conflict was already brewing in the wake of yesterday's announcement that Communists in nine countries had banded together to fight "American imperialism."

Diplomatic informants saw the move as Russia's counter-strategy to the Marshall Plan for European reconstruction through mutual cooperation.

In Vienna, diplomatic sources said the Austrian government, convinced there is no possibility of agreement between the Allies on the Austrian treaty, had launched an all-out attack against Communist propaganda and tactics.

"We cannot allow Austria to become another Hungary," a high Austrian official was quoted as saying. "We must not let the Communists secure a dictatorship of the minority. Therefore we must expose their aims and their methods at every possible opportunity."

An informant said Austria based its hopes for salvation on the Marshall Plan, and declared the government would not dare to attempt an offensive against the Communists without at least the moral support of the Western powers, notably the United States. The Russians, through their occupation forces, control Austria's bread basket and most important industrial regions.

In Berlin, Western military government officials predicted the Communists would launch strikes and demonstrations in the Ruhr to be timed with the scheduled dismantling of German factories for reparations.

Officials said such an attack would have the purpose of undermining British-American efforts to put western Germany on its feet so that a German collapse might jeopardize the success of the Marshall Plan.

The coal mines are a key factor in European recovery. In some mines more than 40 per cent of the workers are Communists.

The British Foreign Office said the new Communist organization would be given "close attention and study."

There was no indication from either British or American sources as to whether the document would draw any official protest on the grounds that it carried signatures of Communist Party leaders high in the councils of governments within the Soviet sphere of influence.

There was speculation over what effect the declaration would have on the United States congressional committees studying appropriation of huge funds to bolster the western democracies.

Still another question was whether the Communist attack on "right wing Socialists" signaled the beginning of an all-or-nothing campaign in Europe for a choice between the extreme right and left.

In Warsaw, reliable informants said the top Communists of Poland, Russia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, France, Czechoslovakia and Italy drew up their proclamation secretly in lower Silesia, presumably in Wroclaw (formerly Breslau) in territory Poland took over from Germany as a result of the war.

A Polish government spokesman viewed the development as "purely a party matter" and said his country's foreign policies would not be affected. The Communist supported newspaper Glos Ludo said the aim of the new Communist organization was to protect world peace, and charged "big American capital" aiming to dominate Europe, had become a "threatening danger to the independence of France and Italy."

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THE WASHINGTON POST
PAGE 1
DATE October 7, 1947

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RUSSIANS FOUNDED COMINTERN IN 1919

Sought World-Wide Proletariat Revolt—Moscow Dissolved Organization in 1943

The Communist International [Comintern], also known as the Third International, was founded in 1919 by the Russian Communist party to further a world-wide revolution of the proletariat, an aim that many Russian leaders felt was essential to the success of Communist theory.

A dramatic announcement from Moscow on May 22, 1943, said that the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, meeting in the Russian capital a week previously, had voted to propose toall sections of the organization that it be dissolved.

The announcement, which met with considerable skepticism in other capitals regarding its practical effects but which was generally regarded as one of the momentous developments of World War II, was followed by another Moscow announcement on June 10 that subsidiary groups of the Comintern in thirty countries had unanimously approved the body's dissolution. The United States was not included because the American Communist party had withdrawn from the international body in 1940.

Dissolution of the Comintern freed the separate Communist parties from their duties and obligations to Moscow and enabled them to adapt their programs and political activities to the conditions prevailing in their countries.

In its announcement, the Comintern Committee called on the working men and women of enemy lands to overthrow their governments and sabotage their war industry, on those in occupied European lands to take up arms and on those in lands united in the anti-Hitler coalition to give full support to their governments' military efforts.

Insuperable Difficulties Cited

The declaration also explained that long before the war it had become clear that complicated situations, both domestic and international, had developed in separate lands. These complications, the declaration added, had placed insuperable difficulties in the way of the central direction of the working classes' political activities.

Premier Stalin elaborated on the Comintern's dissolution in an interview on May 29, 1943, with Harold King, a Reuters correspondent. He asserted that the winding up of the Communist International "puts an end to the lie" that "Moscow allegedly intends to intervene in the life of other nations and 'bolshevize them'."

The Soviet Premier said that "an end is now being put to the calumny" that "Communist parties in various countries are allegedly acting not in the interest of their people, but on orders from the outside."

"The dissolution of the Communist International," he wrote in a letter to Mr. King, "is proper and timely, because it facilitates the organization of the common onslaught of all freedom-loving nations against the common enemy—Hitlerism."

World-wide reaction to the dissolution announcement was generally favorable, although many newspapers and individual spokesmen adopted a "wait and see" attitude. The Times of London hailed the move as removing the "last remaining apprehensions that the Russian Government was pursuing through this instrument a policy of world revolution."

Its Formation Described

The then Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, said the elimination of the Comintern's activities would increase trust among the Allies. Wendell Willkie described the step as "very wise" and said it should "do much to dissipate misunderstandings among the United Nations."

The formation of the Comintern in 1919 was in response to an appeal made in January of that year by a group of organizations headed by the Russian Communist party. The appeal invited all groups and parties that took the revolutionary Communist position to an international conference.

The conference met in Moscow on March 3, 1919, and was attended by fifty-one delegates, thirty-one of them plenipotentiaries, from thirty lands. The Third International was established the following day.

The conference was held at a time when revolutions were brewing or already had broken out in Hungary, Bavaria and Italy and when Germany was believed by many to be on the verge of communism.

The Third International actually was a development of the First and Second Internationals, the former of which was founded in London by Marx and Engels in 1864, and the latter organized in Paris in 1889.

The First International began to lose power when it moved to New York after a conflict with Mikhail A. Bakunin and its disbanding was followed by a period during which Socialist parties were developed within national borders without central control.

The Second International held nine congresses before the first World War, at the outbreak of which it was discredited by the failure of the German Social Democrat party to take an anti-war line.

During the first four congresses of the Comintern, the number of countries represented by delegates grew from thirty to fifty-nine. The fourth congress, held in 1922 just after Benito Mussolini's coming to power, was the last congress that Lenin attended.

Between the fourth and fifth congresses, revolutions occured in China, Poland, Bulgaria and Germany, and the Comintern took a more active part in revolutionary affairs. A drive was launched at the fifth congress, in June, 1924, against opportunists in the Communist parties, especially in Germany.

At the sixth congress, four years later, more than 4,000,000 Communists or near-Communists were represented by delegates of fifty-seven lands. The last congress, the seventh, was held in 1935.

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New York Times
October 6, 1947
Pg. 3

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New 'International' Blasts Hope of U. S.-Red UN Peace

By United Press (See editorial, Page 24; Mr. Stokes and Mr. Simms, Page 25.)

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., Oct. 6—Soviet Russia's new international Communist organization tossed the United Nations General Assembly into a turmoil today and blasted whatever hope remained that the East-West split can be healed at this session or any other meeting in the foreseeable future.

The formation by Communist parties of Russia, Yogoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, France and Italy of an organization known as an "Information Bureau" coincided with the growing realization among UN delegates that the U. S.'s promised dynamic UN program had failed to jell.

In the first seven of these countries, "Communist Party" is synonymous with "government."

Mr. Attlee

Mr. Bevin

'Socialist traitors'

A 'STOP U. S.' PLAN

Avowed purpose of the organization was to wreck the Marshall and Truman plans and stop American and British-style democracy.

It called the roll of these "Socialist traitors": Premier Paul Ramadier and former Premier Leon Blum of France; Foreign Minister Clement Attlee and Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin of Britain; Socialist Leader Dr. Kurt Schumacher of Germany; President Dr. Karl Renner of Austria, and Giuseppe Saragat of Italy.

The "bureau" probably was the most important concerted Communist international action since the Comitern (the Communist worldwide revolutionary organization) was dissolved by Russia on May 15, 1943.

Many UN delegates, already badly battered in the wake of the Soviet-American battle, interpreted the Soviet move as a formal declaration of the "diplomatic war" which has been raging with the west for months.

It was the Soviet Union's first formal countermove to the Truman Doctrine, which frankly declared war on Communism everywhere outside the Soviet Union, and to the Marshall Plan, which lined up 16 Western European nations against the East.

The Soviet offensive is expected to be heard soon in the UN Assembly's committees where the Soviets and their satellites already have been engaged in bitter campaigns against American "warmongering," "imperialism," and "world domination."

SMALL NATION FEARFUL

The small nations already are far more fearful of a Soviet-American clash than they are of either of the two great powers separately or their ideologies.

They see now an all-out political war in the coming months for moral leadership of western Europe. The United States' only weapon is the Marshall Plan which will be long delayed, if passed by Congress. The Soviets have powerful Communist parties in the key western nations—Italy and France.

The nations of western Europe had hoped that stop-gap U. S. aid, a dynamic U. S. policy at the UN, and the promise of a multi-billion dollar Marshall Plan would arm them against heavy Communist Party pressures.

Stop-gap aid is now doubtful, returning American congressmen are even expressing skepticism about the Marshall Plan, President Truman has produced only a doubtful voluntary rationing plan and the U. S. policy at the UN is in danger of being a dud.

CONCILIATION ATTEMPT

The latter worries UN delegates at the moment.

Assembly President Oswaldo Aranha of Brazil, aware that the UN meetings were only worsening U.S.-USSR relations, made an unusual effort last week to effect a conciliation. He lunched privately with Secretary Marshall and Soviet Delegate Andrei Y. Vishinsky separately. But only dim hopes were held ever before yesterday's Moscow announcement of success.

When Secretary Marshall announced his intention to personally lead the U. S. delegation at the UN to spend most of his time here, the hopes of small nations caught in the middle of the power political fight were given a big boost. But Secretary of State George C. Marshall instead of providing the leadership many delegates had hoped for has remained aloof.

He carries more prestige than any other delegate here. But he is virtually unknown to the other delegates. He has not said a word—to the Assembly, to the press or to the public of the U. S. or the world—since his opening address here. He has not mingled with the other delegates, seeing only a very few of them privately in his New York City office.

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Washington Daily News
October 6, 1947
Pg 6.

Europe's Communists Sureau For Information and Cion

By Ignace Leon Byelone
By Cable to the Daily Worker

PARIS, Oct. 5.—An information bureau for interchanging experiences and eventually for voluntary coordination of activities was agreed upon at a conference of nine European Communist parties last month, L'Humanite revealed today.

The conference was held in Poland at the end of September. Present were representatives of the Communist central committees of Yugoslavia, Hungary, Italy, France, Romania, Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Poland.

The information bureau will publish a bi-monthly organ and will be located in Belgrade, Yugoslavia's capital.

A statement from the conference was published today in the French Communist Party's leading daily newspaper.

DIFFERENCES WIDEN

Since the end of hostilities, the statement reads, the differences on peace aims between the Soviet Union and other democratic countries on the one side and the United States and Great Britain on the other, have been increasingly widening.

On the one side, it says, there is the policy of the USSR and other democratic nations to "undermine imperialism and strengthen democracy, and on the other is the policy of the United States and Britain to strengthen imperialism and strangle democracy."

"It is because the Soviet Union and the new democracies have become an obstacle to the imperialists' plans for world domination and for the destruction of democratic movements that a crusade is organized against them," the statement declares.

It states that the struggle between the forces of imperialism and anti-imperialism takes place "in conditions of capitalism's constantly accentuating general crisis, of weakening of capitalist forces and of strengthening of socialism's and democracy's forces."

"It is in view of such conditions that the imperialist camp and its leading force, the United States, displays a particularly aggressive policy" in strategic military, economic and ideological fields.

IMPERIALISTS' PLAN

The Truman-Marshall Plan for Europe's economic and political domination by American imperialism, says the statement, is only part of a world-wide plan, which includes China, Indonesia and South America. Yesterday's aggressors, Japan's and Germany's capitalistic magnates, are being prepared by the United States to play a new role as instruments of imperialistic American policy in Europe and Asia, according to the statement. Among the imperialists' tactical means a special place is reserved to rightwing socialists such as France's Blum and Great Britain's Attlee and Bevin.

"Under such conditions the anti-imperialist and democratic camp faces the necessity to unite and to freely get together to plan common action and to elaborate its tactics against the main imperialist forces, against American imperialism against its British and French allies, against rightwing socialists especially in France and England," the statement maintain.

It points out that there is a great gap between the imperialists' desires to start a new war and their capacity to organize it, since the peoples of the world don't want war.

"The forces for peace are so strong that it would be enough if they showed tenacity and firmness in the defense of peace to inflict a total fiasco to aggressors' plans."

The main present danger for the working class is "underestimation of its own forces and overestimation of imperialism's," it says.

Just as a Munich policy encouraged the aggressor, concessions to the United States' new policies can incite the imperialists to become more insolent and aggressive.

The Information Conference's statement ends by saying that "because all these Communist Parties must take the lead of resistance in all fields—government, politics, economic, ideological — against imperialist plans of aggression and expansion, they must close ranks, unite their efforts on the basis of a common anti-imperialist and democratic platform, and rally all democratic and patriotic forces of the people."

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This is a clipping from
Page 2 of the
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Date 10-6-47
Clipped at the Seat of Government

61-16-

War 'Noise' Cover for Concession Blitz, Europe CP's State

Pravda yesterday published three documents relating to the conference in Poland of the nine Communist Parties, according to a United Press dispatch from Moscow. The UP report stated that the new International Bureau determined upon by the conference will be composed of two members from each of the nine Communist Parties represented.

One document published by Pravda was a resolution of the conference which, according to UP, said the absence of coordination among the nine Communist Parties had been a "serious shortcoming." This had made necessary the organization of the international bureau to "exchange experience and in case of necessity, to coordinate the activities of the Communist Parties."

LISTS PARTICIPANTS

A second Pravda document, according to the UP story, listed the following representatives as attending the conference:

Yugoslavia: Vice Premier Edouard Kardelj and Minister Without Portfolio Milovan Djilas.

Bulgaria: Communist Party Secretary Vulko Chervenkov and V. Poptomov.

Romania: Deputy Prime Minister Georghe Georghiu-Dej and Communist Party leader Mrs. Ana Paukero.

Hungary: M. Farkash and Jozsef Revol, editor of the Communist newspaper Szabad Nep.

Poland: Vice Premier Wladyslaw Gomulka and G. Minz.

France: Jacques Duclos and Etienne Fajon.

Czechoslovakia: R. Slansky and S. Bashtovansky.

Italy: Luigi Longo and Eugenio Reale.

Soviet Union: Andrei A. Zhdanov and Georgi M. Malenkov.

SEE ESSENTIAL CHANGES

Among those who signed the resolution were Palmiro Togliatti, Italian Communist Party leader, and Maurice Thorez, French Communist leader.

The third document was the declaration of policy.

"Essential changes have taken place in the international situation as a result of the second world war and in the postwar period," the declaration said as published by Pravda.

"These changes are characterized by the new disposition of the main political forces operating on the world stage, by the changing relations between the victor states in the second World War and by their regrouping. . .

"The Truman-Marshall Plan is only a constituent part, the European section, of the general plan of world expansionist policy carried on by the United States in all parts of the world.

"The plan of economical and political enslavement of Europe by American imperialism is supplemented by plans for the economical and political enslavement of China, Indonesia and South America. . . .

"The arsenal of tactical measures utilized by the imperialistic camp has very many forms. Here are combined the direct threat by force, of bribery, of utilization of internal contradictions and controversy for reinforcement of their positions—and all this covered by a liberal-pacifist mask designed for deceit and the fooling of people who are not experienced in politics. . .

"The forces which stand for peace are so considerable and great that if they are firm and solid in the cause of defense of peace, if they will display firmness and solidity, then the plans of the aggressor will suffer complete collapse," the declaration said.

"It must not be forgotten that the noise of the imperialistic agents over the war danger is designed to frighten the weak-nerved and unstable ones and to obtain, by means of blackmail, concessions to the aggressor.

"The main danger to the working class at present consists in underestimation of its forces and in overestimation of the forces of the imperialistic camp."

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61-16-

2 DEC 18 1947

REDS OF 9 NATIONS REVIVE COMINTERN TO FIGHT U. S. 'IMPERIALIST HEGEMONY'; 2 STALIN AIDES ATTEND SECRET MEETING

BELGRADE IS SEAT

New Information Bureau Will Seek to Unify Strategy of Reds

SOCIALIST RIGHT WING HIT

Attlee, Ramadier, Renner and Others Are Accused as 'Traitors' to Workers

Texts of statements by European Communists are on Page 3.

By SYDNEY GRUSON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WARSAW, Poland, Oct. 5—The leaders of world communism proclaimed today what amounted to the re-establishment of the Communist International [Comintern] to combat what they called United States "dollar imperialism."

A manifesto issued after a secret meeting in Poland declared that the world was split in two and called on Europe to align itself on the side of the "Soviet Union and other democratic countries" against "the camp of imperialism and anti-democratic forces whose chief aim is the establishment of a world-wide American imperialist hegemony."

The wording of the manifesto also indicated that the establishment of the "Information Bureau" was a measure directed against the Marshall plan in western Europe.

Nine Nations Represented

A communiqué on the meeting said that party chieftains of nine European countries had decided to establish an "Information Bureau" in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, charged with "organizing the exchange of experience and in case of necessity coordinating the activities of Communist parties on the basis of common agreement."

The communiqué was accompanied by a long manifesto charging the United States with attempting to enslave the world through dollar imperialism and warmongering. It also bitterly attacked the "Rightist Socialists" who it said were leading their countries to "vassal-like dependence on the United States."

The manifesto recorded as "traitors" to the working class Prime Minister Attlee and Foreign Secretary Bevin of Britain, Léon Blum and Premier Paul Ramadier of France, Dr. Kurt Schumacher, Socialist leader in Germany, President Karl Renner and Adolf Schaerf of Austria, and Giuseppe Saragat, Socialist leader in Italy.

Stalin's Advisers Present

The eighteen delegates to the conference were led by Col. Gen. Andrei A. Zhdanov and Georgi M. Malenkov of the Soviet Union, two of Prime Minister Stalin's closest advisors. Other delegates were Edward Kardelj and Milovan Dilas of Yugoslavia, Vulko Chervenkov and V. Poptomov of Bulgaria, Anna Pauker and George Gheorghiu-Dej of Rumania, M. Farkasz and Joseph Revai of Hungary, Vice Premier Wadislaw Gomulka and H. Minc of Poland, Jacques Duclos and Etienne Fajon of France, R. Slansky and S. Basztovanski of Czechoslovakia and Luigi Longo and Eugenio Reale of Italy.

The communiqué gave no details of the conference itself but it is believed to have taken place in a Silesian resort town from Sept. 21 to Sept. 28.

No word of the presence in Poland of General Zhdanov and Mr. Malenkov has been allowed to leak out, although the press reported at various times in the last two weeks that one or another of the others were paying a short visit to Warsaw.

M. Duclos, in fact, made a fairly widely publicized trip around western Poland at the Polish Communist party's invitation ostensibly to review the industrialization of that territory.

The "Information Bureau will be composed of two delegates from the Central Committees of the Communist parties in the nine countries. According to the communiqué, the bureau will issue a bi-monthly press bulletin in Russian and French.

Implying that hitherto Communist parties of the nine countries had acted entirely independently, a resolution adopted by the conference said this lack of "common bonds" between the parties was a "grave deficiency in the present situation."

"Experience has shown that this division between Communist parties is incorrect and harmful," a preamble to the resolution stated. "The requirement for an exchange of experience and voluntary coordination of actions of the separate

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New York Times
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parties has become particularly necessary now in the conditions of the post-war international situation and when the disunity of the Communist parties may lead to damage for the working class."

Besides reshaping the Comintern in a new form the meeting of Communist leaders appeared to imply the end of their attempts to rule European Socialist Governments made up of men who refused 100 per cent allegiance to them. Mr. Bevin came in for particular attention in the manifesto as the most consistent and arduous spokesman of imperialistic British foreign policy.

He and the others were said to hide behind a mask of democracy and Socialist phraseology while serving as the faithful "toadies of the imperialists." They were said to be disrupting the ranks of labor and poisoning the conscience of the labor movement.

In the manifesto the United States was singled out as the cause of most of the evil in the world today—the directing force of the anti-Communist group of nations.

The United States is becoming more aggressive, militarily, economically and ideologically because the forces of "socialism and democracy" are strengthening while the forces of capitalism grow weaker during the present "universal crisis of capitalism," the manifesto added.

The United States and Britain fought the war simply to eliminate Germany and Japan as competitors in the world markets while the Soviet Union and its friends wanted only lasting cooperation between the nations of Europe, the liquidation of fascism and the prevention of renewed aggression by Germany, it declared.

The holding of the meeting in Poland, the choice of Belgrade as the seat of what all observers here were agreed would be the central planning committee of international Communist activities and the wording of the resolution all pointed up that every effort has been made to indicate that this was not a Moscow dictated maneuver.

The wording of the resolution also was aimed at indicating that this was to be a free association of all participants, with each carrying equal weight in the deliberations of the bureau.

The manifesto said that the plan was only a facade behind which the United States was working the European end of a world-wide plot for which the former German and Japanese capitalists were being enlisted on the side of the United States.

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BELIEVE IT OR NOT By Ripley

РЕЛИГИЯ ДУРМАН ДЛЯ НАРОДА

HOLOCAUST OF THE HOLY

STALIN AND THE COMMUNISTS
— SINCE 1918 HAVE —
LIQUIDATED BY MURDER OR EXILE
255,078 MEMBERS OF THE CLERGY
AND DESTROYED
88,874 RELIGIOUS EDIFICES!

— INCLUDED ARE —

152,471 PRIESTS AND MONKS — AND
52,032 NUNS OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

26,000 RABBIS AND TEACHERS
OF THE JEWISH FAITH

16,914 MOHAMMEDAN MULLAHS

5,106 PRIESTS AND MONKS
OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

2,025 ARMENIAN PRIESTS
AND 530 LUTHERAN PASTORS

— ALSO —

STALIN AND THE COMMUNISTS
CONFISCATED 18,900,080 ACRES
OF CHURCH PROPERTY AND
STOLE 4 BILLION DOLLARS
WORTH OF CHURCH FUNDS
IN CASH!

MILK
IS SOLD BY THE STICK
IN FROZEN SIBERIA!

WE INDICATE SOVIET RUSSIA
BY THESE INITIALS —

USSR

— BUT THE RUSSIANS WRITE
IT THIS WAY —

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Communist Party — Russia

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Times-Herald - September 25, 1947
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sciousness of the people. There is a complete elimination of any contradictions between town and country and between mental and physical labour, a liquidation of any remnants of the old social division of labour, etc.

The transition from the first phase of Communism to its highest phase assumes the character of gradual transition, and thus represents an entire historic phase of development. We know, of course, that the change from capitalism to Socialism constitutes the change from one system of production to another, a radically different system. Hence, this transition cannot be realised in any other way than through revolution.

But the process of transition from Socialism to Communism is entirely different. The change from Socialism to Communism is not a change from one social-economic formation based on individual ownership, to another one, based upon common ownership of means of production. Under Socialism, the exploitation of man by man and the exploiting classes are liquidated. Under present conditions in the U.S.S.R., where Socialist society is fundamentally already established, where the Socialist system rules fully over the whole national economy, the further development of Socialism, as well as the transition to Communism, proceed on their own basis. The second highest phase of Communist society will naturally grow up and develop out of Socialism, its first phase. Hence, the transition from Socialism to Communism will materialise in the form of a gradual development.

The gradual transition from Socialism to Communism does not, however, mean that this development will proceed at a slowed-down tempo. On the contrary, the period of transition from Socialism to Communism will be characterised by rapid development of the productive forces, rapid growth of national wealth, and an unheard-of advance of the level of material and cultural living standards of the people.

The gradual transition from Socialism to Communism does not exclude the possibility of irregular, zig-zag stages in the process of development of Socialist society. For example, the transition to Communist principles of distribution cannot take place simultaneously with all articles of consumption. Of necessity, such a change must be gradual, in accord with the growth of the productive forces and the achievement of an abundance of commodities. But the very transition from a Socialist principle of distribution, according to labour, to a Communist principle, according to needs, constitutes a leap into a new set of conditions.

The same rule is applicable to technological progress as well. During the transition from Socialism to Communism, technological development will demonstrate itself in great technical changes in the different branches of national economy. The use of the most important scientific and technical discoveries will denote a new stage in the development of man's productive forces, man's conquest of nature.

Of course, it would be erroneous to assume that social development during the period of gradual transition to Communism would proceed without struggle, simply and smoothly, of its own accord. In his report to the XVII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin ridiculed those who thought that now "we can lay down our arms and retire—to sleep and to wait for the advent of classless society." Transition to Communism means the enormous, unheard-of development of the productive forces. This alone demands the raising of the level of activity of the Soviet people, the concentration of their efforts in the building of the new form of society. At the same time, the building of Communism presupposes strenuous struggle against routine and prejudice, against any and all hangovers of capitalist society. Comrade Stalin pointed out that classless society cannot come of its own accord, that it must be conquered and built up by the efforts of all toilers in the struggle against the enemies of Socialism.

It would also be wrong to visualise the social developments of this period as a picture, where the building of Socialist society would first be completed, and only then would begin the transition to Communism. These two are a single process, and not two consecutive processes. The process of gradual transition to Communism will come together with the further development and strengthening of the Socialist system of production, together with the completion of the upbuilding of Socialist society.

In order to achieve the transition to Communism, it is imperative to strengthen and develop in every way all the foundations, all the principles, of Socialism, of Socialist productive relations. The transition to a single Communist form of ownership will be realised through the strengthening and further development of all forms of Socialist ownership. The transition to Communist distribution, "according to need," will be achieved through the strengthening and development of Socialist distribution, "according to labour," through the strengthening of the monetary system, the all-round development of Soviet trade, etc.

Development of the Productive Forces

The advantages of the Socialist system of economy furnished the possibility of transforming the U.S.S.R. within the briefest historic period from a backward country into an advanced industrial and collective-farm State. But during this first stage of Communism the development of the productive forces do not as yet reach the level necessary to guarantee an abundance of consumers' goods. Therefore, articles for consumption are distributed, not according to the needs of members of society, but in proportion to the quantity and quality of the work they perform for this society.

In the process of further development, as a result of the gigantic growth of the productive forces, it will be possible to guarantee an abundance of consumers' goods; and society will find it possible to pass gradually from the Socialist principle of distribution, "according to labour," to the Communist principle, "according to needs." The road lies through a ceaseless upward advance in all branches of our national economy, through the growth of our industries, agriculture, and transport.

One of the most important requisites for the transition from the first phase of Communism to the second lies in the realisation of the main economic task of the U.S.S.R.—to catch up with and surpass the major capitalist countries in an economic sense, i.e., in the volume of industrial production *per capita* of the population. The Soviet Union has already surpassed all capitalist countries in tempo of development of economy and technique of production. The U.S.S.R. has already surpassed all the capitalist countries of Europe in the total volume of industrial production. The U.S.S.R. is still behind England and the U.S.A. in the *per capita* volume of industrial production.

The *per capita* volume of industrial production constitutes the basic criterion of a country's economic might. Therefore, the task of achieving such a level of production as to enable the country to surpass the

per capita norms of consumption existing in major capitalist countries becomes the basic economic task of the U.S.S.R., the decisive condition for the transition from Socialism to Communism.

Comrade Stalin posed this problem before the XVIII Congress of the Party:

> Only if we outstrip the principal capitalist countries economically can we reckon upon our country being fully saturated with consumers' goods, on having an abundance of products, and on being able to make the transition from the first phase of Communism to its second phase.
>
> —(*Leninism*, p. 634.)

The Second World War against Hitler-Germany interrupted the realisation of this basic economic task of the U.S.S.R. and inflicted enormous damage on our national economy. The new Five-Year Plan calls for full reconstruction of the damaged areas, reconstruction of the pre-war level in industry and agriculture, as well as a considerable raising of these levels. The new Five-Year Plan calls a considerable step forward in the solution of the basic economic task of the U.S.S.R.

In his historic election campaign speech to the voters of the Stalin election district in Moscow, on February 9, 1946, Comrade Stalin outlined a grandiose programme for a new and mighty upsurge of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., which would enable our country to raise its industrial level about 300 per cent over that of 1940. Comrade Stalin set the following tasks: to raise the annual production of cast-iron up to 50 million tons; steel up to 60 million tons; coal to 500 million tons; crude oil to 60 million tons. "Only under such conditions," said he, "can we consider that our homeland will be guaranteed against all possible accidents. That will probably require three more Five-Year Plans, I should think; if not more. But it can be done, and we must do it."

The Five-Year Plan provides for a 36 per cent growth of industrial productivity in 1950, as compared with the pre-war level. During the new Five-Year Plan, 70 per cent of the new total growth of industrial production is to be provided by advance of labour productivity. This struggle to raise the productivity of labour, this development of Socialist emulation, constitutes a struggle for a new upsurge of productive forces.

This new and higher level of labour productivity presupposes a new and higher level of development of productive forces in means of production, as well as in human force, the basic productive force.

The transition to the second, and higher, phase of Communism presupposes the all-round development of man, society's most important productive force. Comrade Stalin teaches that man, bringing into motion the means of production and possessing productive labour experience, constitutes society's basic, most important productive force. Communism denotes a new stage in the development of this productive force.

Even Engels pointed out that mere possession of means of production is not enough to raise industrial and agricultural production to a height suitable for Communism. It is also necessary to develop the capabilities of man, using these means of production.

> General management of production by the forces of the whole society, and the subsequent new development of production will call for and will create new human beings.
>
> —(Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Russian edition, Vol. V, p. 478.)

Socialism will not only speed up the development of the means of production, but will give the workers an opportunity for all-round development and use of their capabilities. In the U.S.S.R., man has changed radically, tremendously enriched his industrial experience, and raised his level of culture and consciousness. Soviet rule has performed a complete revolution in the consciousness of the peasantry, transferring it to the path of social, collective labour. The transition to Communism poses new, enormous tasks in cultural development.

In his report to the XVIII Party Congress, Comrade Stalin pointed out: "We want all our workers and peasants to be cultured and educated, and we shall achieve this in time." Communism calls for fully-prepared, fully-developed, and cultured people. In order to achieve it, we must achieve a further and mighty upsurge of the cultural-technical level of the workers and collective farmers; we must have a growth of industrial training and qualification for all workers in Socialist industry, their education in the spirit of Communism.

The new Five-Year Plan outlines enormous tasks in cultural advancement. The fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan will denote a further step forward in raising the cultural and technological level of the workers and collective farmers.

Development of Socialist Ownership

The completion of Socialist society and the transition to Communism call for the strengthening and further development of Socialist ownership and Socialist industrial relations. In order to establish a Communist society, it is necessary in every way to protect and strengthen Socialist ownership—the economic foundation of our Soviet system, the source of our country's wealth and might.

Under Socialism there exist two forms of Socialist ownership—State and collective-farm co-operative. They reflect the specific characteristic of the workers' and peasants' development toward Communism. While these forms of social ownership are similar in type, there are distinctions between them which are reflected in the different levels of socialisation of means of production, in the character and organisation of social labour, administration, and distribution of income in the State and collective-farm enterprises.

Under Communism the sole form of social ownership of the means of production will be Communist ownership. The transition to this sole form of social ownership of the means of production will be performed on the basis of the strengthening and development of the two forms of Socialist ownership now existing in the U.S.S.R., while strengthening the leading role of State ownership as the higher form of Socialist ownership. The collective-farm co-operative form of ownership will be developed by strengthening the collective-farm social economy.

This all-round development and strengthening of the collective-farm social economy constitutes the way by which the present agricultural artels will grow into communes. Comrade Stalin said:

> The future agricultural commune will arise when the fields and farms of the artel are replete with grain, with cattle, with poultry, with vegetables, and all other produce; when the artels have mechanised laundries, modern dining-rooms, mechanised bakeries, etc.; when the collective farmer sees that it is more to his advantage to receive his meat and milk from the collective farm's meat and dairy department than to keep his own cow and small livestock; when the woman collective farmer sees that it is more to her advantage to take her meals in the dining-room, to get her bread from the public bakery, and to get her linen washed in the public laundry, than to do all these things

herself. The future commune will arise on the basis of a more developed technique and of a more developed artel, on the basis of an abundance of products. . . .

—(*Leninism*, p. 519.)

The process of transforming the present artel into a commune will take place gradually, in accord with the growth of the productive forces, in accord with the degree of conviction of the collective farmers of the necessity of transforming the present artel into a commune. Under present conditions the agricultural collective is the only correct form of the collective-farm movement, because it correctly combines the personal and social interests of the collective farmers, adapting their personal to their social interests. Hence, it is necessary to develop in every way the collective-farm social economy. The transition from the present artel to the commune is impossible in any other way than through full strengthening of the present artel, through full use of all its inherent possibilities and opportunities.

The transition to Communism is inextricably linked with the liquidation of the old social division of labour and remnants of class distinctions. Already now we can see a gradual elimination of the dividing lines between the worker and peasant classes, as well as between these classes and the intelligentsia. But under Socialism there still remain remnants of class distinctions between workers and peasants.

All classes and remnants of class distinctions will fully disappear. Lenin pointed out the way the disappearance of these class distinctions would take place.

"In order to achieve complete liquidation of classes," wrote Lenin, "it is necessary not only to overthrow exploiters, landowners, and capitalists, not only to abolish their system of ownership. It is also necessary to abolish *any* private ownership of means of production; it is necessary to destroy the difference between city and village as well as the difference between people engaged in physical and mental labour."

—(*Collected Works*, Russian edition, Vol. XXIV, p. 337.)

The transition to the highest phase of Communism demands the overcoming of any hangovers of capitalism in the economy and the consciousness of man. Hangovers of capitalism in the consciousness of man are expressed in the form of a non-Socialist attitude toward labour and social ownership; in setting personal interests above those of society; in a petty-bourgeois "levelling" (equalitarianism); in a tendency to give the state as little as possible, while trying to snatch everything possible from it, etc. These hangovers cannot liquidate themselves automatically. It is necessary to fight against them, ceaselessly to develop in the citizenry of the U.S.S.R. a truly Socialist attitude toward labour, toward Socialist property. The transition to Communism calls for the complete liquidation of these hangovers.

In 1917 Lenin wrote that the highest phase of Communism:

"presupposed a productivity of labour unlike the present and a person *unlike the present* man in the street who . . . is capable of damaging the stores of social wealth 'just for fun,' and of demanding the impossible."

—(*Selected Works*, Vol. VIII.)

Communism is not built spontaneously, but consciously; it is built directly by the masses, led by the Communist Party. The growth of the Communist consciousness of the masses becomes a most important factor in the development of Socialist society into a Communist society. Communist education, therefore, is the most important means in the struggle for overcoming the hangovers of capitalism in human consciousness and the development of a Communist attitude toward labour, toward social ownership.

In the highest phase of Communism, when the productive forces will have reached the full height of development and the old divisions of labour will have disappeared, labour will become man's prime life necessity. People will become used to social duties performed without compulsion; unpaid work for the common benefit will become, as stated by Lenin, a common event.

Distribution

The process of distribution of the social products will be one of the basic differences between Socialism and Communism. Socialism's guiding principle is: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his labour."

The principle of Socialism is that in a Socialist society each works according to his ability, and receives articles of consumption, not according to his needs, but according to the work he performs for society.

—(Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 548.)

In Communist society, when the productive forces will reach their highest level, we will practise the principle: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs."

The principle of Communism is that in a Communist society each works according to his ability, and receives articles of consumption, not according to the work he performs, but according to his needs as a culturally-developed individual.

—(Ibid, p. 548.)

Under Socialist equality, Comrade Stalin pointed out, Marxism-Leninism sees not a levelling of personal standards and requirements, but a general liberation of all toilers from exploitation, the abolition of all private ownership of means of production, an equal duty for all to labour according to capacity, and an equal right to receive according to labour.

The Marxist-Leninist understanding of equality in Communist society presupposes an equal duty for everybody to work according to capability, and receive according to need. But even under full Communism people's needs will not be equal.

Marxism proceeds from the assumption that people's tastes and requirements are not, and connot be, identical, equal, in quality or in quantity, either in the period of Socialism, or in the period of Communism.

—(Ibid, p. 521.)

The Socialist principle of distribution plays a most important role in the further development of Socialist society, and in the gradual transition to Communism. This principle constitutes the most important base of Socialist production, and is a mighty motivating force within Socialist society. It guarantees the correct combination of the personal and social interests of the toilers, establishes every worker's material interest in the results of his labour, stimulates the growth of the worker's qualifications, speeds up the development of society's productive forces, and strengthens Socialist economy.

Hence, it is necessary to realise consistently and to the very end the Socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of labour performed; it is necessary to uproot completely any thought of "equalitarianism" in the pay for labour. The better and more fully this principle is practised, the more successfully will the development of Socialist economy move toward that of Communism.

(*to be concluded*)

Dictatorial Rule

By Arnold D. Margolin

Russia Departs From Communism

THERE IS A fundamental error in the assertions and statements by political leaders, scholars, journalists, etc., that the Soviet regime is communistic, i. e., that the Politbureau and the Soviet government as its obedient servant are fulfilling the program of communism. This distorted interpretation of the actual situation in the USSR and its sphere of influence coincide with similar erroneous ideas on this subject which are widely spread among the broad masses of the population throughout the world. Recently, also, Mr. Henry A. Wallace based all his addresses in Europe on this wrong assumption, that there exists "a Communist world" embracing the present-day Russia and its postwar satellites.

ALMOST 100 years have passed since the promulgation of the Communist Manifesto of 1848. At the time of its appearance and also during the following several decades, conceptions of socialism and of communism were vague, and the meanings of these two words were often identified. However, at the end of the past century there was established a universally recognized understanding of these two terms, i.e., of the contents which they embrace and of the essential difference between communism and socialism.

In the light of that new, exact terminology, the Manifesto of Marx and Engels of 1848 should be rechristened and should be named socialistic instead of communistic, since political parties composed of genuine followers of Marxism were and continue to be named not Communist but Social Democratic Parties.

Only after the establishment of the Soviet regime in the USSR, Lenin and his closest collaborators changed the name of the Bolshevist faction of the All-Russian Social-Democratic Party to the All-Russian Communist Party.

After that, because of the propaganda of Soviet agents abroad, there began to appear parties calling themselves Communist in all the parts of the world. As a follow-up of this development, there was created the Third International, organized and led by the leaders of the All-Russian Communist Party.

HOWEVER, there are no traces of communism in the program and in the activities of all these Communist Parties. Even before the establishment in Soviet Russia of the so-called New Economic Policy (NEP) early in 1921, Lenin and his colleagues publicly declared that the realization of communism is and will be for a long time absolutely impossible. Thus, the Communist slogan: "To everybody according to his needs" was replaced by a genuine Socialist program, "To everybody according to the productivity of his or her work."

This retreat from the Communist progam, and attempts to create a Socialist regime and Socialist economy, were expressed in the most lucid way in the constitution of the USSR confirmed in December, 1936, which continues in force at the present time. This constitution declared that the USSR is a *socialist state* (Article 1), that its system of economy and ownership of the means and instruments of production are *socialist* (Article 4), that property in the USSR is *socialist* (Article 5), etc. The word "communistic" is mentioned only once in the whole text of the constitution. It appears in Article 141, where there are enumerated public organizations and societies possessing the right to nominate candidates for elections ("*Communist* Party organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations and cultural societies").

IT SEEMS that the full absence of communism in the program and in the work of Communist Parties should belong to the "facta notoria." On the other hand, neither the fact that all the big industries in the USSR were nationalized nor the collectivization of the agricultural husbandry could now prevent friendly relations and close cooperation between the so-called American-British world on the one hand, and the Soviet controlled world on the other hand.

In many prewar European countries, including Czarist Russia, most of the railroads were owned and administered by the state. The present British Labor government has in its program nationalization of some basic industries in Great Britain. The President of France is a member of the Socialist Party. And even the fact that members of the Communist Parties recently had been or continue to be members of governments in several European countries does not preclude the possibility of an understanding and complete agreement between all such countries and America provided that their regimes are based on the majority rule and on bills of genuine human rights and civil liberties.

The real obstacle which blocks the way toward the amalgamation of the "two worlds" is the fact that in one of them a small group of persons known as the Politbureau of the All-Russian Communist Party is the absolute arbitrary power over all the peoples under their control, and that the population of the USSR and of its spheres of influence is deprived of any possibility to display its will.

THUS, IT IS NOT communism nor socialism versus capitalism which is the basic issue dividing the two worlds, and preventing their closer rapprochement. The real issue is the dictatorial arbitrary regime of the Politbureau versus democracy and civil liberties.

"One world" will become a real possibility only after the democratic form of government and human freedom are established in all the countries of the world. In the meantime, the existence of two worlds will be unavoidable for a considerable period of time. Whereas, it is futile to cherish hopes that at the present juncture and present moment the rulers of the USSR can be persuaded to convert their world into a democracy, everything should be done at least for the preservation of the democratic form of government wherever it still exists, and for the prevention of further attempts to spread the control of the Politbureau over any country outside the USSR.

Fortunately, the present American bipartisan foreign policy seems to pursue this course. Only enemies of freedom and of genuine democracy can call such a policy reactionary.

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NOT RECORDED
85 JUN 7 1947

This clipping is from Page 23 of the Washington Post 23 May 1947

DEATH PENALTY BAN PLAYED UP IN RUSSIA

MOSCOW, May 27 (U.P.)—Abolition of capital punishment by the Soviet Government is a sweeping gesture aimed at allaying war fears among the Russian people and convincing foreign "warmongers" that there is no subversive element in the country worthy of consideration, foreign observers believed today.

The decree was seen also as aimed at convincing Russians that they could defeat any attack from abroad.

The importance with which the Government regarded the decree was made plain by newspaper editorials, which hailed it as writing a new page in the history of the Russian state. Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky, who wrote the editorial in the Communist party newspaper Pravda, called the decree "a new manifestation of the superiority of the Soviet social and state system."

In the last century the Czars abolished capital punishment for a time, but the corporal punishment they inflicted was so severe that many died under it. Soviet records say that 6,000 persons were executed during the 1908-12 internal uprisings.

Three days after the success of the Bolshevik revolution in November, 1917, the death penalty was abolished. The abolition was made formal Jan. 17, 1920, by the Government. But the Polish war brought about the reintroduction of the death sentence four months later.

Until 1937 the most severe penalty short of death was ten years in a corrective labor camp. This was altered to twenty-five years then.

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This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for 5/28/47

Clipped at the Seat of Government

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EX-23

International Communism

Allegiance to Comintern Said to Be Confused With Allegiance to Russia

To the Editor of The New York Times:

J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, testified on March 26 before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on proposed measures to curb the American Communist party. Asserting that its goal is the overthrow of the American Government, Mr. Hoover described that party as "a fifth column if ever there was one," and declared: "There is no doubt as to where the real Communists' loyalty rests. Their allegiance is to Russia, not to the United States."

The implications of these statements are (1) that Russia, through her fifth columns, is trying to overthrow the American Government; (2) that Russia is responsible for the un-American activities of the Communist party, U. S. A.; and (3) that Russia must pay for this.

Such conclusions, however, would be wrong, unjust and mischievous, despite their seeming logic. Their falsity derives from the misuse of one word and concept—namely, "Russia." Mr. Hoover refers to Russia when as a matter of fact he means—or should mean—the Communist regime of Russia, the international Communist conspiracy, the Comintern.

Injustice to People

To assume that "Russia" and "communism" are identical is to do a great injustice to the Russian people. The concept Russia has no more in common with the concept communism, than United States or England or Patagonia.

It should be understood once and for all that the allegiance of American Communists is not to Russia, not even to the Soviet Government of the U.S.S.R., but to the international complex of revolutionary Communist parties. All of these parties, whether in the U.S.S.R. or the United States, have the same objective, which is to transform the various "national states" into bases of world revolution under dictatorship of their local Communist party. Each of these parties, whether as large as in Russia or as small as in America, is merely a detachment—a fifth column, if you please—of the army of the Communist International.

Communist dictatorship, in the words of Lenin, means "unlimited power resting on violence and not on law." That is why a country, once under the yoke of dictatorship of one of the detachments of the Communist International, is so helpless. Its people are mute and impotent in the shackles of misery and terror. Such is the actual plight of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.—of Russia in the true, human sense.

How absurd, therefore, to confuse allegiance to the Comintern with allegiance to Russia. How can Americans at this late date fail to understand that the Russian people dream of the restoration of freedom in their own country, not the overthrow of freedom in America or any other country? How can they fail to see that today the world is not divided by vertical frontier lines but by horizontal lines between the supporters of two different ways of life within all countries?

Liberation of Russia

"The policy of democratic world order does, it is true, include real toughness—though toughness with communism rather than with Russia," writes James Burnham in his fine book, "The Struggle for the World."

"The policy aims," he continues, "not at the defeat of Russia but at its liberation, at the victory of the Russian people over their totalitarian rulers. * * * The policy of democratic world order aims not to reinforce the divisions in the world but to bring the world together and to bind the United States to the rest of the world."

Mr. Burnham is quite right. But how can the democratic world order be attained without the cooperation of the Russian people? Even the toughest policy, I am convinced, will prove futile if people and statesmen here continue to identify "Russia" with her totalitarian rulers.

ALEXANDER KERENSKY.

New York, March 28, 1947.

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New York "Times"
April 3rd, 1947

"Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall you free."—John, viii, 32.

Pattern of Conquest

THE PEOPLE of Soviet Russia were conquered in 1917 by a minority political group calling themselves Bolsheviks and led by Lenin and Trotzky.

The pattern of conquest employed then for Russia is still the pattern of conquest for the world.

It is difficult for Americans, accustomed to majority rule, to understand the method.

Yet, those who attended the meeting of all political parties, called the Constituent Assembly in the Tauride Palace in Petrograd, recounted how a single sailor, representing less than two percent of the membership of that body, told it to go home.

A minority can rule if the majority are hungry, tired, cowed, lacking in vigilance.

A minority can rule by brute force.

A minority can rule if the intelligent, decent, moral leadership of a nation is transported to prison camps or killed.

A minority can rule if it can seize the press, the radio and every means of expression and discussion.

The Bolsheviks worked on their plans between 1907 and 1917 while they were in exile in England, Germany, Switzerland and the United States.

They did not liberate Russia from Czaristic despotism—but once the liberation was achieved, they stepped in as a highly organized, centrally directed force and adopted the despotism.

In recent years, they have used the same pattern in other countries with varying success.

In China, from 1924 to 1927, they almost succeeded, then Chiang Kai-Shek turned on them and they have been fighting a bloody civil war since.

In Mongolia, they succeeded altogether, setting up the Mongolian Soviet Republic.

In Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania, they have succeeded totally by using the pattern of conquest successfully employed in Russia.

In Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, France and Italy, Korea and Japan, they have made varying depths of inroads, substituting ideological infiltration and military brute force for minority rule.

In England, the United States, Canada and the Scandinavian countries, they used these devices:

1—The demoralization of the intellectual classes: This has been a prolonged effort, lasting more than 30 years, during which, by emphasizing ideas, which they themselves reject, such as political and industrial democracy, freedom for the individual, etc., they foment tumult and confusion;

2—The accent on racial and religious minorities: By breeding hatred among the different elements in the population, they create an atmosphere of disunity until the life of the nation is in turmoil;

3—Constant attacks on traditional religious and moral institutions, which tend: To leave each new generation with fewer anchors, fewer restraints, and fewer associations making for loyalty, morality and respect for historic tradition;

4—Fomenting economic disorders: Strikes, economic espionage, undermining national productivity, increasing the cost of government—these are a few of their aims in this field; the fundamental objective is to lessen the economic effectiveness of capitalist countries.

5—Infiltration in government: Discarding age-old espionage methods, the Bolsheviks use citizens of the country involved to seek government positions and in them to weaken the authority and efficiency of the state.

It must be, and now is, American policy to smash this pattern.

It is American public will to smash it here.

Those who oppose their country in this must be regarded as favoring the Red Fascist pattern of conquest—of world conquest, including the U. S.

This is a clipping from page 9 of the Daily Mirror
Date 3/31/47
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31 MAY 1947

Pattern for Revolt

By Wm. Philip Simms

Stalin aims at nothing less than world conquest through fifth columns planted inside every country. But he will fail because Stalinism "rests on force, suppression and despair," and will end in the extinction of the Communist parties which compose it.

Simms.

Such is the startling conclusion of two former high officials of the Comintern whose book, "Pattern for World Revolution," (Ziff-Davis, New York) was released today. For reasons of "health" their identity is concealed under a pen name, "Ypsilon," but readers are assured that they worked long and intimately with Lenin, Stalin and other top-rankers inside and outside the Kremlin.

Although the Comintern has disappeared, the ex-comrades observe, it has been superseded by what they call the Stalintern. The former was an organization which directed revolutionary activities from Moscow. The Stalintern is made up of Communist parties—in the Americas, Europe, China, and almost everywhere else—which take their cue from the generalissimo, a distinction little different from the Comintern.

Some of Stalin's principal pro-consuls abroad are Georgi Dimitrov, in Bulgaria; Tito, in Yugoslavia; Gen. Hoxha, in Albania; Rakoczi, in Hungary; Petrascanu, in Romania; Ercoli Togliatti, in Italy; Jiquez and Duclos, in France; Toledano, in Mexico; Prestes, in Brazil; Mao Tze Tung and Chou En Lai in China; Li San and Gen. Stern in Manchuria; Ho Chi Minh (with numerous aliases) in Viet Nam or Indo-China; and so on. Earl Browder and William Z. Foster in the United States do not appear to rate near the top.

* * *

In Europe, the authors observe, Stalin has a minimum and a maximum target. His minimum includes "the political incorporation of the Slavic countries into the Soviet Union and the international recognition of the River Elbe as the Russian frontier. His maximum expectations involve the inclusion of west and southwest Europe into the Lebenstraum of Russia, the military and diplomatic withdrawal of the U. S. from Europe, and the separation of England from the continent."

In the Western Hemisphere, Stalin aims at the isolation of the United States from without and hamstringing it from within. Latin-American Communists are taught that if war comes between the United States and Russia, they are to work against every Central and South American country that helps us, sabotage communications and destroy U. S.-bound raw materials.

Inside Russia, however, a crisis is developing, the outcome of which will decide the fate of the Stalintern. Stalin's health holds the key. Like all dictators, he has discouraged development of a successor. This means an eventual free-for-all.

* * *

The Stalintern parties of the west, the ex-Kremlinites write, never can be assimilated into a democratic order of the western type. German Communism as it exists today is a result of the Russian occupation. When the Red army moves out, Communism in Germany will begin to disintegrate. In China also a showdown is inevitable because the present division of power between Nationalists and Communists can't last.

The authors conclude that the Stalintern offers no real hope for a better world. In fact "it is a form of disintegration of human society . . . an end unto itself." Resting on "force, suppression and despair," as it does, "it has no future and will produce no successors."

This book is a must for every American who wishes to understand what is behind today's headlines. Better than any book the writer has seen, it comes closer to giving readers the feel of hobnobbing with Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Molotov, Zinoviev, Radek, Bukharin, Kirov, Kamenev, Krestinsky, Maniulsky, Djerzynski, Bela Kun and other professional revolutionaries in ~~and around~~ the Kremlin.

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The Comintern

CLIPPING FROM THE
World Telegram
DATED 3-28-47
FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

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UKRAINE'S FARMERS SHY AT COLLECTIVES

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, March 21 — One of the essential tasks of the Communist party in the western Ukraine is to strengthen the agricultural administration of the area and to explain the "advantages of a collective economy over an individual economy."

This was one of the important points made by the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party for the Ukraine in Kiev. It held a long meeting devoted to the single question of improvement of agriculture.

According to the report of the meeting, published in all Moscow newspapers today, the party must not only "explain to the poor and middle-class farmers" the advantages of the collective over the individual economy, but must "strive to make the peasants see the necessity and advantages of collective farms."

In overcoming the resistance of the Kulak, or rich farmer, elements, it is necessary to support fully the initiative of the poor and middle-class farming masses in organizing collective farms, the meeting decided.

The task of collectivizing the farms of the western Ukraine, which contains areas that have entered the Soviet Union since the beginning of World War II, is linked to Communist party work in the villages, according to another passage in the report. The "weakness" of this work is "one of the chief reasons for the serious defects in the restoration and development of agriculture in the Ukraine," the Central Committee decided.

The meeting also noted "serious defects in the leadership of agricultural party organizations." Many leading party workers going to collective farms, machine tractor stations and state farms do not consider it necessary to rally the Communists and carry on talks with them, the Plenum declared.

It demanded that regional and district party committees "improve the leadership of work of the village Komsomol [Communist youth] organizations and create elementary Komsomol organizations in all villages and collective farms of the Ukraine."

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This is a clipping from page 8 of the New York Times for 3/22/47

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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Loyalty Probe

How many of the men and women who work in our Federal civil service are agents of the Comintern? How many are guilty of treason or have advocated violent revolution? How many, to apply the lowest possible common denominator of disloyalty designated by the President, are even affiliated with any of the organizations which the Attorney General in his infinite wisdom may consider subversive? We do not know. And nobody else knows, either. This is why the President has ordered a general investigation. Public officials who go around asserting that no more than 5 per cent, or 15 per cent, or any other per cent of Government personnel are due to get the axe are talking through their hats—and very dangerously indeed. The estimates are preposterous on their face, of course. To speak of purging 5 per cent of the Federal workers is to speak of finding about 100,000 persons disloyal to their country. We do not believe that 5 per cent of 5 per cent of this number can fairly be so catalogued.

It all depends, to be sure, on how the Attorney General selects his list of subversive groups. The epithet "Communist-front" has been applied by members of Congress to the Progressive Citizens Association, the American Civil Liberties Union, and even the whole of the CIO. If the Attorney General should choose to adopt such standards, it is possible, of course, that he would find everyone in the country out of step but Mr. Rankin. We have no reason to suppose that he would incline to such absurdity. Nevertheless it seems to us a matter of elementary justice that his *index expurgatorius* be made public so that the country as a whole may scrutinize it and judge its validity.

Organizations change in character. The Communists make much noise in some and now and then gain positions of control. But this is not an immutable condition. Useful organizations can be reclaimed from Communist control by united action on the part of their patriotic members; and it scarcely makes sense to designate as disloyal those who remain within a group for the express purpose of driving the Commu[illegible] it of it. The boards of reviews provide[illegible]r in the President's order ought to be scrupulous in weighing affiliation with "subversive organizations" as evidence of disloyalty. The concept of guilty by association is still, happily, an odious one to the American people.

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COMMUNISTS CLAIM GAINS

12,692,000 Outside Russia, Party Boasts

LONDON — (AP) — The Communist party today claims a membership of 12,692,000 in 68 countries outside Russia.

In addition, there are 11 countries where the party has gone underground and figures are not revealed.

The complete listing, obtained from the English Communist party, represents the most detailed survey of Communist strength yet revealed.

MAY NOT BE ALL

It must be emphasized that the figures are entirely from Communist sources and may not give the full picture.

Countries in which the Communists have gone underground are revealed as Portugal, Spain, Martinique, Ceylon, Indonesia, the Philippines, Siam, Algeria, Morocco, South Africa, and Tunisia. Although Marxism is not illegal in all of these countries, there are tactical and other reasons for not revealing party strength.

Another point is that membership figures do not correspond with the relative influence of each party unit. For example, Brazil is listed as having 130,000 while the United States group claims only 74,000.

A second factor in judging real Communist strength is the total membership among the elected representatives of the country. It will be seen that they have a much greater voting strength than party membership figures would indicate.

2 SEATS IN SWEDEN

In Sweden, the Communist strength is given as only 46,000 but they won 92 seats in the last municipal elections. In Holland the membership is officially 50,000 but the group polled 502,000 votes in the last election and now have 15 seats in parliament.

In Belgium, the Communists have 100,000 members but received 300,000 votes in the last election. Today they hold 23 seats in the chamber of deputies and have four cabinet portfolios.

In France, the official membership is 1,300,000 but the Communists polled 5,475,000 votes, gaining five seats in the cabinet.

In Italy, 2,200,000 people are registered as Communists, but 4,342,000 voted for them in the last election. They now hold 108 seats in parliament and have four cabinet ministers.

Great Britain has only 43,000 members, and the party received 102,000 votes in the general election.

33,000 IN NORWAY

The Communists have 33,000 members in Norway and hold 11 seats in parliament. In Denmark, they have 60,000 members and hold 18 representatives in parliament.

The Communists have been active in South America and have an impressive foothold in each of the 18 major countries. The official box-score gives Argentina 30,000 members, Brazil 130,000 members and 17 members of parliament, and Chile: 50,000 members, 20 members of parliament and three cabinet ministers.

Canada, where the Communists reportedly were successful in gaining access to atom bomb secrets, has only 28,000 members.

In Asia, China has the largest Communist party membership with 2,000,000. India is a poor second with 53,700. Northern Korea, under Soviet occupation, comes third with 50,000.

Japan reportedly has only 6,000 Communists.

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MINNEAPOLIS SUNDAY TRIBUNE MARCH 16, 1947

Pope's Fight On Red Peril Detailed Here

Solemn high mass commemorating the eighth anniversary of the coronation of Pope Pius XII was celebrated this morning at ceremonies presided over by the Most Rev. Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, in the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception at Catholic University.

Church, diplomatic and Congressional leaders attended.

Reviewing the life of the pontiff, the Rev. Dr. John Tracy Ellis, associate professor of history at the university, who delivered the sermon at the ceremonies, told of the Pope's bitter fight against Communist forces sweeping over Europe.

"Conscious of Peril"

He declared Pius XII, "more than any other ruler, knows the true nature and deep wickedness of the red fascism that has come to replace the brown and black terror which Europe knew when the Pope was a younger man."

"Conscious as he is of the peril which daily mounts before Europe and the world; anxious as he feels for his children in every nation where the breath of Marxist poison has found lodgment, this anxiety of Pius XII is not a craven fear for the ultimate fortune of the church; it is a fear born of love for misguided and bewildered humankind," the priest said.

Compared to Islam Crescent

Comparing the course traveled by the hammer and sickle as similar to that of the crescent of Islam nearly 400 years ago, the speaker said the Holy Father never doubts the former will be repelled as was the latter.

"His armory and his defense 'are not built with hands.' For to Pius XII, as to His uneasy apostles at the last supper, has Christ said: 'These things I have spoken to you that in Me you may have peace. In the world you will have affliction. But take courage, I have overcome the world' (John—XVI:33). Fortified then with the divine guarantee, strengthened by his faith in God, the Supreme Pontiff breathes a serene confidence in an air of moral grandeur before the peril which now hangs over all for the shadow of Soviet Russia and her Communist satellites."

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WASHINGTON TIMES HERALD
BUREAU EDITION
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Recalls Election

Dr. Ellis recalled the "dramatic suddenness" with which the college of cardinals selected their ecclesiastical leader. Not since 1623 had a Pope been elected in conclave within 24 hours. "It was likewise the first time in 164 years that a secretary of state had ascended Peter's chair."

The mass, preceded by a procession by members of the university in academic uniform, was celebrated by the Very Rev. Msgr. Joseph M. McShea, secretary of the apostolic delegation, assisted by the Rev. Robert Kitchin and the Rev. Joseph Peterson of the theological college as deacon and subdeacon, respectively.

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Francesco Lardone, the Rev. Dr. Aloysius Ziegler, and the Rev. Dr. John Rogg Schmidt of the university faculty attended the apostolic delegate. Services were in charge of the Rev. Dr. William J. Lallou, master of ceremonies, assisted by the Rev. Walter J. Schmitz, S.S., of the theological college.

Among the members of the diplomatic corps who attended were the Ambassador from Brazil and Mme. Martins, Ambassador from Honduras and Senora de Caceres, the Ambassador from Portugal and Mme. de Bianchi, the Ambassador from Italy and Signora Tarchiani, the Ambassador from El Salvadore and Senora de Castro, the Ambassador from Panama and Senora de Vallerino and the Ambassador from Guatemala and Senora de Gracia Granados.

WASHINGTON TIMES HERALD
BULLDOG EDITION
DATE March 12, 1947

RUSSIA'S REAL AIM HELD BASIC ISSUE

Times Writer Tells Teachers Question Is Whether Soviet Seeks World Domination

The basic question today is whether we can really believe that Russia has given up the idea of a world Communist federation and wants peace, James B. Reston, diplomatic correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, told 500 New York school teachers yesterday.

Mr. Reston said that confusion on this point was evident in the actions of our Government, which says on the one hand that it can "get along with the Russians" and on the other hand, because it doubts that Russia has abandoned the world Communist goal, "seeks to block them in Greece, Turkey, Austria and Germany" and puts up an atomic energy plan "which we do not think they will accept and which is not even sure of acceptance by our own Congress."

"I don't know the answer but that is the question," he said at the third session of "Evaluating the News," sponsored by THE NEW YORK TIMES in cooperation with the Board of Education at Times Hall, 240 West Forty-fourth Street. Thomas Hamilton, chief United Nations reporter for THE TIMES, shared the program, which centered on "The Future of the United Nations."

Sees Civil Liberty as Issue

"I do not believe the essential conflict is between Left and Right," Mr. Reston said, "but between those who believe in civil liberties and those who do not."

He said that United States aid to the Greek Government "has nothing to do with whether we like the Greek Government, which is a corrupt government," but that our Government, if it fears that Russia may still be planning world domination, "is going to feel it has to move in."

The United Nations should not be asked to do things it was never intended to do and should not be blamed for not policing states it was never intended to police, he said, giving this as the first rule for evaluating news of the United Nations.

"Much of the criticism and a good deal of the confusion about the United Nations comes from comparing it with the ideal, expecting it to solve problems it was never intended to touch," he said.

Conflict with Russia Discussed

Mr. Hamilton warned that if this nation accepted the invitation to take over British commitments in Greece, Turkey and Palestine, it would find itself in conflict with Russia. He predicted that "the civil war in China, and the withdrawal of Great Britain from India also will produce disputes with the Soviet Union sooner or later."

The first great necessity in evaluating the news today, he told the teachers, is to realize that national policies are made by national interests.

"I think that the American people will do themselves and the world a disservice if they allow their dealings with Russia to be controlled by ideological considerations, if they put it on the basis that we're a democracy and Russia is totalitarian," he said.

Ideologies are "brought in afterwards to support views taken because of national interests," he added.

James Russell Wiggins, assistant to the publisher of THE TIMES, introduced the speakers. The session next Tuesday at 4:15 P. M. will feature a discussion of "The Problem of Europe." Anne O'Hare McCormick, a member of the editorial staff, will talk on "The Basic Issues" and Shepard Stone, assistant Sunday editor, will discuss "The German Problem."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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This is a clipping from page 16 of the New York Times for 9.5.47

Clipped at the Seat of Government

30 APR 8 1947

OTTAWA CITIZEN

DATED FEBRUARY 28th, 1947.

Prof. Kirkconnell's Charges

Editor, Citizen: In an editorial of February 26 you denounce as ridiculous and as "moonbeams from the larger lunacy" my statements in Ottawa that Stalin's regime was a tyranny of barbarism and that there were many millions of Soviet citizens toiling in concentration camps.

I wonder if your paper, which has so diligently courted Soviet interests these several years, would have the courage to print the following comments: (1) The actuality and vastness of the Soviet concentration camps is calmly vouched for by the American Congress in a sober document produced for it last year by the Library of Congress staff (cf. "Communism in Action," being House Document No. 754 of the 79th Congress, 2d session, especially Chapter V on "Forced Labor"). Incidentally, the inmates are not idle, as you absurdly suggest, but engaged in hard labor under the direction of the NKVD-MVD.

(2) Part of the source of supply is indicated by a Soviet edict of Jan. 3, 1939, whereby a worker 20 minutes late for work was to be sentenced to forced labor in Siberia. (I have the *Pravda* report of the edict on file.)

(3) Or you may read in *Izvestia* of June 9, 1934, how the families of men who escaped abroad were to be sent to Siberia for five years, even if they knew nothing of his intention to escape. (I have the actual newspaper item on file.)

(4) Or you may consider the Soviet ukase of July 10, 1934, by which the secret police were given power by "non-judicial procedure" (i.e. without ordinary trial at all) to send a man to concentration camp for five years. (Once again I have the document on file. It is also quoted on p. 139 of the American Congress document mentioned above.)

(5) Or I have the actual reports of *Pravda*, May 20, 1934, and of *Izvestia*, Jan. 1, 1936, telling how little children were rewarded by the Soviet government for turning their fathers and mothers in to the police to be shot.

(6) I have also the *Pravda* report (Dec. 5, 1934) of an edict providing that persons accused of terrorism against government employes were to be condemned in their absence, without right of appeal.

(7) I also have the *Izvestia* notice (Dec. 5, 1932) of an edict giving factory directors the right to cut off a worker's food and eject him from his lodgings. Such evidences of "barbarism" could be multiplied a hundred times over, but the above examples should suffice.

(8) A correspondent in your issue of Feb. 25 dishonestly implies that my speech approved of dropping an atomic bomb on Russia, whereas I strongly condemned any such aggressive act as inhuman and un-Christian, and urged that we should have profound and affectionate sympathy for the Russian people (as distinguished from their despotic government).

May I suggest, therefore, that The *Evening Citizen*, instead of accepting as gospel the propaganda misinformation of the so-called National Council for Canadian-Soviet Friendship (whose national director last year was the veteran Communist organizer, Max Chic, of Toronto), should make an honest study of the grim record of Stalin in the Soviet press itself.

WATSON KIRKCONNELL.

Hamilton, Ont., Feb. 25.

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MAR 5 1947

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Russia - Govt. Sov R

Russia

File

Zhdanov Resigns

LONDON, Feb. 25.—Col. Gen. Andrei Zhdanov has resigned as president of the Supreme Soviet because of the pressure of other work, Radio Moscow announced tonight.

161-16-A

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80 MAR 14 1947

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This is a clipping from page 2 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 2-26-47

Clipped at the Seat of Government

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Mr. Jones
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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talin Expects Future War:

Russia's Military Manpower To Reach 32 Million by 1970

Potential to Equal Western Nations, Library of Congress Study Reveals

Analysis of USSR

By Associated Press

A GOVERNMENT survey predicted yesterday that Russia's fighting-age manpower will reach 32,000,000 by 1970, nearly equal to that of the United States, Britain, France, Germany and Italy combined.

At present, the analysis said, Soviet military power is less than that of the United States. But it is apparent, the report said, "that the U.S.S.R. intends to develop war power equal to the present might of the United States."

peech by Stalin Cited

It cited a speech made last February by Premier Stalin as evidence that "he expects future world conflicts."

Military matters are only one phase of the study covering "Communism in Action." It was made by the Legislative Reference Service, an agency in the Library of Congress which does research for Members of Congress, at the request of Representative Dirksen (R.), of Illinois.

Dirksen said in a foreword that he had asked the service to make a careful, unbiased, documented study of how communism works, keep it short, and put it in plain language so the American people could understand it. Such information, he said, "would halt the march of communism as nothing else could do."

250 Million Population

The resulting 140-page document makes no recommendations. It does make numerous comparisons of conditions in Russia and the United States.

By 1970, it said, prewar Russia alone—excluding the annexed Baltic states—will have 250,000,000 people. It said probably 32,000,000 will be between 20 and 34 years old and 22,000,000 in the "ideal" military age bracket of 20 to 29.

The population of the U. S. may reach 160,000,000 by that time, it said, with 18,000,000 men 20 to 34 and about 10,500,000 between 20 and 29.

Atom Given Priority

The report described Russia's "potential military might" as "very impressive" despite the loss of millions of men in the war.

"The highest priority is given to atomic development," it said. "Technical resources are under tremendous pressure to catch up with the America-British atomic combine. Stalin has set goals for scientific achievement and for agricultural and industrial (potentially military) production sufficient to insure the Soviet Union against 'all possible accidents' or eventualities."

Another section of the report asserted that several million workers in Russia are kept in "forced labor under police discipline and receive only miserable keep" for their efforts.

Other Topics Discussed

The report had this to say on other topics:

Private enterprise—Restricted to handicrafts and cultivation of very small plants. All land is owned by the state.

Living standards—Have risen gradually, steadily since pre-Soviet times. They have not reached the level of many European countries and are "far below those of the United States."

Housing—A room for a whole family "is standard in the western regions."

Friendlier Relations

Religion—Friendlier relations between church and state have replaced earlier "persecution." But there may be a "more rigid attitude" toward religion in the post-war period.

Education—Communist Party doctrines are the only ones which can be presented to the learners.

Leisure time—Strictly controlled by the state and Communist Party.

Communist Party - Russia

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WASHINGTON TIMES HERALD
MORNING EDITION
DATE 1947

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Mr. E. A. Tamm
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Mr. Leonard
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Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Russia - Int. Sec - C

Communism - Russia

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Reverse Russian

We wonder whether our Hollywood friends have been exhibiting any eagerness to buy the movie rights to the diplomatic memoirs of Mr. Charles Ciliberti, which have been collected under the quaint title of *Backstairs Mission in Moscow*. Mr. Ciliberti was chauffeur to former Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, and the interest of his book lies in the curious contrast between his observations of Soviet Russia and those of his employer. While Mr. Davies was industriously promoting the cause of Soviet-American friendship in interviews with Stalin, Molotov, Litvinov and other big shots, and in letters to Messrs. Steve Early and Cordell Hull, Mr. Ciliberti was picking up conversational Russian and hobnobbing with Russian mechanics, domestic servants and agents of w. [illegible] ken cited the G. P. U.

Mr. Ciliberti is perhaps no great literary artist, but he is obviously a shrewd, observant and affable man who was apparently a favorite of the Davieses and of the whole embassy staff. Like most Americans in Russia, he soon became enormously fond of the people, but quickly learned to draw a distinction between them and the regime. An American of Italian parentage, Mr. Ciliberti says he went to Russia without prejudice and without strong political convictions of any kind. He had not been there long before he felt he had been inoculated for life against "this Communist malarky."

"Boy," wrote Mr. Ciliberti, after observing the ubiquity of the secret police and the abject terror with which they were universally regarded, "has this government got the people whipped!" By little favors involving gifts of food from the embassy commissary and purchases of one sort and another on his trips to Warsaw and his furloughs to the United States, Mr. Ciliberti was able to consolidate his Russian friendships and received enough in the way of confidence to be persuaded that the ordinary Russian hates Communism quite as much as they dread its police.

During the famous purges of 1936 and 1937, while Ambassador Davies was allowing himself to be persuaded that a conspiracy of fantastic proportions really existed, Mr. Ciliberti discovered that the people of Moscow had a very different theory. They believed, says Mr. Ciliberti, that Radek and the others had been subjected to some kind of chemical hypnosis to make them confess to such inexplicable and indeed incredible crimes. Mr. Ciliberti, however, is skeptical not only of the confessions but even of the purges themselves. "Why," one of Mr. Ciliberti's friends asked him, "why should these men want to overthrow Stalin? They have been living on the fat of the land. They had better homes than your so-called capitalists in America. You should know; you have taken the Ambassador to their homes and know . . . how they live . . . No, Charlie . . . these men were not fools . . . They think over everything they do a thousand times . . . Charlie, in Russia when they tell you to look this way, you look the other way."

Mr. Ciliberti says he followed this excellent advice, and by always suspecting the exact opposite of that the official Russians wanted him to believe, he found that things which seemed absurd to begin with presently "made sense to me." Thus he was able to convince himself that, apart from some of the Red army leaders none of the men convicted in the purge trials was actually liquidated. Some of them, he thinks, were actually sent abroad under other identities to "set the stage for world revolution."

Mr. Ciliberti's book affords another example of the now familiar paradox that the Communist ideology has less attraction for the American working classes than for some American millionaires. Another irony is that in Mr. Ciliberti's book Mr. Davies appears to much better advantage as a conscientious representative of the United States than in his own book, *Mission to Moscow*. "Charlie," said the Ambassador, one day as they were returning from one of the tremendous sports exhibitions in Red Square, "watch this stuff, it may get you." No, sir! It didn't get Mr. Ciliberti.

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This is a clipping from the WASHINGTON POST
dated 2/18/47 Page 10

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Mr. Nichols
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Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease

Special Delivery

J. EDGAR HOOVER
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Chief:

In suspecting Gerhard Eisler to be an agent of the Comintern, you apparently suspect that Stalin never dissolved the thing.

DAD DEARBORN.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
February 10, 1947

161-16-A

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EX-26

61 MAR 27 1947

Moscow Maneuvers Become Transparent

Clumsy Attempt Seen to Drive Wedge Between Britain and U. S.

By David Lawrence

The maneuvers of the totalitarian government of Russia in world affairs have been a puzzle and a mystery, but they are now becoming amazingly transparent.

Within the last fortnight Moscow has sought rather clumsily to drive a wedge between the British and American people.

The first attack came through the insidious influence of those British radicals and "left-wingers" who are attacking the Attlee-Bevin Labor government for playing too closely to the United States.

To refute this charge, Foreign Minister Bevin, in a tone of impatience, made a speech declaring that the British were not tied to anybody. He was, of course, trying to say that Britain was not allied with the United States. But the Russian "Pravda"—which is government-controlled — promptly jumped on Bevin and said he had "abrogated" the British-Russian treaty of alliance which was designed to last 20 years.

British Aghast at Charge.

The British government, aghast at such a charge, denied that the treaty had been abrogated and remonstrated with Moscow. Thereupon Generalissimo Stalin said he was glad to receive the reassurance, but that he didn't think the treaty in its present form was particularly strong and felt that, if the British proposal for lengthening the term were taken up seriously, some strengthening points should be added to the whole treaty. He did not clarify what he meant.

Having confused and bewildered the British, Moscow propaganda now is turned on the United States. A dispatch broadcast by the official news agency in Russia declares that British-American relations have assumed the character of a military alliance. The agency says:

"As is known, Britain does not have a formal treaty with the United States yet none can doubt the intimate relations which in fact have assumed the character of a military alliance.

"Britain concluded a 20-year treaty with the Soviet Union, but it cannot be said that British policy toward the Soviet Union answers the demands of an allied treaty. In reality there are not a few facts showing that Britain and the United States form a bloc against the Soviet Union."

Nothing illustrates more clearly the Russian strategy of dividing the democracies whenever she can. Her propaganda throughout Latin America as well as throughout Europe, aims to estrange the United States from countries with which America is on the friendliest terms.

Tactics Deceive Nobody.

The Russian tactics are not deceiving anybody. The public complaint against the British that they like America too well is, however, the biggest blunder the Communists in Moscow have ever made. It is true that no treaty of alliance exists between America and Britain, because one isn't necessary. It is also true that the words and phrases of no treaty between Russia and Great Britain can be strong enough as to warrant Britain ever taking the side of Russia if the latter some day follows in the Hitler path of unprovoked aggression against peaceful nations.

The disinterested observers in the world may ask: "Why all the talk of or need for alliances? Isn't the United Nations supposed to be an adequate safeguard against aggression, so that alliances between individual nations are to be superfluous?"

The two-power treaties of alliance were signed at a time when the United Nations had not yet come into being. Now that the U. N. is here, the signing of new alliances or extension of old alliances cannot but be regarded as a blow at the prestige of the U. N. and as a sign that some nations are reverting to the games of power politics which brought on World War I and World War II.

What is behind Russian policy? Is there any one in Russia who seriously thinks a wedge can be driven between the United States and Britain? There is no chance of such a development, and the sooner the Moscow governmental propagandists recover from their jitters and give full faith to collective security the sooner will the whole world situation improve and the reduction of armaments be brought nearer to fruition.

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Mr. A. Tamm
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Mr. Lack
Mr. Nichols
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APR 8 1947

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Clipped from WASHINGTON EVENING STAR for 1/29/47

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Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
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Jews Under the Reds

Moscow's pretensions of reform have not been very convincing. What has really changed? For example, what's happening to Russian Jews? Leon Volkov, NEWSWEEK's Contributing Editor on Soviet Affairs, makes this analysis:

One of the important but generally overlooked factors in the present upheaval in world Communism is Nikita Khrushchev's reputation for anti-Semitism. Now that de-Stalinization has lifted the lid on criticism, Western Communists—particularly the Americans—are letting off accumulated steam.

They still are not accusing Khrushchev of anti-Semitism but their knowledge of his record unquestionably accounts for their insistence that he and his associates give some explanation of past persecutions of Soviet Jews and, by inference, some assurance that these persecutions won't be repeated.

So far they have received neither explanations nor assurances.

It is significant that when Pravda reprinted a New York Daily Worker article by general secretary Eugene Dennis of the American CP, the only line it deleted was one referring to Soviet anti-Semitism. This line accused Stalin of "snuffing out the lives of more than a [illegible] Jewish cultural leaders."

[illegible] on this deletion in the [illegible] editor Joseph [illegible] was untrue all Pravda had to do was deny it . . . An explanation is long overdue from Soviet leaders about the physical annihilation of the top Soviet Jewish writers and poets in the late '40s."

Khrushchev's Record: Stalin's anti-Semitism is well-known. Not so well known, except in Communist circles, is Khrushchev's own record. As boss of the Ukraine during the war, he was almost as hard on the Jews as the invading German armies had been. Some 300 Jews were massacred in Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, at the end of 1944, while he was in charge. During the next six years, a secret Khrushchev decree forbade Jews who had fled the province during the early stages of the war to return to their homes.

Even in his recent talks with French and British Socialists, Khrushchev betrayed anti-Semitic prejudices. He told the French he saw no reason to permit the Jews to maintain their own synagogues and cultural activities within the Soviet Union. He shocked the British by his indifference to the martyrdom of European Social Democrats, many of them prominent Jews.

In answer to questions about Jews in government and party posts, Khrushchev said they were entitled to no more than a proportion based on population. Since Jews are only about 1 per cent of the total Soviet population, this means that very few of them can rise to positions of influence. In this respect, Khrushchev is treating the Jews as the czars did—giving them so-called percentage norms.

All this may not hurt Khrushchev in Russia. Indeed, he may be using it as an internal political asset. But it makes him highly unpopular in most of the satellite and Western parties. On balance, it almost certainly adds something to his mounting troubles.

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Communist Party Tactics

Wash. Post and Times Herald
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Mirror
Newsweek p. 36
Date: July 16, 1956

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showing signs of breaking away from its ten-year alliance with the Communists, blamed Polish authorities for driving the workers too hard.

Apparently concerned over the furor, Moscow sought to soft-pedal the anti-Stalin line, at least for the moment, and to tighten Communist discipline.

The Soviet party's Central Committee issued a lengthy resolution aimed at ending the anti-Stalin argument, and chiding Western Communist leaders for criticizing the Soviet system. Pravda decreed that party workers must be absolutely subordinated to the will of one person—"the Soviet leader . . ." De-Stalinization, it promised, "will have a tremendous significance for the new victories of . . . the entire Communist movement."

Despite the troubles of Communism, Khrushchev still was on top. His gamble of relaxing Stalin's iron grip in order to capture the world's waverers and neutrals was a desperate one. But it had not yet failed.

The free world had an advantage, if only a temporary one. By driving home the lesson of Poznan and by advertising the alternative advantages of democracy, the West might yet upset Khrushchev's gamble.

Jews Under the Reds

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Commenting on this deletion in the Daily Worker, foreign editor Joseph Clark wrote: "If the charge was untrue all Pravda had to do was deny it . . . An explanation is long overdue from Soviet leaders about the physical annihilation of the top Soviet Jewish writers and poets in the late '40s."

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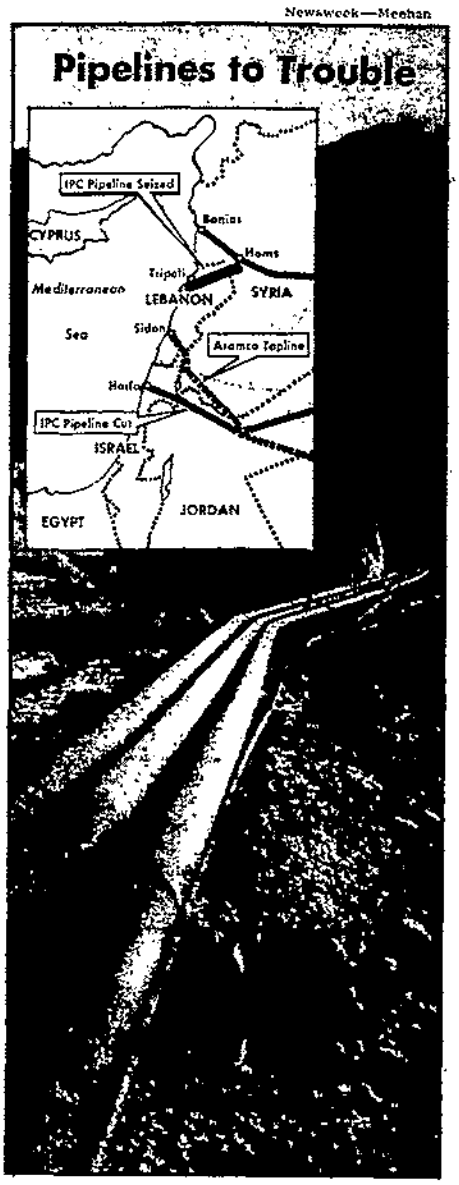
Newsweek—Meehan



MIDDLE EAST:

Inflammable

The West sighed with relief when Soviet Foreign Minister Dimitri T. Shepilov wound up his recent Middle East junket without any bombshells like last year's arms-to-Egypt deal. Last week it seemed the West had sighed too soon.

▶Nominally pro-Western Lebanon suddenly announced the seizure of a vital oil pipeline terminal and refinery at Tripoli, serving the British-American-French Iraq Petroleum Co. (IPC).

▶Leaders of Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan flew to Cairo to blueprint plans for a "United States of Arabia," dominated by Egypt's anti-Western strong man, Lt. Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser, and embracing 100 million Moslems from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean.

▶Syria formally recognized the Chinese Communist regime,* following Egypt's lead last May.

▶Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon rushed troop reinforcements to their tense borders facing Israel, claiming—without verification—that Israeli forces were massing for attack.

Shepilov's visit may have had no direct connection with the latest rash of trouble in the Middle East. But he certainly had behaved more like a troublemaker than a peacemaker. In Cairo, he told responsive Arabs: "Oil monopolies . . . suck the vitality of less developed nations." In Beirut, he promised Soviet aid if Lebanon joins Cairo's expanding "neutral" bloc, and gave President Camille Chamoun a clumsy double-barreled Russian shotgun and an old-fashioned-looking radio-gramophone. Shepilov also invited Chamoun and Syrian President Shukri al-Kuwatly to visit Russia next year (they probably will accept).

Rival Arab ambitions may block Nasser's pan-Arab dream. But in the

*The 29th country to do so.

(STALIN)

LONDON--DIPLOMATIC DISPATCHES REPORTED AN APPARENT SHARPENING DIFFERENCES AMONG SOVIET LEADERS OVER THE SCOPE AND PACE OF THE ANTI-STALIN CAMPAIGN.

THE CAMPAIGN MAY BOOMERANG VIOLENTLY ON COMMUNIST PARTY CHIEF NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, ITS CHIEF PROMOTER, THE REPORTS ADDED.

INFORMED SPECULATION SUGGESTED THAT THE SIMMERING DIFFERENCES REFLECT THE BEGINNING OF A NEW STRUGGLE FOR POWER WITHIN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP.

THE SOVIET LEADERS ARE UNDERSTOOD TO HAVE BEEN IN AGREEMENT FOR SOME TIME PAST THAT A DEMOTION OF STALIN WAS NECESSARY.

BUT THE CAMPAIGN APPARENTLY GOT OUT OF CONTROL ONCE IT WAS STARTED.

KHRUSHCHEV IN PARTICULAR IS BLAMED, ACCORDING TO THESE REPORTS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, FOR HAVING STEPPED UP THE PACE OF THE DE-STALINIZATION IN EXCESS OF THE MORE MODERATE PLANS ORIGINALLY SET FOR THE DEMOTION OF THE LATE DICTATOR.

THE ANTI-STALIN CAMPAIGN IS NOW BLAMED FOR THE REUMBLINGS IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST PARTIES, AND FOR UNREST IN THE SATELLITES AND WITHIN RUSSIA. IT IS HELD TO HAVE WEAKENED THE SOVIET UNION AND REDUCED ITS PRESTIGE ABROAD.

A HARD CORE OF STALINISTS IS UNDERSTOOD TO BE STILL IN EXISTENCE IN THE SOVIET UNION.

THESE WERE SAID TO BE POINTING TO THE ALLEGED DAMAGE CAUSED BY THE SYSTEMATIC DESTRUCTION OF THE STALIN MYTH AND ALL THAT GOES WITH IT.

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138 JUL 23 1956

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DOROTHY THOMPSON

Soviet 'Explanation' Falls Flat

Excuse That Stalin Couldn't Be Unseated Because of Popularity Called False

The Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party has again attempted to explain the Stalinist epoch and the role of the present leaders in it, in a long document addressed to the Soviet people and Communists throughout the world. Most Communists probably will swallow it. Their capacity for swallowing every new Kremlin move has been perenially demonstrated by these sheep in sheep's clothing. But nobody with a mind in his head can do so.

The thesis of the party announcement is that the crimes of Stalin were the result of the "cult of personality," in no way inherent in the state system itself, and that the culprit really responsible was "capitalist encirclement."

The document does not suggest that Stalin was an agent of the "imperialists." But it reasserts that Beria, the instrument of his atrocities, was an agent of "international imperialism."

None of the present leaders is guilty, because Stalin's popularity, achieved in the build-up of the country, was such that any earlier action against him would not have been understood by the people, and many of the details of his terror were not known until after his death. Such is the argument.

In fact, the "cult of personality" has persisted from the beginning and continues to exist in supporting the infallibility of Marxism-Leninism. No review is under way of the basic theses and prophecies of Karl Marx, though many of them have been completely exploded by the social developments of the hundred years and more since he wrote them.

The "cult of personality" built up around Lenin reached enormous heights during his liftime. In "The New Russia," a book reporting on the Soviet Union in 1928, I described this cult in detail. A mystique had been created, attributing to Lenin wisdom and virtues never possessed by mortal man. The same ubiquitous chromo-portraits, busts, statues, renamed streets and cities, glorifying dramas and other works were everywhere—and queues, forming daily to view his embalmed body, went as to a shrine. Stalin just created a bigger cult alongside that of his predecessor.

Beria was tried and executed secretly. Not even a "confession" was recorded. If he had been an agent for "international imperialists," who were they? When did such activities occur? What is the evidence?

Lenin was an "agent"—very stupidly used—of imperial Germany, which smuggled him into Russia to bring about a separate peace in World War I.

Every world Communist leader actively promoted the Stalin "cult," including Palmiro Togliatti, head of the powerful Italian Communist Party. He is reproved in the latest Russian party announcement for suggesting that profound changes can and must be made in the system. But he wrote in Pravda a few days after Stalin's death, that "only feebleminded and pathetic provocateurs in the corrupt imperialist press" could prate of any departure from the teachings of Stalin.

Stalin's terror was known to thousands of people abroad, and published in scores of articles and books. If telling the truth makes one a "pathetic provocateur," K and B have finally entered the ranks of the "corrupt imperialist press," along with Togliatti himself.

Millions of Russians, killed, deported, enslaved by that terror, certainly knew about it, as did their relatives. The excuse that nothing could be done to unseat Stalin because of his "popularity" is buncombe. The "popularity" was artificially created and sustained by fear.

"No personality," says the new statement, "could change the nature of the Soviet state."

Stalin did not want to change it. It suited his purposes. The people cannot change it, for no instrument is tolerated through which they could do so. Not one scrap of freedom has been granted "the broad masses." And when some of them attempted a strike and demonstration in Poznan, Poland, back came the spirit of Stalin.

A totalitarian state is a totalitarian state. The essence of all such states is force. Wherever a state is law, judge, policeman, and sole employer, educator, publisher, and mentor, it is totally evil.

Two great Russians said this, perhaps more clearly than anyone else: Leo Tolstoy and Peter Kropotkin.

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THE CULPRIT [illegible]S

Despite their b[illegible]g and self-accusation, the Co[illegible]ist leaders refuse to face up to the central issue involved in the overthrow of the Stalin myth. The Communists outside of Soviet Russia, who boast that they have a "scientific" explanation for everything, want to know how and why Stalin's crimes and the Stalin myth could happen. And the Moscow Communists, who proclaim the Marxist theory that history is made not by individuals but by economic forces and "class" action, now attempt to put all the blame for Stalinism on Stalin.

But the real issue, long evident to free men everywhere, is that the horrors of Stalin's rule were not primarily the result of the aberrations of Stalin or any other man but are instead inherent elements and inevitable products of the whole Communist system, which requires a Stalin to run it and therefore must always create a Stalin or collapse in chaos and revolt.

The reasons why responsibility for these evils rests not so much on men as on the system are self-evident. Communism represents a violent and in practice a permanent revolution to overthrow all non-Communist social systems and Governments and to wipe out all but one of the existing "classes" in order to establish a "dictatorship of the proletariat" which annihilates all opponents. When successful resistance by the non-Communist world makes it necessary, this revolution may be carried on, as in the Thirties and now again, by the Trojan horse tactic of temporary "coexistence" and a "united front" with "progressive" elements to capture parliaments and bring Communists to power legally. But, as proclaimed anew by the Communist leaders themselves, the revolution is always the paramount objective, to be pursued, when anti-Communist resistance weakens, by violence, terror and war.

In this revolution of extermination the end justifies the means and abrogates both the rights of the individual and the moral and ethical restraints of civilization. Furthermore, since such a revolution can be staged only by a conspiracy, it must be staged, as Lenin recognized, by a small group of ruthless men, who in turn will be dominated by the most ruthless among them. This man thereby inevitably becomes a dictator whose arbitrary will becomes law that spells life or death for millions.

But the same inevitability of dictatorial rule continues to prevail even after a Communist system is established. For communism, even when called "socialism," rests in theory on "community" ownership of all means of production, distribution and exchange, which in practice, and despite the promise of a "withering away" of the state, means a monopoly of state capitalism. This means expropriation and "liquidation" of all "capi[illegible] large industrialists, to [illegible]spers and farmers, and [illegible] of all productive prope[illegible]e. It means the centr[illegible]ment, operation and planning of a whole national economy and every part of it by a vast bureaucracy under a top command which makes the state the only employer and seeks to realize its political aims and cover up its blunders and inefficiency by terrorizing and exploiting both the managers and the workers to the point of making them all serfs of the state. Finally, it means the constant prevention and suppression of all opposition to this system, whether due to man's innate desire for freedom or to a possessive instinct on his part that would interfere with state operations.

All this demands and inevitably leads to a concentration of totalitarian power—not only political but also economic, social, educational and every other power—in the top command of the state. And this top command is again the small group of ruthless men who have clawed their way to the top, and who, being usurpers, must inevitably rule by means of a ruthless police terror. They may seek to "liberalize" their rule and decentralize their state operations; they may temporarily imitate Lenin's "new economic policy" in respect to rebellious peasants; they may even pose as a "collective leadership." But the end result is still dictatorship, which inevitably leads to the tyranny of the man who, in the constant struggle for power, is fastest on the trigger, and to poverty and human degradation for the masses.

In all this, communism merely confirms an ancient wisdom summarized by Lord Acton in the maxim that "power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely." The founding fathers of the United States knew it when they voted for the separation of political powers, not to speak of economic power. The Socialists realized it when they not only repudiated Marx' revolution in favor of democratic evolution but also, in view of the Soviet example and their own experience with nationalization of industry, began to veer away from total state ownership. The unmasking of Stalin should serve to warn those who still see in communism a short cut to industrial development and do not reckon the price.

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Reds Explain Their Failure To Oust Stalin

By Reuters

Moscow

A decree adopted June 30 by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party said it was "impossible" under the prevailing conditions after the war to remove Joseph Stalin from power.

The decree, according to the Soviet news agency, Tass, said that during the war, Stalin's dictatorship was "sharply limited" and some Central Committee members and military commanders took independent decisions.

But after victory, "the negative results of the personality cult once more began to assert themselves with greater force," the decree said.

Entitled the "Elimination of the Personality Cult and of Its Consequences," the decree traces the growth of Sttalin's dictatorship, mentions Lenin's distrust of Stalin, and praises the present regime for its work in destroying the evils of the cult of personality.

"Support" Hailed

The decree said that "many facts and wrong actions of Stalin" became known only after Stalin's passing and the unmasking of "Beria's gang" and the assumption of party control over state security organs. (Lavrenti P. Beria was head of the secret police until his trial and execution.)

The decree, published in the July edition of Pravda, the party newspaper, noted with satisfaction "the full approval and warm support" with which the Soviet people had welcomed the decisions of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February.

The decree, which was in four sections, also noted the approval given to the Congress decisions by Communist Parties and workers in satellite countries and "millions of people in the capitalist and colonialist countries."

Foes Answered

In one section, according to Tass, the committee replied to the enemies of communism and Socialists who "concentrate their fire on the shortcomings which were disclosed by the Central Committee at the Congress."

The second section replied to the question as to how the cult of personality "with its negative consequences" could have "emerged and become widespread." Another section dealt with the consequences of the cult and measures to overcome it.

The decree showed support for Soviet party measures against the personality cult and its effects, Tass said.

The decree also noted that in discussions on the cult, the "right interpretation" was not always given for its origin and its consequences for Soviet society.

Tass said the concluding section of the decree outlined "tasks confronting all party organizations of the Soviet Communist Party" in connection with the Congress decisions.

It also spoke of "the inspiring prospects" now before the Communist Parties and the entire workers' movement.

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Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
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Public's Backing of Stalin Made Critics Hold Fire

Communist Chiefs Say People Would Not Have Understood or Allowed Denunciation

MOSCOW, July 2 (AP).—The Soviet Union's Communist chieftains said today it was Joseph Stalin's support from the Russian people that kept them from rising against him—not lack of courage.

The Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party issued a 6,000-word statement to explain why the country's present rulers waited until after Stalin was dead to denounce him.

It said Stalin was so popular after World War II that the Soviet people would neither have understood nor supported any move against him.

It also asserted that threat of "capitalist encirclement" was another reason the present leadership could not have risked disunity by ousting Stalin. Moreover, it added, the dictator's worst crimes were not revealed until after his death.

Two Pages in Pravda

The statement, drafted as a resolution of the central committee, was spread over two pages of Pravda, the party's newspaper, and beamed abroad by Moscow radio.

It clearly was intended as a reply to critics of the Kremlin's anti-Stalin campaign both inside and outside the Soviet Union.

Leaders of Communist parties in Western Europe and the United States have criticized Moscow's methods in the downgrading of Stalin. They also have asked what was the role of the present Soviet leadership during the years Stalin was committing the crimes of which he is now accused.

The long resolution reviewed what it described as the historical background and causes of Stalin's rise to supreme power. It said the drive to correct his errors had been misinterpreted by foreign Communist leaders.

It attacked "slanderous assertions" in the West that Stalin's dictatorship had been made possible by the undemocratic nature of the Soviet system and claimed Soviet society is basically unchanged despite Stalin's influence.

Would Have Misunderstood

Any action against Stalin during his lifetime "would not have been understood by the people," the resolution said. It continued:

"All this does not mean there was lack of personal courage. It is clear anyone who would have spoken up against Stalin under those conditions would not have been supported by the people.

"Moreover, any such action would have been considered . . . as a move to undermine the unity of the party and government."

The statement claimed many of Stalin's excesses were exposed only after he died when the Soviet government exposed "the criminal gang of (Lavrenty) Beria, agent of international imperialism."

Beria, Stalin's police boss, was executed as a traitor a year after Stalin died.

"Naturally," the resolution said, "this does not justify the cult (of the individual—Stalin's one-man rule) and its consequences which have been so

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Public's Backing of Stalin Made Critics Hold Fire

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sharply and justly condemned by the party."

Stalinism Uprooted

The resolution asserted that Stalinism has been uprooted completely and collective leadership of both the Soviet party and government now are guaranteed.

The committee statement claimed that during the war "individual acts of Stalin were sharply restricted" but that after the war his one-man rule "reemerged with great force."

". . . all our great successes began to be incorrectly connected with his name. Successes were attained by the Communist Party and the Soviet government and adulation went to his head."

But, the resolution declared, "it cannot be said that there was no counteraction against negative manifestations which were connected with the cult of the individual and put a brake on the advance of socialism."

Refers to Poznan Revolt

The resolution bitterly attacked "American monopoly capital" for "continuing to allot large sums of money to increase subversive activity against socialist countries." It claimed last week's anti-Communist uprising in Poznan, Poland, was financed by "adherents of the cold war" in the United States.

It said recent approval in the United States Senate of funds "for promotion of freedom behind the Iron Curtain" was "a cynical attempt to activize operations of the cold war."

It contended Soviet leaders in denouncing Stalin proved they are braver and franker than leaders of Western powers.

"Not a single one of the ruling parties of the capitalist countries ever risked taking a similar step," it said. "On the contrary, they would have tried to conceal such unpleasant facts from the people and pass over them in silence . . ."

Some foreign Communists, the committee said, have misinterpreted the anti-Stalin program which, it boasted, actually shows how strong the Soviet Union is. "United States imperialists" are trying to confuse the fact that Stalinism is dead in Russia, it declared, but Soviet leaders knew their enemies would try to exploit past errors and belittle "courageous self-criticism."

U. S. Imperialists Accused

The resolution acknowledged that the anti-Stalin drive had caused confusion and unrest among Communists abroad but claimed the entire Communist Party in Russia and all the Russian people hailed attacks on Stalin at the 20th Party Congress last February.

The committee accused "United States imperialist circles" of raising the cry that Stalinism still exists because the Kremlin's denunciation of the late dictator "is accelerating the progress of our country toward communism and is weakening the position of capitalism."

It claimed the capitalist press is trying to confuse the issue because the West is disturbed that Stalinism "is a past stage in the life of the Soviet country."

The resolution specifically attacked Palmiro Togliatti, chief of the Italian Communist Party, for "incorrect theories" he expressed in criticizing the conduct of the anti-Stalin program in Russia.

It said Togliatti had no basis for asking whether "Soviet society had not undergone certain forms of regeneration." Soviet society is unchanged despite Stalin, it said.

Could Not Change System

"Despite all the evil caused by the Stalin cult of the individual, he could not and did not alter the nature of our social system . . . to think that a certain personality even as great a one as Stalin, could change our socio-political system would be a profound contradiction of facts," it said.

The resolution mentioned neither Soviet Party Secretary Nikita Khrushchev, who launched the anti-Stalin drive at the 20th Party Congress, nor his secret speech at that time. But it repeated a number of his points.

It also quoted Lenin's letter to the 13th Communist Party Congress—called Lenin's will—which was suppressed in the Soviet Union for 33 years. That letter called for ousting Stalin from the party secretaryship in 1923. It was published in the party magazine Kommunist only last Saturday.

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Matter of Fact . . . . . By Joseph and Stewart Alsop

Was Stalin Murdered?

ABOUT A WEEK after Joseph Stalin died, one of these reporters had a long talk with George Kennan, who had very recently been recalled as Ambassador to the Soviet Union. Kennan ventured a prediction about the future and a guess about the immediate past, and both are worth recalling in view of what has happened since.

Kennan's prediction was that Stalin might very well become within a few years the chief ideological devil of the Soviet Union and world communism. It seemed a strange notion at the time, since Khrushchev and Company in Moscow, and all important Communists elsewhere, were vying with each other in fulsome tributes to the "great lost leader." But in the light of recent events, Kennan's prediction about the future lends added weight to his guess about the past.

Kennan's guess was that the men around Stalin had murdered him, or at least been implicated in his death. He had, Kennan said, no solid evidence that Stalin had been murdered, any more than he had solid evidence that Stalin would become an ideological devil. In both cases, it was a matter of atmosphere and of instinct. Kennan vividly described the atmosphere in Moscow which he had so recently left—the fear and hatred of the old tyrant so thick in the air that you could almost smell it.

IF STALIN was not a madman before he died, Kennan said, he was just this side of madness—a judgment fully vindicated by Nikita Khrushchev's hair-raising description of Stalin's last years. It seemed to Kennan a reasonable conjecture that Stalin's subordinates had done away with him, not only to save their own lives but because the structure of Soviet power might be endangered by the dictator's near madness.

Kennan's guess was only a guess, and there is still no positive proof that Stalin was murdered. But if you re-read Khrushchev's famous speech, in which he denounced Stalin as a murderer, and consider other recent events in the light of Kennan's guess, it begins to seem rather like the missing piece of a puzzle.

Why, for example, did Khrushchev make his speech at all? This is the question which has mystified all the experts. Before the speech Kennan's successor, the able Charles E. Bohlen, and every other diplomatic observer in Moscow had reported that the Khrushchev-Bulganin regime was solidly installed. For more than a year a carefully planned process of chipping away at Stalin's reputation had been in progress.

WHY, THEN, should Khrushchev abandon the chisel for the meat axe and hack away so ruthlessly at the memory of the dead dictator? He no doubt underestimated the risks he was taking, but he is a shrewd man, and he must have known that the risks were real and grave. Why take them?

If Kennan's guess was accurate, the answer is clear. A collective sense of blood guilt can be a source of unity, and could in part explain why the "collective leadership" has worked successfully, contrary to many expert predictions. But blood guilt can also be a source of danger, the danger of blackmail by a party to the secret. There are two ways of dealing with such a danger. There is Stalin's way, killing all who knew the secret. The other way is to transform the act itself into a necessary and even laudable one.

Certain passages of Khrushchev's speech also take on a new meaning in the light of Kennan's guess. For example, Khrushchev singled out Molotov and Mikoyan by name, and said that even they would not have survived had Stalin lived.

Mikoyan and Molotov, Kennan has speculated, are precisely the two men who were almost certainly not implicated in Stalin's death—Mikoyan hated Stalin, but he is a cautious man, and Molotov retained to the end a spaniel-like devotion to his cruel master. Thus Khrushchev's words may have been a warning and a reminder. The whole tone of Khrushchev's speech, in fact, with its repeated emphasis on Stalin as a murderer, supports Kennan's conjecture for murder is the natural retribution for murder.

FINALLY, there is the more recent mystery. Why did Pravda, Khrushchev's own party newspaper, publish an article by the American Communist Eugene Dennis, criticizing Khrushchev by name, and asking why he and his colleagues did nothing to prevent Stalin's crimes? Such an article in the Soviet press has always been the prelude to an official answer. Might not the answer be that Khrushchev and his colleagues did indeed do something, and something rather drastic and decisive to curb the murdering tyrant?

Perhaps it will never be known for certain whether Kennan's conjecture was as accurate as his prediction. But at least Kennan's guess throws an interesting new light on the events which have shaken the whole structure of Soviet power.

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Canada Communists Query Soviet Chiefs

TORONTO, Ont., June 28 (AP) Canada's Labor-Progressive (Communist) Party today demanded that Soviet leaders give a fuller explanation as to why Stalin was allowed to conduct one-man rule and commit "errors, excesses and crimes."

In a press statement, the party's National Executive Committee said it does not consider adequate the explanations of Secretary Nikita Khrushchev of the Russian Communist Party that Stalin's personal weaknesses and shortcomings alone were responsible.

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Journal Emphasizes Second Front Importance

Commanders Hit for Red War Losses

MOSCOW, June 28 (UP)—The authoritative journal "Problems of History" today blamed Soviet commanders for Russian Military setbacks in World War II and emphasized the importance of the second front in the final victory over Fascist enemies.

It was the first public criticism of individual army commanders for their conduct of military operations in the last war, altho Communist Party Secretary Nikita S. Khrushchev was reported to have blamed the "one-man" rule of Josef Stalin.

The controversy over whom to blame was believed by observers to reflect a conflict between Communist Party leaders and the military. The Journal apparently expressed the party viewpoint.

"FIASCOS"

The Journal's criticisms were contained in a review of the recently published "Outline History of the Great Patriotic War." The book, it said, suffered from "serious shortcomings."

The Journal said flatly the loss of strategic initiative by the Soviet army was due to "fiasco . . . incorrect evaluation of the enemy, and individual commanders and chiefs who did not know how to organize the fighting action of troops and direct them properly," and attacked the book for its omissions and mistakes.

In a significant footnote, the Journal editors sided with the Military Herald, organ of the defense ministry, in its dispute with the army newspaper, Red Star.

The Military Herald had blamed Russia's initial defeats in World War II on unpreparedness due to Stalin's arbitrary refusal to admit the danger of a Nazi attack.

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SECOND SHOCK

The criticism of the military wasn't the only thing that shocked the Russians. Yesterday Pravda reprinted an article by Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the U. S. Communist Party, which first appeared in the Daily Worker on June 18.

Dennis had written in part:

". . . Questions frequently arise about the present Soviet leadership.

"Did some of them try to bring about changes before the last three years? (Before the death of Stalin.) Could the past evils have been checked earlier? How big and how serious are the changes now under way?

"Many questions remain unanswered. The Khrushchev report (highly critical of Stalin), which was primarily a documental supplement to his main political report to the 20th Party Congress, reflects only a part of the probing that has gone on, and which may continue for years to come . . . among the Soviet people."

The unprecedented criticism of the present Russian leadership amazed the Russians who flocked to read copies of the Dennis article posted up on walls.

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British Reds Criticize Kremlin Line on Stalin

LONDON, June 22 (AP).—Britain's Communist party declared today the Kremlin can't get away with pinning all the evils in the Soviet system on Stalin.

Following the lead of Italian and French Communists, the British Reds demanded a "profound Marxist analysis of the causes of degeneration" in the Russian setup.

In a statement issued by their political committee, the British Communists criticized the handling of the Kremlin's campaign to downgrade Stalin. But the British Reds did not make a complete break with the new Kremlin line.

Individual Cult Condemned

They claimed the recent 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party was correct in condemning the cult of the individual and "in indorsing the return to Leninist principles of collective leadership and inner party democracy."

They also said it was correct to frankly expose "all the evils which followed from the departure from Leninist principles, in order to put an end to these evils."

The Daily Worker lashed out this morning at the Soviet Communist Party for refusing to admit that Stalin was not the only reason for "the degeneration in functioning of Soviet democracy and party democracy."

As matters stand, it added, it would be a good idea if all countries quit applying the death penalty as the supreme judicial punishment.

Further Review Urged

In one of the sharpest attacks on the Moscow Communist leadership yet made by a satellite Red party organization, the British Communist party organ declared:

"It is clear that further review and discussion is needed of questions opened up by the report to the private session of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

It was at this congress that Khrushchev denounced Stalin as a maniac, phoney war hero and tyrant.

The Daily Worker complained that so far the Soviet Communist Party has failed to publish the official version of the Khrushchev report, although the United States State Department released its own version throughout the Western world.

"Marxist Analysis" Heeded

Taking note that the French Communist Party leaders and Palmiro Togliatti, leader of the Italian Communist Party, have found fault with Mr. Khrushchev's remarks, The Daily Worker observed:

"We agree with the observation of Comrade Togliatti and the French Communist Party that it will be necessary to make a profound Marxist analysis of the causes of degeneration in the functioning of the Soviet Democracy and party democracy.

"It is not enough to attribute these developments solely to the character of one individual.

"A more adequate estimate of the role of Stalin, both in its positive and negative aspects, will be necessary."

East German Reds Face Party Unrest

BERLIN, June 22 (AP).—Several Beerlin units of East Germany's ruling Communist Party have rebelled against Party Boss Walter Ulbricht because of his switch to denunciation of Stalin.

This came to light today when the official party newspaper Neues Deutschland published a resolution passed by a conference of party leaders in East Berlin.

The resolution revealed that not all Berlin party locals approved the decisions of the Communist Party Conference here last March.

Under the party's statute, approval of the decisions of the leading party bodies is mandatory for every member.

The resolution said "petit bourgeois wavering" occurred among members and leading functionaries of "several" party organizations, but was repelled by the party leadership.

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Washington Report:

Red Convolutions Amazing to Watch

BY FULTON LEWIS JR.

WASHINGTON: The current convolutions of Communists around the world are amazing to watch; among the most amazing are those of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

Their danger lies in the possibility that any substantial number of non-Communists will be taken in by their honeyed sounds, and believe that the basic character of the Kremlin bosses truly has changed.

President Eisenhower best expresses this danger by commenting that Russia's new rulers continue to follow dictatorial methods in spite of their extreme attacks on the late Josef Stalin. They merely are saying, he adds, that the wrong individual was in power.

While the anti-Stalin era holds sway, Communists around the world, such as American Reds, are being allowed complete freedom to speak their own minds. The effort is to convince the world that Communism is synonymous with Socialism, which of itself is much more acceptable generally because it seeks its goals by peaceable, non-revolutionary means.

Told What to Believe

But sooner or later, the time will come when the Kremlin again clamps down and decrees that Communists shall believe only what they are told to believe, that they will utter only the words they are told to utter.

Meanwhile, they are enjoying their freedom to speak. Take, for example, this excerpt from a front-page editorial in the official Communist publication, the Daily Worker, appearing the same day Mr. Eisenhower discussed the issue in a news conference:

"The State Department is dead wrong when it suggests that the evils of the Stalin era are inherent in socialism. The fact is that the development of those evils created a peril for socialism. The repression, the injustice, the frameup, the torture are a gross perversion of socialist principles."

Likewise, perversions of the principles of humanitarianism, of freedom, of liberty, of self-government and of every other decent part of life; but invariably present with Communism.

Furthermore, they seek to confuse the issue by using the words "Socialism" and "Communism" interchangeably, as though they were one and the same. Many of us dislike intensely the idea of living under a Socialist government in which government would own all productive facilities and private enterprise would be a thing of the past; but Socialism is not a dictatorship (which Communism always is) and, when it proves its futility, it can be voted out of office as it was in Great Britain.

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Inconceivable Admissions

To return to the Daily Worker editorial:

"The blind and uncritical attitude of the Daily Worker in past years to the repressions of the Soviet Union, only did grave damage to our goal of promoting a socialist movement in this country. It created obstacles to what we consider was a notable contribution over the years in defending the genuine socialist achievements in the USSR and its policy for peace."

The Daily Worker admitting to the existence of "repression . . . injustice . . . frameup . . . torture" within the borders of their sanctified Soviet Union! Inconceivable.

There are other essays to the same general effect in the Daily Worker's editorials, its columns, its letters to the editor. The paper acts akin to the traditional boy-out-of-school: it knows it better enjoy its rare freedom while it can, knowing that the crack-down will come in the not too distant future.

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Preferred the Very Young

Paris Told Stalin Was Sex Maniac, Police Recruited His Underage Harem

PARIS, June 11 (AP)—Nikita S. Khrushchev, Russian Communist Party leader, was quoted today by a French newspaper as labeling Josef Stalin a sex maniac whose police recruited for him a harem of underage girls.

The newspaper France Soir, in a dispatch from Vienna, said Khrushchev also confirmed a suspicion widely held in the West that Stalin killed his second wife.

Khrushchev was quoted as suggesting Stalin's crimes were so heinous he should be tried posthumously. Stalin died three years ago.

France Soir was the first newspaper to obtain the text of Khrushchev's speech to the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress in February denouncing Stalin as the murderer of hundreds of faithful Communists.

The newspaper did not quote directly from this latest report of Stalin's past. It said, however, there could be no doubt about the report's authenticity, explaining Khrushchev delivered it to a small group of Soviet leaders to answer doubts about his original denunciations.

Khrushchev, said France Soir, reported Stalin assigned Police Chief Lavrenty P. Beria to recruit a harem of teen-age girls, some of whom disappeared later. Khrushchev is reported to have explained that in his later years Stalin was subject to a sort of erotomania—sex madness—and to have related some "particularly odious details" of sexual cruelty to the girls.

There has been a number of reports on the fate of Stalin's second wife, Nadezhda Sergeyevna Alliluyeva, mother of Vassily, who rose to be an air force lieutenant general, and a daughter, Svetlana. The daughter now lives in Leningrad. The son has disappeared.

The date of Alliluyeva's death is recorded as Nov. 8, 1932—a day after the 15th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution.

Khrushchev, the France Soir account said, reported Stalin shot Alliluyeva in "an excess of blind fury" in the quarrel over collectivization, and then strangled her.

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O.C.P. - Russia

THESE DAYS:

Realism Prevails Over Self-Respect

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

WHEN Stalin was on the verge of making his secret treaty with Hitler in 1939, he dismissed Maxim Litvinov as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Litvinov was a Jew married to an Englishwoman. Stalin showed his goodwill toward Hitler, the self-proclaimed anti-Semite, by not having Litvinov, the Jew, in his entourage. This is carrying realism above self-respect. When the pact between Stalin and Hitler was arranged, it was called the Ribbentrop-Molotov Agreement. It was one of the most disgraceful documents in human history.

Similarly, when Khrushchev was about to receive Tito as Soviet Russia's most honored guest, he felt it necessary to get rid of Molotov, Stalin's Minister of Foreign Affairs on and off for 17 years. Molotov and Tito had been enemies in the Third International, but Tito cannot be angry at Molotov, who only carried out Stalin's orders. Therefore Molotov's dismissal is more symbolic than important.

The quarrel had been over the fundamental question of nationalism within the world Communist movement. As long as Stalin was alive, he put down such nationalist movements with a heavy heel. Khrushchev has reversed the Stalinist policy and therefore it is possible for Tito to reverse himself also and return to the bosom of the Kremlin, where he was not only welcomed by Khrushchev, who is his junior in the revolution, but by Bulganin, who is his senior.

Stalinist Policy Reversed

So realism again prevails over self-respect and Molotov is given the Order of the Boot. In Stalin's time such changes were accompanied by purges and wholesale murders. Molotov would probably by now be a dead man, having undoubtedly been forced openly to confess that he had entered into a secret deal with Chiang Kai-shek to make John Foster Dulles President of Guatemala, which is not as ridiculous as it sounds because stranger confessions were made during the purge trials.

Today, it is so different. Under the theory of collective leadership, it is no longer wise or necessary to kill anyone. Live and let live is the new doctrine. So Malenkov not only lives but goes to England where he was as popular as Khrushchev was boorish, and Molotov too is permitted to live and to hold office. Perhaps he will one day write a biography of Andrei Vishinsky, the Menshevik, who taught Stalin how to destroy his opposition and thereby earned not only a living, but life for himself.

Molotov is one of the oldest Bolsheviks remaining in the government. There is, of course, Voroshilov, who acts as a sort of President of Soviet Russia which is an honorary and ornamental position; and there is Kaganovich, who is not only an old Bolshevik but also a Jew—the only Jew in the government. Kaganovich has managed to outlive all the purges and trials and changes in the Soviet government and he seems to be just as important in the Khrushchev regime as he was with Stalin. However, he is growing old.

Generation Dies Off

Time passes on and it will soon be 40 years since Lenin and Trotzky, with headquarters in the Smolny Institute, a school for girls of the aristocracy, seized power in Russia and established themselves as a government. During a 40-year period, a generation dies off, even if it is not killed off, and new generations emerge. Those who had been associated with Lenin and Trotzky had been bitter revolutionists who had known imprisonment and exile and intense suffering for what they believed to be humanistic ideals. Their descendants had mostly lived under Bolshevism and as we approach the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the revolution, we see those who have never known any other way of life but the Socialism of the Soviet regime.

These younger generations have been taught in school and college, over the radio, and in the newspapers, that the greatest man that ever lived was Stalin. And they have come to know that Stalin and his aide, Molotov, won great diplomatic victories over the United States, Great Britain, France and practically every other country on Earth. Now they are being told that Stalin was, in reality, a good-for-nothing bum, and Molotov is fired to make Tito welcome without any Stalinists to disturb his peace of mind. This must be very shocking to the nervous system of the younger Russians. They must wonder what is really the truth—even as you or I.

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Khrushchev Tells of Plot On Mikoyan And Molotov

Complete Account Of Speech Before Party Congress Made Public Here

By Chalmers M. Roberts
Staff Reporter

Soviet Communist Party boss Nikita Khrushchev's secret denunciation of Josef Stalin—an indictment more violent, more complete, more shattering than any ever written by an outsider during the late dictator's rule—was made public yesterday by the State Department.

The 58-page, 30,000-word document probably is an edited version prepared for guidance of non-Russian Communist parties.

The State Department would not say how the copy was obtained nor would it vouch for its authenticity. But there appeared to be no reason to doubt that this is in fact the major part of the now historic Khrushchev speech, delivered at a night-long secret session last Feb. 25 of the 20th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The speech reveals many new details as well as verifies widely reported rumors of what Khrushchev said. But it also is notable for the absence of any but passing comment on Stalin's handling of foreign affairs, especially his relations with the West and with Red China, topics Khrushchev is thought to have included.

At one point, Khrushchev told the delegates that Stalinism was being discussed at a closed session because "we cannot let this matter get out of the Party, especially not to the press . . . we should not give ammunition to the enemy; we should not wash our dirty linen before their eyes."

Most sensational of the new revelations was Khrushchev's charge, almost at the end of his hours-long speech, that Stalin in the final months before his death on March 5, 1953, "evidently had plans to finish off the old members" of the Politburo and had characterized two of them, V. M. Molotov and A. I. Mikoyan, as "guilty of some baseless charge."

"It is not to be excluded," said Khrushchev, "that had Stalin remained at the helm for another several months, Comrades, Molotov and Mikoyan would probably have not delivered any speeches at this Congress."

This passage immediately started a new round of diplomatic speculation that the current Kremlin collective leadership had in fact murdered Stalin to save their own lives. But there is as of now no evidence that Stalin did not die, as reported, of a brain hemorrhage.

Khrushchev read from many documents pulled from the Communist Party and secret police files to lend weight to his words before the 1400 shocked delegates. Before the dulged in "administrative vio- session began, copies of Lenin's "testament" calling Stalin "excessively rude" and calling for his replacement as Party secretary had been circulated to prepare the way for Khrushchev's own words.

Stalin, said Khrushchev, was "capricious," "abused his power," "acquired an absolutely insufferable character," "practiced brutal violence," had a "capricious and despotic character," imposed "his concepts," demanded "absolute submission to his opinion," treated those who opposed him to "moral and physical annihilation," "originated the concept 'enemy of the people,'" in-

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THE WASHINGTON POST and TIMES HERALD
4 Tuesday, June 5, 1956

Details of Khrushchev's Anti-Stalin Talk Bared

STALIN—From Page 1

lence, mass repressions and terror," brought about "mass arrests and deportations" and "executions without trial," "showed in a whole series of cases his intolerance, his brutality and his abuse of power," used "brutal force" and sanctioned "barbaric tortures."

Stalin, said Khrushchev, "put the Party and the NKVD (the secret police) up to the use of mass terror when the exploiting classes had been liquidated in our country and there was no serious reason for the use of extraordinary mass terror." This terror resulted, he went on, in "lying, slanderous and absurd accusations" against honest Communist Party workers.

This passage on the incorrect use of terror, together with another declaring that the once-again sainted V. I. Lenin had used force "without hesitation" against "the Socialist Revolutionary organizers of the anti-Soviet uprising" and "the counter-revolutionary kulaks" or rich landowners, shows something of the motive for Khrushchev's speech.

Khrushchev, so Western diplomats generally believe, wanted to force general Soviet acceptance of the ideas of (a) collective leadership in place of one-man rule, (b) the revival of the Communist Party as the means of carrying out the leadership's decisions with some small voice in affecting these decisions. These were among main points stressed in the public speeches at the Party Congress and there since has been widespread evidence from around the globe that the new Soviet tactic has convinced many that there is indeed a "new look" in the Kremlin.

The State Department's motive in releasing the Khrushchev document appears to have been to convince the world that what the United States had been saying over the years about Russia was correct—and to imply that there is no guarantee that it will not happen again under the Communist system. But many observers believe it may, in fact, further the idea of a great change in Russia, something Secretary of State John Foster Dulles himself has often said is at least under way.

Khrushchev devoted hundreds of words to tearing down Stalin's picture of himself as a war leader, as a leader who knew his own country, as a man who named prizes and cities after himself and even worked himself into the national anthem.

The fact was, said Khrushchev, that Stalin ignored both British and Soviet diplomatic warnings of Hitler's coming attack, that even when the Germans invaded Russia "Moscow issued the order that the German fire was not to be returned" because "Stalin, despite evident facts, thought that the war had not yet started."

Khrushchev said Stalin, after the war began, showed "nervousness and hysteria," was constantly "interfering with actual military operations" and once even said: "All that which Lenin created we have lost forever." Stalin's refusal to accept a phone call from Khrushchev who wanted him to alter orders about one military operation cost "hundreds of thousands of our soldiers."

"This is Stalin's military 'genius'; this is what it cost us," declared Khrushchev.

The Khrushchev description of Stalin culminates in a picture of a dictator grown more vile and violent as death neared. He ordered one man "put in chains," another to be "beaten." In fact, said Khrushchev, Stalin called in judges and gave the order which was "simple—beat, beat and, once again, beat." He told the Politburo members, after cooking up the "doctor's plot" just before his death, that "you are blind like young kittens; what will happen without me? The country will perish because you do not know how to recognize enemies."

The late secret police boss Lavrenti Beria, shot by the present leadership after Stalin's death, is blamed for a succession of violent deeds after having "stolen into Stalin's confidence" by climbing "up the government ladder over an untold number of corpses."

Throughout the speech, Khruschchev told of the present leadership trying to right wrongs, rehabilitating 7679 persons, "many" of them "posthumously," of mending Stalin's break with Yugoslav Marshal Tito, of whom he had said: "I will shake my little finger—and there will be no more Tito. He will fall."

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Cite Lenin Memo On Stalin Faults

MOSCOW, May 20. — Lenin's criticisms of Stalin's personality and mode of work were published here by the Young Communist newspaper, Komsomolskaya Pravda, in what it called "A Child's Guide to Stalinism."

"Lenin, in the last year of his life, pointed out that such negative features of Stalin's character as rudeness, lack of respect for working comrades, capriciousness and inclination toward abuse of power could lead to a violation of the rules of collective leadership," the editors said.

"Unfortunately, it happened so."

Their discussion of Stalin's attitude was evidently based on two memos written by Lenin the year before he died, his so-called "testament," in which he evaluated the character of half a dozen Communist leaders; and warned against a party split.

Citing Lenin's warning, the newspaper said while Stalin made great contributions in earlier days of his leadership, he later separated himself from the people and acted "by means of orders and compulsion."

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THESE DAYS:

Khrushchev's Big Mistake

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

IN HIS speech before the 20th Congress of the CPSU, Nikita Khrushchev reached the thoroughly Marxist conclusion that the inevitable conflict within the capitalist world is between Great Britain and the United States. In the theory of Marxism, capitalism contains the seeds for its own destruction and one of the most explosive seeds is the competition among these countries. In World War I and World War II, the Marxists believed that they saw this principle at work, and when Lenin founded the first Marxist government, Soviet Russia, he postulated the success of his enterprise on the historic inevitability of the capitalist countries destroying each other.

Thus Khrushchev said at the 20th Congress of the CPSU:

"As before, the main conflict is that between the United States and Great Britain, Anglo-American antagonism embraces a wide range of questions. Under the 'Atlantic cooperation' slogan, the trans-Atlantic competitors are grabbing the principal strategic and economic positions of the British Empire; they are working to obtain a footing on the imperial lines of communications, smother the system of preferential tariffs, and get control of the sterling area. It is not surprising, therefore, that in Britain, and in France too, there is a growing desire to put an end to the situation in which 'Atlantic cooperation' is of advantage only to one partner."

Narrowing Markets

He then went on to speak of West Germany's revival of economic power: ". . . The experience of two world wars shows that, in their struggle for markets, the German monopolies will stop at nothing . . ."

Then he ends this section of his speech with the paragraph:

"The problem of markets is becoming all the more acute because the frontiers of the capitalist world market are increasingly contracting as a result of the formation of the new and growing socialist world market. Besides, the underdeveloped countries, on casting off the colonial yoke, begin the development of their own industry which inevitably leads to a further narrowing of markets for industrial products. All this means that the struggle for markets and spheres of influence will become still sharper within the imperialist camp."

The essence of this doctrine is that the United States and Great Britain, in their struggle for markets, must knock each other out, as two wars knocked Germany out, and as World War II knocked out Japan and Holland as imperialist powers. It apparently is the expectation of Khrushchev and his colleagues that Great Britain will resent the American success in former British markets and will take steps to undermine the United States, or will join with Soviet Russia against the United States.

The error that Khrushchev makes is fundamental with Marxists. It would not occur to them that Great Britain and the United States could combine in industrial operations as they have been doing by the export of capital from the United States to Great Britain. The differences between the two countries have been as much over methods of achieving the same objectives as over markets.

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Astonishing Recovery

~~From the~~ standpoint of opposition to Soviet Russia, American support of anti-colonialism may have strengthened Russia and weakened Great Britain, but this is not yet a fact and it is even possible that from the long view, British industry will benefit by the relationship of nations within the Commonwealth. It is impossible to say at this point that anti-colonialism aimed at the nations of Western Europe only but not at the colonial expansion of Russia and China has not strengthened Russia's position throughout the world, but it is true that Great Britain has made an astonishing recovery after World War II with American assistance and that West Germany has made an astonishing, an unbelievable recovery. It is also true that Holland has stood the test of the loss of the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia).

An even more profound error is Khrushchev's assumption that Great Britain and the United States, in their search for markets, must destroy each other, when actually whenever Great Britain has been in trouble, the United States came to its defense. The Kaiser and Hitler made the same mistake that Khrushchev is making and it proved to be very costly to them. If anything, the United States would probably be stronger economically had it not entered these wars, but American public opinion supported Presidents Wilson and Roosevelt in standing by Great Britain.

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These Days . . . . . By George Sokolsky

The Spread of Socialism

NIKITA Khrushchev, in his famous speech at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party, made a most interesting and correct statement:

Sokolsky.

"The main feature of our epoch is the emergence of socialism from within the bounds of a single country and its transformation into a world system. Capitalism has proved powerless to hinder this process of world-wide historic significance . . ."

The spread of socialism has been due to many causes, not the least of which were two world wars, to which we may add the world-wide economic depression that started in 1921, the fall of many established institutions such as the Austro-Hungarian empire and the general fears and insecurities arising from these conditions.

Socialism, in one form or another, has spread until it now encompasses nearly half of the human race. For instance, Norway, which we think of as a capitalist country, is in reality a socialist country although its socialism is vastly different from that of Soviet Russia or China. The British Labour Party, which is a socialist party, had, during its years in power, socialized about 20 per cent of Great Britain's economy and it has not been possible for the Conservatives, now in power, to change back altogether.

EVEN IN THE United States, the economic system cannot be regarded as wholly capitalistic as the Government guarantees nearly all sectors of the economy against possible losses. Ours can be called a mixed system which simultaneously contains elements that are both capitalistic and socialistic.

Soviet Russia, according to Khrushchev, means to facilitate the increase of socialism and anticipates that more and more countries will become socialistic. By mutual planning among these socialistic countries, it will no longer be necessary for each to make whatever is needed.

Khrushchev reports that Russia is aiding other countries to build 391 enterprises and more than 90 workshops and installations. Russia has granted these other countries long-term credits of 21 billion rubles. In a word, the socialist world is organizing a grid of mutually-serving industrial operations, based upon Russian aid which is designed to serve the socialist or former colonial countries.

IT IS TO BE noted that the socialist countries do not engage in give-away programs, but always exact an exchange of some kind. The technique of mutual aid, which the Russians cultivate, seems to strengthen their position, while our technique of direct subsidies to governments based on a concept of give-away has produced at best neutralism and at worst, enmities.

It would seem that in view of the Russian policy, so clearly defined by Khrushchev, it is essential that American policy be reviewed to determine whether it should be continued as is or should be revised or dropped altogether and something novel substituted. There can be no sense in continuing a policy which costs us so much and which apparently is of so little advantage to us.

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ISSUE OF THE (Name of the pamphlet) Life

SUBJECT Communist Party Russia

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION End of a dark age reduces its new dangers. (Article by Whittaker Chambers.)

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THESE DAYS:

Old Red Joe Is Deserted by Pals

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

WHEN I read the "Pravda" editorial on the abolition of the cult of the individual, my heart went out to poor old Red Joe, who is being made out to have been a bum by those whom he exalted to power. Joe Stalin is dead and anybody can kick a dead dog around because the dog cannot bite anymore. "Pravda," in this very long article which was designed to brain-wash Communists the world over and did, says of Stalin:

"The cult of the individual and the practice of leadership which developed under its influence in the last period of J. V. Stalin's life and work did much harm. His disregard of the standards of Party life and the principle of collective Party leadership, his frequent personal decisions on questions led to a distortion of the Party principles and Party democracy, violation of revolutionary law, and unjustified repressions."

How true all this is, but when did "Pravda" make the discovery? Only after Stalin died and Beria was killed. As long as Stalin was alive, "Pravda" sang his praises, calling him the greatest philosopher, the greatest military genius, the greatest architect, the greatest educator of all time. Now, he is apparently the biggest bum that ever hit the paradise of the proletariat.

A Striking Manifestation

Maybe the "Pravda" article summarizes in more refined language what Khrushchev said in the rough. For instance:

"The cult of the individual has also done much harm in ideological work. If we take works on philosophy, political economy, history and other social sciences, written under the influence of the cult of the individual, we see that many of them represent a collection of quotations from works by J. V. Stalin and his glorification. One of the striking manifestations of the cult of the individual is the 'Short Biography' of J. V. Stalin, edited with his direct participation. The 'History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Bolshevik—Short Course' is also in many respects permeated with the cult of the individual."

There was a time when every Communist and those who wished to be intelligent on the subject, or appear to be, had to read the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Bolshevik—Short Course." Millions of copies of it were printed in all languages. Now we are told that it was an utterly lousy book, representing the cult of the individual. Those who live in Communist countries will undoubtedly burn the book, lest they be accused of being Stalinists, which is now a sin. The book-burners will be busy going through their libraries, but I shall keep my copy because those who eventually murder Khrushchev and Bulganin may turn out to be Stalinists and they may go back to the old book. Who can tell?

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Correct Role Isn't Depicted

The "Pravda" editorial makes another point that is worthy of interest:

". . . Wartime films and works of literature and art, for instance, do not yet correctly depict the role of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, our Army, and people in the great patriotic war who rendered epoch-making services in defending our Homeland and saving all mankind from the imminent threat of fascist enslavement."

In our backward, capitalistic country, Hollywood has not yet done justice to the American Revolution, much less World War II. We do not use motion pictures to wash our brains or to mold our opinions. Hollywood makes them for the purpose of earning money and we look at them usually because we have nothing else to do at that particular moment. It serves to pass the time while we eat popcorn in the dark.

Of course, we do not suffer from the cult of the individual because we believe God is in Heaven and that most men do as well as they can considering all the impediments to perfection. It was Russia that took a simple, pock-marked, short fellow and turned him into an ikon. When I met Stalin in 1917-18, he was an unimportant little guy, way down the line, who seemed pleased if anybody paid attention to him. Two or three years later, he was a big shot and within a decade he was a god on earth. No man could have contrived to do so much without assistance. And his assistants are those who are now making a bum out of him—now that he is dead.

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Soviet Sets Up Committee To Check Security Organs

MOSCOW, April 24 (AP).—Russia's security organs have been placed under the scrutiny of a special watchdog committee. Agencies whose activities will be checked by the new group include the MVD, the Soviet secret police organization.

The committee was established by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet at a meeting April 7. It was announced in the Bulletin of the Supreme Soviet, which reports government actions officially.

The function of the new organization is not to correct past mistakes, but to prevent their recourrence. Communist Party Chieg Nikita Khrushchev called for such steps at the 20th congress of the Communist Party in February.

The committee is set up as a special division in the chief prosecutor's office with the power to inspect and supervise the work of state security organs, criminal and civil courts and prisons.

The official bulletin's announcement of the establishment of the committee came 24 hours after the leading Soviet law journal accused the late Andrei Y. Vishinsky of perverting justice. Specifically assailed was Vishinsky's use of "trial by confession," a method of obtaining convictions he made famous in the purge trials of the 1930s.

Speaking before the party congress, Mr. Khrushchev charged the executed security chief Lavrenty P. Beria, had obtained false convictions of Soviet citizens and party workers and fabricated evidence. Mr. Khrushchev said these actions led to "certain distrust" among some Russians but added that such feelings were no longer justified.

Beria, who served as chief of the secret police under Stalin, was arrested as a traitor in July 1953 and later executed.

The military collegium of the Supreme Court of the U. S. S. R. more than a year ago established special army review boards. These boards already have reviewed sentences passed by the MVD and freed hundreds of thousands of persons they declared wrongfully imprisoned.

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(RELEASE AT NOON, EST)

(INFORMATION)

THE UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INFORMATION ISSUED A DETAILED FORECAST ON HOW THE SOVIET UNION WILL ATTEMPT TO WIN THE CASE OF COMMUNISM VS. FREEDOM IN THE "COURT OF WORLD OPINION."

THE COMMISSION, WHICH WAS ESTABLISHED BY LAW TO APPRAISE U.S. INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION ACTIVITIES, LISTED ITS PREDICTIONS IN ITS ELEVENTH SEMI-ANNUAL REPORT TO CONGRESS.

TO COMBAT THIS ANTICIPATED SOVIET PROGRAM THE COMMISSION URGED THAT THE U.S. PREPARE AND PRESENT ITS CASE WITH THE GREATEST POSSIBLE SKILL.

THE COMMISSION SAID THE COMMUNISTS GRADUALLY CAME TO REALIZE IN 1955 THAT THE CONTEST BETWEEN THE FREE AND SLAVE WORLD CANNOT BE SETTLED BY WAR. INSTEAD THE KREMLIN DECIDED TO ADOPT "ZIG-ZAG" TACTICS. THE UNITED STATES MUST REACT TO THESE WITH "STRONG AFFIRMATIVE PROGRAMS" RATHER THAN MERE DEFENSIVE TACTICS.

IN THE PERIOD AHEAD, THE COMMISSION REPORT SAID, THE UMS CAN BE REASONABLY CERTAIN "THE CASE FOR COMMUNISM WILL BE PRESENTED TO THE COURT OF WORLD OPINION IN THE FOLLOWING WAYS:"

1. IT WILL BE "PRESENTED WITH A SMILE." THE TRUCULENT AND REMOTE FIGURE OF STALIN WAS A MAJOR PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE TO THE WEST, AND THE REDS ARE NOW BUSILY REPUDIATING STALIN.

2. THE SO-CALLED "SPIRIT OF GENEVA," AS A HARBINGER OF A STABLE PEACE, WILL BE INVOKED.

3. THERE WILL BE MORE GLITTERING DISPLAYS IN THE COMMUNIST "SHOWCASE" OF CULTURE.

4. THE COMMUNISTS WILL MAKE GREATER USE OF FRONT ORGANIZATIONS, SUCH AS SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETIES.

5. COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERS IN MANY COUNTRIES WILL SEEK POLITICAL ALLIANCES WITH LEFTIST PARTIES UNDER THE SLOGAN "UNITY OF THE LEFT."

6. THEY WILL TRY TO WIN FRIENDS IN THE FREE WORLD BY OFFERING ECONOMIC AID IN THE FORM OF LOANS. THEY WILL EXPLOIT TO THE FULLEST DEGREE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC UNREST WHEREVER IT MAY BE.

7. A CENTRAL PROPAGANDA THEME WILL BE "PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE" AND RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGNTY. THE COMMUNISTS WILL ENDEAVOR TO PRESENT THEIR STALLITES AS FREE AND INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES.

4/11--EG1123A

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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(RELEASE AT NOON, EST)
ADD 1 INFORMATION

MEANTIME, SEN. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY (D-MINN.) INTRODUCED A SENATE RESOLUTION TO ESTABLISH A JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE U.S. INFORMATIONAL PROGRAM IN LINE WITH RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ADVISORY GROUP.

IT CALLS FOR AN 18-MEMBER COMMITTEE, NINE EACH FROM THE HOUSE AND SENATE.

4/11--EG1124A

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Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
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Battle of Coexistence

Malenkov Says Russia Will Win in a Century

From News Dispatches

LONDON, April 5 — Georgi Malenkov predicted today communism will trumph in peaceful competition over the Western way of life within 100 years.

The former Soviet Premier told 200 newsmen, at a press conference here, that Russia meanwhile wants to be friends with everybody, including the United States.

"We attach great importance to peaceful competition, and naturally we would like to win in the contest," he said. He then predicted a Communist victory in less than a century.

Malenkov lined up with party leader Nikita Khrushchev in denouncing Stalin's egoism and the "cult of personality" — a euphonism for the current attack on the late Russian dictator. He referred to Khrushchev as his "great friend."

The portly former Premier, nearing the end of a three-week tour of Britain, was asked if he felt any sense of guilt for his part in the Stalin purges of the 1930s.

Without batting an eye, he said, "We always feel responsible for the shortcomings and errors which we have made. We openly admit them to our people, and this helps to rectify the position."

Malenkov adroitly gave vague answers to some awkward questions and completely ignored others such as "What do you consider were Stalin's greatest achievements?"

Asked if he had seen the violent reaction to the recent visit

See MALENKOV, Pg. 14, Col. 5

C.P. - Russia

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MALENKOV—Fr. P. 1

Malenkov Denounces Stalin 'Personality Cult'

to Britain of Russian security chief Gen. Ivan Serov, Malenkov blandly replied: "We did not notice any feelings against our generals, including Gen. Serov."

This brought cries of "Oh" and "Read the Papers" from many correspondents.

Malenkov, now Minister of Power Stations, opened the press conference with a long statement praising British technical achievement and the hospitality and friendship his delegation had found in Britain.

"There may be some persons who do not like the growing contacts between our countries and peoples," he said. "However, we realize it is a small flock which does not have some black sheep and that the black sheep do not give the true feelings of the people."

This is how Malenkov dealt with other questions hurled at him:

How did he think Russian arming of Egypt helped to prevent war.

"The cause of tension in this part of the world is not Egypt. It is the creation of a war alliance. The people of the Middle East, who long for independence, are entitled to choose their own policy in getting independence and this applies to their policy. We stand for the consolidation of peace in the Middle and Near East as in all parts of the world."

What about friendship between Russia and the United States?

"Our aim is to bring about an improvement of relationships between the Soviet Union and Britain, and at the same time between the British, Soviet and American people."

Did he agree with the Western newspaper versions of the speech by Communist Party Secretary Nikita Khrushchev which set off the criticisms of Stalin?

"I am not able to read the British newspapers. But they say there is a lot of nonsense in the translations of Mr. Khrushchev's speech. For correct answers to what is happening in Russia you should read the Soviet press. If you do, you will be in the know."

Malenkov said he did not consider that war was by any means inevitable. During his tour the ordinary people of Britain had openly expressed their friendship for Russia and expressed thoughts about what ought to be done to widen friendly relations.

"Don't you think that if we were to pool all these good wishes, feelings and desires of the ordinary people, we would get a fine program to strengthen friendship and understanding between our peoples?" he said.

Earlier today, Malenkov laid a wreath at the grave of Karl Marx, founder of communism, in London.

He is due to fly home this weekend. A Russian TU-104 jet airliner arrived here today from Moscow for him and his party.

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0-19 (11-22-55)

DOROTHY THOMPSON

Destruction of the Stalin Myth

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Performance of Top Red Henchmen Called Macabre and Nauseating

The Communist destruction of the Stalin myth is macabre and nauseating.

During the nearly 30 years of Stalin's rule tens of thousands of human beings, Communists and non-Communists, were, the present leaders now admit, directly exterminated or deported to die of cold, hunger, and overwork in mines and forests.

Stalin's rule occupied nearly two-thirds of the entire history of the Soviet Union. During that time Lenin's closest collaborators were executed in trials presided over by Mr. Vishinsky, now declared to have been framed.

When the war extended Communist territory, the advance was accompanied by wholesale deportations and executions of everyone suspected of being even a potential enemy.

When Yugoslavia was ousted from the Cominform, new kangaroo courts were set up and new executions followed.

Now the leaders of these states are testifying that the victims were innocent.

The argument is advanced that Stalin started off well—though even that is questioned. The long-suppressed testament of Lenin, known in the West for years, is, we hear, being aired in the inner counsels of the Russian Party. But Lenin warned against Stalin before he ever came to power.

In any case, the charges against this "monstrous" personal despot begin with his behavior in 1936. So we must assume that all his policies since then are logically subject to reversal. These include the annexation of the Baltic states and the elevation to power of Stalin's henchmen in all Eastern Europe and Central Germany.

For they were his henchmen. The macabre quality of the present denunciation of him is that they are made by men who were his closest collaborators. For at least 20 years, these men, if we are to believe them now, were cognizant of what was going on, actively or passively supported it, and now [illegible] to be exempted of fault [illegible] led as liberators! [illegible] four conclusions can [illegible] them:

First, their mutual fear of each other—that their ranks may produce another Stalin and Beria, and their own lives thereby be mortgaged.

Second, that the desire to reverse the Stalin foreign policy as no longer serviceable to Soviet power demands a scapegoat.

Third, that they fear the beaten-down masses in the Communist world are beginning to stir.

Fourth, that they are, without exception, craven and cynical cowards with consideration only for their own skins.

How can anyone, inside or outside the Communist world, view this performance with anything except contempt? Are we now asked to admire and trust men who collaborated with the crimes they now denounce? Mr. Malenkov, Mr. Mikoyan, Mr. Molotov? Mr. Vishinsky, whom I have already mentioned? Mr. Bulganin, a political general under Stalin? Mr. Rakosi, who still heads the Hungarian government, accepted the execution of his foreign minister, Laszlo Rajk, and four other Communist leaders, and now joins in "rehabilitating" them? Mr. Grotewahl, head of the German Communist "Republic" who now speaks of introducing greater justice and legality into that usurped territory, but who kowtowed to Stalin as he now does to Khrushchev?

In any c[illegible] there would be an insistent demand that every one of these persons resign from office, and that the states start again from scratch with altogether new personalities.

How was it possible for Stalin to seize and maintain his maniacal power?

Because the system encouraged it.

Why does it?

Because never, for a moment, including this moment, has there ever been a vestige of free criticism or political opposition in the Communist world. In Georgia, students and university professors who have been loath to decanonize Stalin from one day to another, are being just as effectively, if a little less brutally, "broken" as all previous opposition has been.

Is a "collective" despotism, in essence, worse than a personal one?

The cult of infallibility continues, applied now to 11 men instead of one. Were they infallible while they were praising Stalin? At exactly what point did they become right, after at least 20 years of being wrong?

If the servile collaboration of the present leaders with Stalin was motivated by craven fear for their own lives, what are we to think of the equally servile Communists abroad, who did the same? Could Stalin's long arm reach out to liquidate the editors of the American Daily Worker? Or were they just dopes? Take a moment off, gentlemen, from fulminating against the Treasury Department and answer that one! Is it not a reasonable question?

Mr. Malenkov, who was Stalin's special pet, has been touring Great Britain, distributing candy to children and being kissed by British women. I find it absolutely re[illegible]ting.

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THESE DAYS:

Puzzle: What Are Russians Up To?

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

SOMETHING is happening in Russia that is very puzzling, but the data is insufficient for anyone to support an opinion. Therefore those who regard themselves as experts or who are inclined to earn a living as such are in the difficult situation of having to make guesses which may come out one way or the other, hoping that a wrong guess will charitably be forgotten.

Some of these experts have come up with the following judgments on what is going on in Russia since Khrushchev delivered two speeches, one lasting seven hours, punctuated by tears; the other lasting three hours and spoken in the most profound secrecy. Maybe it was the second speech that was punctuated by tears. Both speeches were designed to destroy Joe Stalin as a deity and to make him out to be a sadistic madman or something. So, the experts produce the following conclusions:

1. This is an ordinary purge such as Stalin employed from time to time to enhance his power.

2. This is the internal revolution that the West has been looking for.

Reversion to Decency

3. This is the reversion of Communism to Christian decency because the Soviet power is so great that it no longer needs to use murder as a weapon. Proof: Khrushchev did not murder Malenkov.

4. This is all a show put on to fool Eisenhower and Eden.

5. This is essential because the collective leadership could not build its power with the ghost of Stalin always around.

6. Nothing is happening in Russia that does not ordinarily happen, as otherwise the leaders would not be chasing all over the world as they are constantly doing.

7. The Russian army is about to take control.

Take your choice and you too will be an expert.

Thus far the data that has come out of the Soviet Universal State is so scanty that it is practically impossible to evaluate the significance of the course of events. News stories are obviously censored and are very sketchy. Information that comes from underground sources only produces the impression that the collective leadership found Stalin worship a handicap and that the cult of Stalinism endangered the concept of an oligarchical control in a country which has been accustomed to be ruled by an autocrat for a thousand years and more.

It is possible, also, that there is some internal struggle for leadership between Khrushchev and Malenkov who is now in London, being kissed for the benefit of photographers. It is probably untrue that Khrushchev is trying to do much more damage to his brother-in-law, Malenkov, or that roly-poly would not have gone to England leaving his rear unprotected.

In a word, while the Russian situation is puzzling, the various guesses do not help us through the maze. The collective leadership may be in a situation very much like our own politicians who most of the time wonder what they will do next, particularly if they are ambitious to be candidates for the Presidency or sit around hoping to be appointed to the Supreme Court or something like that.

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Settle Issues with Murder

It might be the same in Russia, except that they do ~~not have~~ elections there like ours, and it used to be easier to settle public questions by killing an opponent. Now that people like Khrushchev or Mikoyan or Malenkov have gone in for not killing their opposition, it is pretty tough for them to get rid of such people or of each other. They may be engaged at the present time in working out a formula for changes in government without murdering the opposition.

To do that they have to get rid of Stalin's ghost because Stalin's method of promotion and demotion was by murder, which is swift and efficient and so competent that Roosevelt gave him $11,000,000,000 to spend as he chose without moral strictures; whereas Hitler and Mussolini were regarded as very bad men. It just goes to show that because Stalin said better words than Hitler did, he could commit the same kind of murders that Hitler committed and get away with it. His successors must look like bunglers because so far they have only killed one big shot, Beria, and nobody complained. In fact, Tito thought it was a good show and made peace with Moscow after grabbing all the money we forced on him.

So, if you want a new parlor game, like the twenty question game before television blighted our homes, try to solve the puzzle as to what Krushchev is up to, if anything.

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Red Exploitation of Women To Further Aims of Soviet

TO the N. Y. Herald Tribune:

Are loyal Americans spreading Communist propaganda without realizing it?

That is the question brought to mind by many of the articles written as a result of the International Women's Day celebrations. This date is the climax of a yearly drive to give an alluring picture of the condition of women in Red lands and to persuade them that Communism furthers the great ideals they dream of for all human beings.

On March 8 of every year the Communist world mobilizes its women in a demonstration comparable to Communist elections where any one refusing to vote the single ticket is liable to re-education. Ostensibly this celebration honors women but actually it is a tremendous publicity stunt to give the impression of mass support by women for Communist drives.

* * *

At this time the vast propaganda organization of each Communist country glorifies women with countless newsworthy events which are given free publicity by non-Communist news men. Outstanding records of achievement are picked out or manufactured to convince the world that women play a glorious part under Communism. These records are used to spur women to more intense labors to build up Red power.

The rewards to be gained by such records are dramatized by naming a woman as alternate to the Presidium, and another woman as Minister of Education. The common plight of women, however, is more clearly shown by the Soviet Law which applies in captive countries as well as in the USSR. This law permits women over sixteen the following "load-moving norms": for hand carrying on level ground forty-four pounds, on wheelbarrow 110 pounds, on railroad carriages 1,320 pounds.

The attempt to use Women's Day to increase their efforts is shown by the praise accorded to four "longshore-girls" of the Port of Burgas in Bulgaria who marked this holiday by surpassing their average work-norm by 50 per cent in loading the ship Maysolef.

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Another Communist accolade was directed to 2,600 Hungarian "foundry-women" who "decided" to honor the occasion by a "two-day-celebration shift" to raise production by 5 to 10 per cent. Such speed-ups usually mean that the other workers are goaded to raise their average accordingly.

* * *

By such public tributes women are made to feel that they are stars, while in reality the regime relentlessly uses them like machines to pull its burdens and to build its power. It is proclaimed that women have equal rights with men, while neither men nor women under Communism have any of the rights of free people.

The Communist organ to control women is the International Democratic Federation of Women. It claims more than 200 million members. In Communist-dominated countries women must join and participate vigorously in agitation and propaganda, or find themselves without jobs. They must investigate quietly and give information about any one or any subject as directed.

This federation of women, acting without its Communist label, is also charged with persuading women of the outside world to use their influence to weaken the defenses of non-Communist countries. To do so it circulates a message on Women's Day that reads like the gospel of peace and good will. Thousands of women respond, even in America, without realizing that the beautiful words are intended as an entering wedge for the eventual subjugation of their country.

* * *

Off and on since 1928 and the Partisans of Peace there have been Communist peace campaigns in various countries. This strategy has been carried out under different names and has usually been represented as a change of heart, a new policy, misleading even the United States. As a result, many an unfortunate nation has found itself under the Soviet yoke.

This year the Communist peace drive uses the name of peaceful coexistence and is directed against all the nations of the earth. On March 8 the International Democratic Federation of Women directed its millions of members all over the world to promote the world peace strategy.

Following the same line collective leadership is being enshrined while the Man of Steel is being torn from his pedestal. Was it just coincidence that Stalin's native Georgia was closed to newsmen while Khrushchev and Co. were "gently" putting down uprisings and restoring "peace"?

Collective leadership is responsible for this kind of peaceful coexistence.

Such peace means the absence of war directed against a Communist state; it does not mean peace with justice, mercy or personal freedom; nor does it imply the right to live and let live. It promises nothing for the millions of slaves now held at hard labor under communism. It guarantees no peace or freedom to the millions more whom the Reds will be able to enslave within the year if we fall into their trap of false peace.

* * *

Such coexistence provides a climate of world opinion which enables the Communists to continue their method, and ensures the acceptance of increasing numbers of infiltrators who engineer revolutions while disguised as technical men and traders.

There is a vast difference between the peace of human understanding and the false sense of well-being engendered by coexistence. Khrushchev extends his colonial empire under the banner of anti-colonialism, brazenly flaunts the dove of peace and usurps this symbol for communism.

Our members, not only the native Americans, but also those from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Rumania join all well-meaning people on behalf of the true peace of mercy and human kindness. We believe that no phony substitute can ever bring contentment to our homes, our country, or to the world.

MARGARET W. PATTERSON,
Chairman, Advisory Board,
Women for Freedom of Europe.

New York, March 30, 1956.

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THESE DAYS:

Simple Things Made Complicated

BY GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

YOU AND I have read numerous explanations as to why the Russians claim to be disbanding 1,200,000 troops. Some of the explanations are exceedingly complicated, involving perhaps a Freudian explanation of the intricacies of Khrushchev's mind, to say nothing of the minds of Marshals Bulganin and Zhukov.

Why not try to guess at a simple explanation, one that comes close to what could be the truth because it might also be the truth here, namely, that foot-soldiers, except as policemen, have been made obsolete by the new weapons, and that the Russians are trying to save some money by getting rid of expensive but obsolete means of warfare?

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Recall Arguments

Surely, in terms of logic, this is as probable an explanation as the various ones that come out of Washington. The Government of the United States still maintains about 1,300,000 foot-soldiers despite the inventions of the bombs and missiles which make a foot-soldier as useless as the horse-soldier became after the tank was made available. All the arguments that are now being used to continue having an enormous and costly army of foot-soldiers were used to preserve the horse-soldier, the principal one being:

"Who ever heard of an army without horses?"

To this the answer could be that Hannibal used elephants and Caesar never heard of an airplane nor did Napoleon know that one bomb from an airplane could wipe out an entire city and so contaminate the remains that nothing in it could live and no army could occupy it.

From that standpoint, would it not be logical for the Russian Presidium, looking around for some place to cut expenses, to conclude that as they have to spend a lot of money on bombs and guided missiles, they might just as well cut out most of the obsolete parts of their military forces, those parts which were valuable prior to the development of the unconventional weapons of war which will surely be used in the next war, if one takes place? And if no war takes place, what good are foot-soldiers except to provide frightening statistics and parades on occasions?

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One of the advantages that the Russians have over us is that their government is unified and if something needs to be done, they do not have to squabble in public on the subject. For instance, we have at least two active policy-making departments that conduct foreign policy. One is the State Department headed by John Foster Dulles; the other is an agency without explicit description headed by Harold Stassen. Whenever the opportunity offers itself, Stassen contradicts Dulles which makes everything clear to nobody.

President Eisenhower has confidence in both men and in their contradictions which he apparently understands. At any rate, although Stassen was, in effect, voted out of office by Congress abolishing his job, the President created a new one for him which Stassen fills by going about looking for peace and disarmament, but he has not suggested that the taxpayers' money be saved by abolishing obsolete but expensive instruments of war. He has been a very firm advocate of inspection from the air which Khrushchev described as silly in his angry conversations with the British Socialists whom he disdained as inferior Mensheviks and therefore spoke freely in their presence. What he said was unpleasant and pointedly designed to indicate that those who believe that they can see what is happening in Yakutsk or Alma-Ata by flying over them need to study geography all over again, if they ever knew it. A tough guy is Khrushchev.

Need Realistic Thinking

One of the concepts of the peace department of our government is that the only way to counter the new Russian international trade offensive is to increase foreign aid, about 60 per cent of nearly $5,000,000,000 a year to go to our allies in NATO and SEATO and probably METO. The question then arises: Is NATO alive or dead? Has this device vitality or is it obsolete? It was supposed to produce an enormous number of divisions, about 100 in Europe when it was founded in 1949. Precisely how many divisions does NATO control now, or how many can it count on against Soviet Russia?

So here again, we need some realistic thinking. We might even ask, who are our allies? And what a shock such a question could be if answered realistically.

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0-19 (11-22-55)

Walter Winchell
Of New York

The Headliners

Amid the fiery bursts of stardust, the swaying charms of movie queens and the shimmer of a bib-and-tucker event, Ernest Borgnine added a down-to-earth touch to the Academy Award festivities. The Oscar-winner earnestly expressed his gratitude "to my mother for giving me the idea of going into this wonderful business, my pop for being steadfast and my lovely wife for helping me." The statement, appropriately enough, has a Marty-like warm simplicity... His mother had a decisive influence on Borgnine's career. After being discharged from the Navy, he hoped to enter the frozen food or air-conditioning business. Appraised of her son's conflicting ambitions, his mother chuckled: "Ernie, did you ever think of taking up acting? You always enjoyed making a damn fool of yourself." Ernest responded: "Mom, you've got something there," and enrolled in a drama school. The rest, as the saying goes, is happy history.

Is there a connection between Hitler and the melodious delight of a Broadway hit? Is there a link between the terrible fury of exploding bombs and the lilting talent of a lovely nightingale? The swirl of human destinies has strange origins, folks...When the Luftwaffe was putting the torch to London, a group in an air-raid shelter sought to retain their morale by group singing. The singers were joined by an 8-year-old. Her voice emerged clear and beautiful. At that moment, her mother discovered her offspring's talent. And soon after, she was given voice lessons...Today, Julie Andrews is enchanting One and All in the de luxe click, "My Fair Lady."

Anna Magnani is all fire and fervor. Her acting gives off sparks. She is a genuine, dedicated artist. Anna has stated: "The only thing that means anything for me is art in any form, any kind. For me it is acting. I live for this. I don't think a person can be a great actor if he is an incomplete individual. He must be a strong, powerful person"...Signora Magnani's strength is derived from her devotion to her polio-crippled son. And the intense hope that he will walk again. "You ask me," Magnani adds, "if art is important. I say, yes. More than anything in life, except I'd give it all up if my son could have his legs again like I made them for him."

In other words, Anna Magnani's greatest performance is represented by being a mother, which is woman's most important role.

The public image of Tallulah Bankhead is shaped in the form of a rocket. Nevertheless, the rocket that has brightened skies over Broadway, Hollywood and London—does not always burn furiously. There is a quiet, candlelight quality to Miss Bankhead that the public rarely encounters: Before the star makes her first entrance on opening night, she kneels beside the photographs of her mother and father in her dressing room. She crosses her heart and prays: "Dear God, please don't let me make a fool of myself tonight."

At a time when melancholia seems an almost slavish reflex to the tensions and anxieties of the world, it is heartening to see Cupid dispelling the thunder with a surge of moonlight. The Grace Kelly story has inspired numerous headlines and countless words. Her wedding will be a major international event...As always, the capricious quality in human affairs was a motivating factor in this story. When Grace was in Monaco last year, an executive for a French periodical asked Grace to provide the foreground while he photographed Prince Rainier's palace. Grace said she'd be willing to pose, if the exec could arrange an audience with the Prince. He did.

By the way, what's the name of the mag exec who sparked the romance? There was never a more triumphant Cupid.

The adieulogies for Fred Allen noted that when he was a juggler, a heckler in the balcony yelled: "How did you ever become a juggler?" Fred snapped: "I took a course in baggage handling at a railroad." It got a laugh. Consequently, Fred decided to inject additional humor into his act. Thus he launched his career as a comic. When the story was published years ago, Fred denied it. He edited: "I never told a joke as bad as that. I might have replied: 'I started tossing in my sleep. I woke up a juggler.'"

Incidentally, Fred once offered this astute appraisal of humor: "What makes people laugh? I think it's when they see somebody put in an inferior position. We like to see others suffering as long as they don't suffer too much. A pompous fellow slips on a banana peel. It's funny. But if he breaks his neck, it's not funny. We like to see those things in life squirm which have made us squirm. Hence, mother-in-law jokes."

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As a public service, we extend the following admonition to Marilyn Monroe: Sir Laurence Olivier, who has been inked to co-star with Marilyn in a future flicker, believes in realism, realism, realism...Some years ago, Sir Laurence lost an opportunity to be Garbo's leading man. Olivier's first wife later explained the reason: "Laurence worked too hard at the love scenes and wanted each kiss to be perfect. Garbo was embarrassed." End of warning.

They are Mr. and Mrs. Chichi. They dwell in the glitter realm of perfume and ermine. Their lives, unfortunately, are not always filled with music and laughter...In McCall's, the Duchess of Windsor recalls the agonies of her first marriage. Her husband was an alcoholic. The terror and heartache she endured is recorded with terrible candor. Clearly, there are times when you can have Everything and still have Nothing.

Success is always more of a victory than a gift. And the triumph is generally the consequence of diligence...Cyd Charisse's rocket to the stars is "Meet Me in Las Vegas." The journey, however, wasn't swift or simple. Cyd launched her ballet career when she was 10. And "Meet Me in Las Vegas" marks her 23rd movie.

The course of history is not always determined by profound social, political and economic problems. Neither is it constantly guided by complex diplomatic, philosophical and military issues. Personal animosities and individual ineptitude are often vital factors in the trend of events...Khrushchev's anti-Stalin campaign is rooted in personal bitterness. For many years Stalin humiliated, browbeat and terrified his subordinates, including Khrushchev. Now he is Getting Even.

Moral: Where there are gangsters, there are gang wars.

What does an Oscar mean to a performer? Joan Crawford wrote in her memoirs: "Oscar stands in a little shrine at the foot of the stairs in my house, with a light behind him. If I had the money, I'd build a house around him. He symbolizes recognition of all that I've worked for and, coming as this recognition did—after a period of professional heartbreak—it was doubly dear to me."

The marriage of Pat Ward (former star witness in the Jelke vice case) demonstrates, ironically, the power of decency. Even the most sinful always retain an intense desire for respectability. You're never so bad that you cannot be forgiven—or loved. The conscience may lose a battle; but it never stops fighting.

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A Link to a 'Traitor'

Beria Kept Stalin Cult Alive—Pravda

MOSCOW, March 28 (UP)—The communist newspaper Pravda denounced Josef Stalin today for "monstrous excesses" during his later years and linked him publicly with the executed "traitor," Lavrenti P. Beria.

Until today the Soviet press had blasted the "cult of personality"—one man rule—but had treated Stalin gingerly. The bitter attack contained in a 10,000-word editorial in Pravda blew the lid off.

For the first time the personal qualities of the late Premier came under attack in print.

It appeared to be the opening of a vast public propaganda campaign to destroy the "illusion" of the Soviet people about "Stalin the Great."

EXECUTION

Pravda blamed Stalin's one-man rule for the excesses of his later days and said the party could not begin eliminating them until it had removed Beria. Beria was executed in 1953 as "an inveterate agent of imperialism" and a traitor.

The bitter attack was the first authoritative report on the present policy of degrading Stalin as outlined by Communist Party Secretary Nikita S. Khrushchev at the recent 20th party congress.

Observers regarded the Pravda article as mild compared with the Khrushchev speech.

CAMPAIGN

Observers expected more and sharper public attacks as the campaign "warmed up."

Pravda outlined the party's program of eliminating the remnants of Stalin's "cult," but said it was a big and difficult job and "there is no place for hurry or waste."

A big re-education program is now under way thruout the Soviet Union to eradicate the "lickspittles and sycophants," it said.

It accused them of "covering up shortcomings, varnishing of reality and eyewash."

Tho most of the editorial was devoted to Stalin, it had some of its harshest words for Beria.

STANDARDS

"Such an inveterate agent of imperialism as Beria and his accomplices could worm their way to leading positions in the party and the government only as a result of the cult of the individual and the violations of the standards of party life connected with it," Pravda said.

"The exposure and the smashing up by the central committee of the contemptible traitorous Beria gang made it possible to eliminate the violations of socialist law and to restore fully the Lenin standards of party life, the standards and principles of socialist law."

The Pravda editorial, which took up two columns on page one, said the hero worship of Stalin did "serious harm" to the communist cause.

Pravda said Stalin, "lacking personal modesty . . . supported and encouraged . . . in every way" the praise communism's successors won him.

And "as time went on," it said, "this cult of the individual assumed ever more monstrous forms and did serious harm to the cause."

CULT

The editorial credited Stalin with major contributions in establishing the Soviet Union but said he then developed the "cult" and encouraged adulation of himself.

Pravda wrote of the "majestic historic achievements of Marxism-Leninism, the enormous successes of the Soviet people and the Communist Party" and said they "were wrongly attributed to the merits of one man—Stalin—and explained by his special merits as leader."

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THESE DAYS:

Russian Autopsy Is Hardly a Cure

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

THE patient is dead. In the autopsy they found a sponge inside him. The fault was not the surgeon's; it was blamed on the nurse who did not count the sponges carefully. Now that we know why the patient died and who is responsible, will that bring him back to life?

Khrushchev's apologia for 20,000,000 or some such figure who were starved to death in his native Ukraine does not help those who starved to death. They are dead and while they were being exterminated there is no record of Khrushchev or Malenkov having said one word of protest. In fact, Khrushchev was the hatchet man. True, had they protested, they might have been killed, but history tells of many noble figures who stood before the cannons of tyranny and shouted, "Give me liberty or give me death."

Free the Prisoners

If Khrushchev wanted to be convincing that this is a changed world and that better days have come, why does he not free the millions of so-called political prisoners, many of them of the middle and intellectual classes of the satellite countries who have been taken from their homes and families, deprived of their careers, buried in vast prison camps where they are engaged in slave labor? True, most of them were picked up by order of Beria, who acted for Stalin, whose object was to destroy any kind of independent leadership among the satellites. Many—in fact, most—of these prisoners were not charged, were never tried. They were simply picked up and moved to change the population pattern of an area.

Beria is dead. Anyone can kick his name around. It has no meaning. Khrushchev and his colleagues on the Presidium are alive. They have tremendous powers, absolute powers. They can release these poor souls from camps that are as wicked, if not worse, than any that Hitler's crew of madmen conceived. As long as these innocent men and women remain in these camps, Khrushchev's tears (four times he wept during his speech) make no impression. He can free those whose only crime has been that they were born in good families. And if the plan is to impress the British with Khrushchev's virtues, it can only be hoped that there will be those in Britain who will ask about these prisoners.

Let us not be confused by all this change of heart. Malenkov, for instance, was Stalin's secretary. He was the man who carried out Stalin's orders. He was named by Stalin as his heir. While Stalin lived, he was a man of extraordinary powers. He, as a member of the Presidium, is still a man of extraordinary powers. Are we to be told that the same man who carried out the

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madman's orders did not know that the madman was mad? What is Malenkov's excuse for carrying out Stalin's sadistic orders? He could have refused. He could have committed suicide. What is his moral basis for living, he who transmitted the orders to murder and kill?

From Curses to Fawning

And so, we are to turn a page. For nearly 30 years, the entire human race has witnessed and suffered from the schemes and tricks and obscenities of a madman entrenched in power. Against the evils he created, every nation has had to establish costly protections and defenses. Now, we are simply to turn a page in the book of history and say it is all over because Khrushchev and Malenkov say that it is all over. But neither of them has taken a single step to re-establish law and justice in his own country or assure the world that the onward march of the empire has been halted and that nations can live in peace. All the talk about the Geneva Spirit has been accompanied by a blatant anti-Americanism encouraged by Nehru and his Babu, Krishna Menon.

As Khrushchev and Bulganin cursed and condemned the British a month ago, so they now fawn on the British. What kind of people are these who curse one day and lickspittle the next? Realists, some call them. Men without character, opportunists, triflers with other people's lives, would be a better description. Those who believe that a change has come over Russia need to present better proof than Khrushchev's speech denouncing Stalin. What is needed is a record of deeds, not long speeches interlarded with tears. Not one deed of friendship or decency is on the record.

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The Idol Smashers

Robert Murphy, Deputy Undersecretary of State and one of our top flight diplomats, speculates cautiously that the smashing of the Stalin idol in Soviet Russia is designed to make it difficult for any one man to rise above the ruling clique.

The iconoclasts pounded the deified Stalin into mortal dust at the recent Red party congress in Moscow, with Nikita S. Khrushchev swinging the heaviest hammer.

Results have been intense interest in the free world and consternation among Communists everywhere. Khrushchev and friends are finding it harder than expected to wash that man right out of their followers' hair.

Khrushchev

Pending further information, Murphy emphasized that our State Department isn't forming any fixed conclusion. He noted that more people close to Khrushchev are being moved into the party machinery and considers it possible that Nikky, currently the strongest Red figure, may himself assume Stalin's role.

For our part, we'll make a long guess that the new emphasis on more "democratic" leadership in Soviet Russia and "collective rule" is just a part of the tricky new look the Reds are donning to lure the free world into complacency.

Again and often, the question must be asked: *What deeds have accompanied the Soviet avowal of more liberal attitudes?*

President Eisenhower is absolutely right in stressing this point as he continues his exchange of letters with Bulganin; we are not averse to better USA-USSR relations, but we would like some indication of concrete action first.

What about the captive states? What about Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia—overrun by brutal military force? The seized Balkan nations? The promise of free elections in Germany? Limitation of armaments? Control of nuclear weapons? The subversion directed from Moscow against countries now free?

Until actual happenings demonstrate the abandonment of barbarism, the free world must not be sucked into the vortex by the masque of sinister smiles.

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SOVIET RESTORING FIRST BOLSHEVIKS

They Are Returning to Favor as Regime Paves Way for Anti-Stalin Attacks

Special to The New York Times.

MOSCOW, March 11 — The Soviet Communist party is carrying out a campaign to restore the old Bolsheviks to official favor.

Pravda, the party organ, published a letter today from 137 old members who participated in the 1905 revolution. The missive, which hailed the "Leninist Central Committee," was signed by many party members whose names have not appeared in the official press for almost a generation.

Simultaneously Soviet leaders have cleared the way for renewed and even more aggressive attacks on the worst features of the Stalinist regime by the leaders of its Communist allies.

In a report published last week in the Communist organ, Neues Deutschland, the East German party leader, Walter Ulbricht, declared that Stalin's works could not be considered among the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

His deflation of Stalin was the boldest yet undertaken by any eastern European Communist leader.

Other signs of the late dictator's fall from eminence have appeared recently in Moscow. They include the disappearance of Stalin's biography from a newsstand at the Metropole Hotel and the unavailability of the Stalin-sponsored "short course" of the Soviet Communist party history at the Moscow journalists' club.

It was disclosed today that documents long kept secret in the archives of the Soviet Union are to be released for the use of historians interested in making an "objective" re-evaluation of Soviet history.

This decision was revealed by Partinaya Zhizn (Party Life), an important Communist publication directed at local party leaders throughout the Soviet Union.

Tass distributed Friday night a dispatch with a New York dateline quoting an American newspaper commentator as having said United States relations with some of its allies today were comparable to the Soviet Union's relations with its allies during the late Stalin era.

The Moscow press did not publish this item yesterday, but its quotation by the official news agency was considered highly significant by foreign observers here.

Among the signers of the letter in Pravda was G. I. Teodorovich, who joined the party in 1899 and was denounced as a "Trotskyite" in the "Short Course" published under Stalin.

M. N. Skrypnik, another signer, was implicated in the purge trial of Marshal Mikhail N. Tukhachevsky in 1937. R. P. Katanyan, whose name was also affixed to the letter, was formerly described in Soviet propaganda as the chief of a "nationalist opposition" group in Armenia.

S. I. Gopner, who also signed the letter, was one of the most important women in the old Comintern when it was led by Georgi Dimitrov. Her name disappeared from the Great Soviet Encyclopedia after World War II.

This rehabilitation of the living contrasts with recent criticism directed by Soviet historians at such historic Russian figures as Marshal Suvorov, eighteenth-century commander, and Ivan the Terrible, sixteenth-century ruler.

These personages were glorified and placed above attack during Stalin's era. They are now being attacked for especially heinous acts, although they are held up as notable figures of Russian history.

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Khrushchev's Flexibility

It is too early to grasp all that happened at the Twentieth Congress. However, it would seem to me that from an historic standpoint, this was a momentous gathering and that it is likely to strengthen the Soviet Universal State because it will bring into line dissident factions inside and outside Russia. To possess power, Khrushchev avoided the seizure of power, assuming that differences of opinion do not really amount to much in the long run. Whereas Stalin could not effect a change in government without committing murder, Khrushchev does not even deprive Malenkov and Molotov of office, thus making them increasingly dependent upon him. Undoubtedly, Khrushchev possesses a sense of humor, which could not be said of Stalin.

The danger to the United States lies in this very sense of humor which makes Khrushchev more flexible than Stalin was. And it is this flexibility which has won for Khrushchev the great diplomatic victory of neutralism which is a peril to the United States. Stalin long played with the idea of moving into the Moslem world but found no way to do it; Khrushchev moved in boldly even while the Summit Conference was being held at Geneva. It is beyond belief that our officials did nothing about that except to say that the situation is precarious and ought not to become a campaign issue in 1956. The absurdity of the position of our State Department will become obvious when Israel too purchases arms from Czechoslovakia and Poland which possess ample means to arm any small nation that would like to do any fighting anywhere. What will John Foster Dulles say to that? Will he say that Soviet Russia encourages neutralism among our allies because they fear us? By that logic, why not encourage neutralism among some of Russia's satellites?

The Twentieth Congress, it strikes me, is a turning point in history and not a good one for us.

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THESE DAYS:

Russia Reverts to Leninist Dogma

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

IT IS not at all surprising that the Marxist-Leninist Dogma should be so little understood outside the Soviet Universal State. After all, Roman Catholics and Protestants belong to the Christian religion and they hardly ever understand each other and neither knows much about Judaism from which they both stem. Jews and Moslems originated from the same Semitic races and have religions which are closely akin but that has not made it possible for them to live in peace.

The Marxist-Leninist Dogma, in all its phases, seems absurd to the Western mind. The biologic interpretation of man, the complete omission of God and of any expression of mysticism, the elimination of personal liberty and the subordination of the individual to a social environment which not only dominates him but molds his personality, the avoidance of the profit concept in economics and the reinstitution of slave labor—the Western mind resists such notions of life.

Brutal Autocrat

It was easier when Stalin was the master of Russia because Stalin was a brutal autocrat, a twentieth century reincarnation of Genghis Khan. Stalin was not even true to the Marxist-Leninist Dogma, as the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party USSR has now declared. He built his own dogma in a book called "Foundations of Leninism," and he demanded an unfailing orthodoxy. He was uncompromising with those who even slightly deviated from his decisions which covered the entire gamut of human thought and activity. Deviators he had killed or, in a gentler mood, he exiled them to the tundras of Siberia. He organized for world conquest and held his power until he died.

Opposition to Stalin was constant in Russia and in the world Communist parties. He met the opposition by purges in the course of which he destroyed his betters, the founders of his party. When I encountered Stalin at the Smolny Institute in Petrograd in 1917, he was not even newsworthy compared with Trotzky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bukharin, etc. He killed them all.

After Stalin's death, the Communist Party had either to return to the Marxist-Leninist Dogma or degenerate into a struggle for power among men ambitious to be dictators like Stalin. In 1952, the latter seemed possible in the triumvirate of Beria, Malenkov and Molotov which Stalin had appointed to succeed him. But the emergence of Khrushchev ended the struggle because he reverted to the Marxist-Leninist Dogma and to the dictatorship of the party rather than of one man. This is called "collective leadership."

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Soviet Journal Abates Vilification of Trotsky

From the Herald Tribune Bureau
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MOSCOW, Mar. 5.—The name of Leon Trotsky appeared in a Soviet publication today. It was not followed by a description of Trotsky as a traitor or an enemy of the people.

The influential scholarly journal "Problems of History" published an article about the dispute between V. I. Lenin and Trotsky after the 1917 Bolshevik revolution. It described their differences as an ideological battle.

In the article, Trotsky was called "anti-party and anti-Leninist" but was not said to have been a spy or a traitor working against the Bolshevik party.

Change in Practice

This treatment of Trotsky was a sharp departure from previous practice here. In historical articles and press reports written since his fall from power he invariably has occupied the role of a villain.

Trotsky, the first war commissar of the Soviet state, was expelled from the Communist party centry committee after Lenin's death in 1924. Three years later, he was expelled from the party and exiled. He was assassinated in Mexico in 1940.

In history books written during Stalin's reign, the name "Trotsky" came to be an epithet, and many failings of the Soviet state were blamed on "Trotskyite agents."

In its mild and factual reference to Trotsky, "Problems of History" made what is believed to be the first use of his name in print in this country since 1927 that was not followed by derogatory remarks or vilification.

Since the Soviet Communist party congress at Moscow last month, writing of Soviet history has been in turmoil. Party chief Nikita S. Khrushchev began the process when he attacked "the cult of one man," meaning adulation of Stalin.

Speakers at the congress who followed were more specific and hit at the falsification of history under Stalin. They rehabilitated the reputations of several Old Bolsheviks who they said had unjustly been branded enemies of the people and disappeared during the purges of the late 1930s.

The final line was laid down by Anna Pankratova, historian member of the central committee, who said Soviet history must be rewritten to reduce Stalin's inflated role and to give more credit to the old Bolsheviks who worked with Lenin.

Mrs. Pankratova is the editor of "Problems of History" and has lost no time putting into practice what she preached. The current issue publishes memoirs and favorable references concerning party figures who disappeared in the Thirties.

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LEADERSHIP IN RUSSIA NOT FULLY 'COLLECTIVE'

Khrushchev Seems to Have Control But Is Not so Powerful as Stalin

By HARRY SCHWARTZ

How collective is the new Soviet "collective leadership"? How did it come about? How likely is it to survive?

These appear to be among the key questions raised by the Twentieth Congress of the Communist party, which ended last week-end.

Taking the Soviet claim at face value for the moment, there would seem to be two levels of "collective leadership" now. The first, for day-to-day policy-making, is said to be exercised by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the party, consisting of the eleven top leaders re-elected last Monday, plus the six alternates chosen then. However, for basic policy-making the Soviet claim is that the 133-member Central Committee is all-important, implying that in its quarterly meeting each year this group debates and adopts the most important decisions.

That the great importance attached to the Central Committee in present Soviet propaganda is largely a myth would seem clear. The record of the last three years has been that the basic proposals advanced, first by Georgi M. Malenkov, and then by Nikita S. Khrushchev, have all been adopted with little or no change. There is no evidence that rank and file members of the Central Committee have initiated any important policy or have even dared be very vehement in opposing policy changes proposed by the Presidium. It must be remembered that almost all committee members are subordinates of either Mr. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the party, or Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin.

Khrushchev Dominant

Is the real locus of power then in the eleven-member Presidium? (It is more practically a twelve-member Presidium, since Marshal G. K. Zhukov's real in-

shchev must be adjudged the most powerful Soviet figure today, though not as powerful as Stalin was. If he cannot make major decisions by himself, it still would seem to require unanimous or near unanimous opposition from his Presidium colleagues to frustrate a project close to his heart.

The most telling new evidence of Mr. Khrushchev's power is this: Four of the five new alternate members of the Presidium are clearly his protégés: Dmitry T. Shepilov, Mme. Ekaterina A. Furtseva, Leonid I. Brezhnev and N. A. Mukhitdinov—all these, it can easily be shown, owe their elevation to Mr. Khrushchev's patronage.

Basic Reasons

Insofar as there is any collectivity to the present Soviet leadership, it would seem to arise from these factors:

(1) Mr. Khrushchev has been in command of the party apparatus for too short a time to pack it with his appointees. Only a third of the Central Committee consists of new members. Stalin did not achieve absolute power until he had essentially purged the entire party apparatus, murdering all potential rivals. Most of Mr. Khrushchev's potential rivals from Stalinist times still sit in the top group.

(2) The Soviet people are in revulsion against dictatorship, a revulsion the present leadership is skillfully channeling through attacks against the "cult of personality." In this atmosphere at least the appearance of collectivity in leadership—a kind of "totalitarian democracy"—serves a useful purpose, and forces Mr. Khrushchev to be more cautious than he might otherwise be.

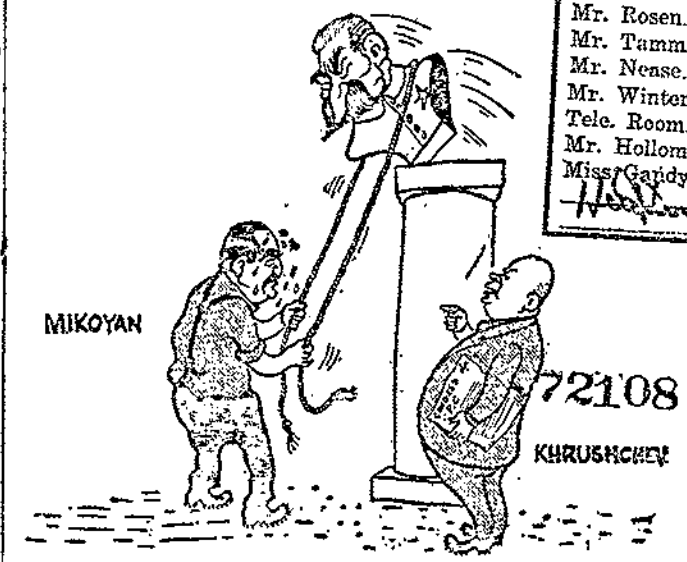
(3) Mr. Khrushchev and his most important colleagues are all older than 60. The party secretary himself has publicly expressed his awareness of the shortness of life. His actions seem to indicate his awareness that his own predominance is at best likely to be only a relatively short period—unlike Stalin's thirty years of rule—and that it is important to train younger men to take over the leadership in the future.

Thus the outlook is that Mr. Khrushchev will try to be first among equals. Furthermore, he and his colleagues have stated publicly that they are aware of the dangers to Soviet stability that any all-out warfare among themselves would represent. There are insistent rumors of a "comrades' agreement" among them not to kill each other.

If things continue to go well for the leadership at home and abroad, there may be stability of the present leadership for some time. But substantial defeats could shake the present equilibrium. So too could the death of particular key figures and disagreement over their replacements.

Finally, and not least important, Mr. Khrushchev's self-confidence could carry him to the point where he might feel some of his colleagues were doddering old fools best done away with. The potentialities for discord, in short, are hidden not far beneath the surface appearance of calm.

STALIN'S FATE



Aux Ecoutes (Paris)

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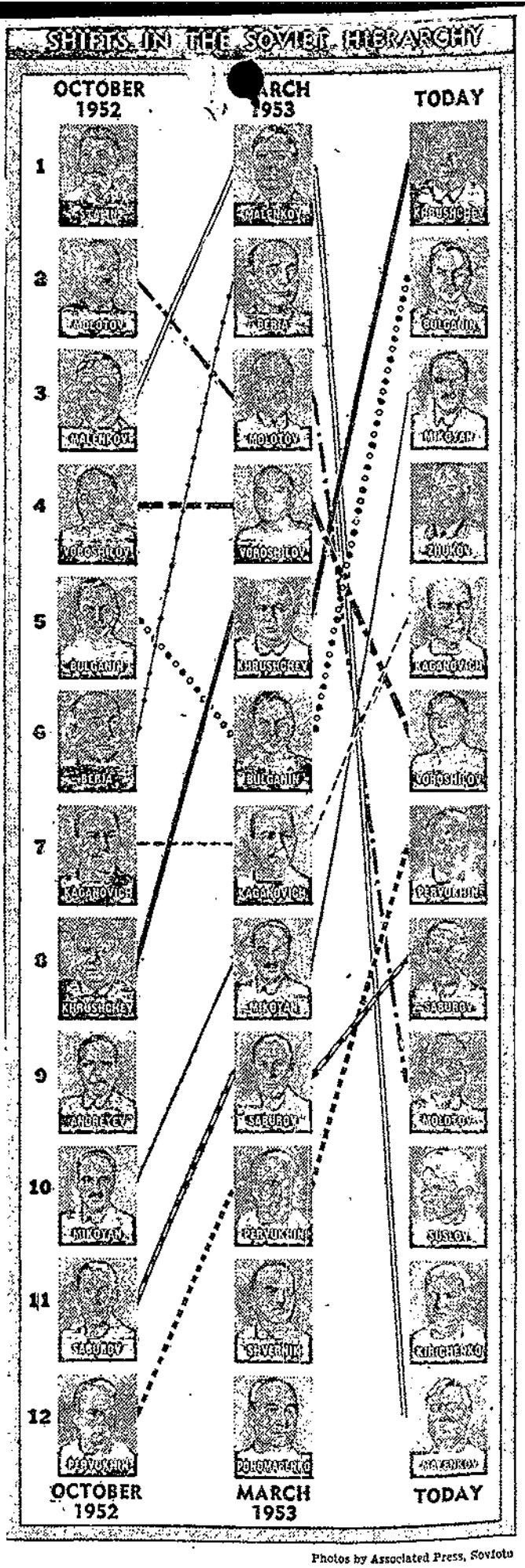

Photos by Associated Press, Soviote

Standings in 1952 and 1953 are based on order of precedence in pictures and official lists. Line-up today is based on information available to experts on Soviet affairs. Stalin died March 5, 1953. Beria was purged June 26, 1953. Andreyev, Shvernik and Ponomarenko have apparently

0-19 (7-8-55)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

Established

A NEW "special bureau" to control the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic has been set up. Its chief is Nikita Khrushchev. The action gave him direct control of the largest republic in the Soviet Union.

[redacted]

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[redacted]

3/12/56
This appears to be an effort to establish a committee for RSFSR

161-16-1

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126 MAR 14 1956

Wash. Post and Times Herald
Wash. News page 7
Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Mirror
Daily Worker
The Worker
New Leader

Date 2/29/56

52 MAR 15 1956

5 ETT

ПРОЛЕТАРИИ ВСЕХ СТРАН, СОЕДИНЯЙТЕСЬ!

КОМСОМОЛЬСКАЯ ПРАВДА

Орган Центрального Комитета ВЛКСМ

№ 50 (3456) | Вторник, 28 февраля 1956 г. | ЦЕНА 20 КОП.

Советская молодежь, воодушевленная историческими решениями XX съезда КПСС, еще теснее сплотится вокруг родной партии, еще энергичнее включится в борьбу за выполнение и перевыполнение грандиозных планов шестой пятилетки.

Pravda 2-28-56

Президиум Центрального Комитета КПСС

Н. А. Булганин. Russia N. A. BULGANIN photograph

К. Е. Ворошилов. K. E. VOROSHILOV photograph

Л. М. Каганович. L. M. KAGANOVICH photograph

А. И. Кириченко. A. I. KIRICHENKO photograph

Г. М. Маленков. G. M. MALENKOV photograph

А. И. Микоян. A. I. MIKOYAN photograph

В. М. Молотов. V. M. MOLOTOV photograph

Russia М. Г. Первухин.

М. З. Сабуров.

М. А. Суслов.

Н. С. Хрущев.

Г. К. Жуков.

Л. И. Брежнев. L. I. BREZHNEV

Н. А. Мухитдинов. N. A. MUKHITDINOV

Пленум Центрального Комитета Коммунистической партии Советского Союза

27 февраля 1956 года состоялся Пленум Центрального Комитета КПСС, избранного XX съездом Коммунистической партии Советского Союза.

Пленум избрал ПРЕЗИДИУМ ЦК КПСС в следующем составе:

Члены Президиума: т.т. Булганин Н. А., Ворошилов К. Е., Каганович Л. М., Кириченко А. И., Маленков Г. М., Микоян А. И., Молотов В. М., Первухин М. Г., Сабуров М. З., Суслов М. А., Хрущев Н. С.;

Кандидаты в члены Президиума: т.т. Жуков Г. К., Брежнев Л. И., Мухитдинов Н. А., Шепилов Д. Т., Фурцева Е. А., Шверник Н. М.

Пленум избрал СЕКРЕТАРИАТ ЦК КПСС в следующем составе: т.т. Хрущев Н. С.—Первый секретарь ЦК КПСС, Аристов А. Б., Беляев Н. И., Брежнев Л. И., Поспелов П. Н., Суслов М. А., Фурцева Е. А., Шепилов Д. Т.

Пленум избрал председателем КОМИТЕТА ПАРТИЙНОГО КОНТРОЛЯ ПРИ ЦК КПСС т. Шверника Н. М., заместителем председателя Комитета Партийного Контроля—т. Комарова П. Т.

В Центральной Ревизионной Комиссии Коммунистической партии Советского Союза

27 февраля 1956 года состоялось заседание Центральной Ревизионной Комиссии Коммунистической партии Советского Союза.

Центральная Ревизионная Комиссия избрала председателем Комиссии т. Москатова П. Г.

D. T. SHEPILOV
Д. Т. Шепилов.

E. A. KURTSEVA
Е. А. Фурцева.

N. M. SHVERNIK
Н. М. Шверник.

Russia

ТЕЛЕГРАММА

Его Высочеству Мухаммеду ДАУДУ

Премьер-Министру Афганистана

КАБУЛ

По случаю 35-й годовщины со дня подписания Советско-Афганского Договора о дружбе прошу Вас, Ваше Высочество, и Правительство Афганистана принять от Правительства Советского Союза и от меня лично сердечные поздравления.

Приятно отметить, что Советско-Афганский Договор, подписанный 28 февраля 1921 года, оказал благотворное влияние на развитие и укрепление дружественных и добрососедских отношений между Советским Союзом и Афганистаном и является прочной основой для дальнейшего укрепления мира и доверия между нашими странами.

Советское Правительство искренне желает, чтобы дружба и добрососедские отношения между народами Советского Союза и народами Афганистана росли и крепли в интересах обеих стран и укрепления всеобщего дела мира.

Сердечно желаю Вам счастья и здоровья, а также процветания нашему дружественному соседу Афганистану.

Н. БУЛГАНИН
Председатель Совета Министров СССР

ПРИЕМ В ПОСОЛЬСТВЕ МОНГОЛЬСКОЙ НАРОДНОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ

По случаю 10-й годовщины со дня подписания Договора о дружбе и взаимной помощи и Соглашения об экономическом и культурном сотрудничестве между Союзом Советских Социалистических Республик и Монгольской Народной Республикой Чрезвычайный и Полномочный Посол Монгольской Народной Республики в СССР Д. Адиябиш 27 февраля устроил прием.

На приеме присутствовал Премьер-Министр Монгольской Народной Республики Ю. Цеденбал.

С советской стороны на приеме находились секретари ЦК КПСС А. Б. Аристов и Н. И. Беляев, Заместители Председателя Совета Министров СССР А. Н. Косыгин, И. Ф. Тевосян, заместитель Председателя Президиума Верховного Совета СССР и Председатель Президиума Верховного Совета РСФСР М. П. Тарасов, Председатель Совета Союза Верховного Совета СССР А. П. Волков, Председатель Совета Национальностей Верховного Совета СССР В. Т. Лапис, Председатель Совета Министров РСФСР М. А. Яснов, секретарь Президиума Верховного Совета СССР Н. М. Негов, Министры СССР С. Ф. Антонов, И. Я. Антропов, В. Н. Бещев, Н. А. Дыгай, М. А. Евсеенко, В. П. Елютин, В. Г. Жаворонков, А. Г. Зверев, В. П. Зотов, И. Г. Кабанов, М. Д. Ковригина, В. Ф. Божевников, Ф. Г. Логинов, П. Ф. Ломако, Н. А. Михайлов; Маршалы Советского Союза С. С. Бирюзов и С. М. Буденный, заместители Министра Иностранных Дел СССР В. В. Кузнецов и Н. Т. Федоренко, начальник Главного управления по делам экономических связей К. И. Коваль, Чрезвычайный и Полномочный Посол СССР в Монгольской Народной Республике В. И. Писарев, Председатель правления Госбанка СССР В. Ф. Попов, Первый Заместитель Председателя Совета Министров РСФСР А. М. Пузанов, председатель исполкома Московского Городского Совета депутатов трудящихся Н. И. Бобровников, деятели литературы и искусства, ответственные сотрудники Министерства Иностранных Дел СССР, Министерства культуры СССР, Министерства внешней торговли, ВЦСПС, ВОКС, советские и иностранные журналисты.

Среди гостей на приеме находились главы и члены делегаций ряда братских коммунистических и рабочих партий, принимавших участие в работе XX съезда Коммунистической партии Советского Союза.

На приеме присутствовали Главы ряда дипломатических представительств, аккредитованные в СССР.

Во время приёма, проходившего в обстановке исключительной сердечности, состоялся обмен речами.

INDEXED

The Soviet Part[illegible] Central Committee

MOSCOW, Feb. 25 (Reuters) —The following have been elected full members of the new Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party (asterisks denote persons elected to the old committee in 1952 and re-elected today):

AVERKIEVICH, M. E., Second Secretary of central committee of Communist party of Byelorussia.
ALEKOV, Pavel N., First Secretary of Vladimir District party.
ANDRIYEV, Andrei A., former member of Stalin's Politbureau.
ARISTOV, A. B., a secretary of Central Committee.
BABAEV, Sukhan, First Secretary of Turkmenian party.
BAIBAKOV, N. K., Minister of Oil Industry.
BELIAYEV, Nikolai K., a secretary of Central Committee.
BENEDIKTOV, Ivan A., Minister of State for Farms.
BESCHEV, Boris P., Minister of Railroads.
*BORONNIKOV, Nikolai I., Mayor of Moscow.
*BOITSOV, Ivan P., First Secretary of Stavropol provincial party organization.
BREZHNEV, Leonid I., First Secretary of Communist party of Kazakhstan.
BREZHNEV, D. D., Second Secretary of Leningrad party committee.
BULGANIN, Nikolai A., Premier.
VANNIKOV, Boris L. [believed to be special representative of Soviet Union's Council of Ministers.]
*VASHILEVSKY, Marshal Aleksandr M., Deputy Minister of Defense.
VOLKOV, Aleksandr P., chairman of Moscow regional Soviet.
*VOROSHILOV, Marshal Kliment E., chief of state of Soviet Union.
VORONOV, Gennadi I., Deputy Minister of Agriculture.
GAYEVOY, A. I., First Secretary of Communist party of Zaporozhe Province.
GAFUROV, Bobojan G., First Secretary of Tajik party.
GORYACHEV, Fedor S., First Secretary, Tyumen Province party.
GRISHIN, Viktor V., Second Secretary of Moscow party.
GRISHIN, Ivan T., Ambassador to Czechoslovakia.
GROMYKO, Andrei A., a First Deputy Foreign Minister.
DANIALOV, Abdurrakhman D., First Secretary of the Dagestan party.
DEMENTYEV, I. V.
DENISOV, Georgia A., First Secretary of Saratov Province party.
DERYUGIN, B. I.
DZHAVAKHASHVILI, Givi D., Premier of Georgia.
DORONIN, Pavel I., Secretary of Smolensk Province party.
DUDOROV, Nikolai P., Minister of Internal Affairs.
[illegible]NYUTIN, G. V.
EFREMOV, Mikhail T., First Secretary, Kuibishev Province party.
EFREMOV, Leonid N., First Secretary of Kursk Province party.
ZHEGALIN, Ivan K., First Secretary, Stalingrad Province party.
ZHUKOV, Marshal Georgi K., Minister of Defense, first elected to committee in July, 1953.
ZAVENYAGIN, Col. Gen. A. P. [a Deputy Premier].
ZAPEMIDKO, Aleksandr N., Minister of Coal.

ZVEREV, [illegible] G., Minister of Finance.
IGNATOV, Nikolai G., First Secretary of Gorki Province party.
IGNATOV, Nikolai F., Secretary of Moscow party.
IGNATIEV, Semyon D., First Secretary of Bashkir Province party.
KABANOV, Ivan G., Minister of Foreign Trade.
KAGANOVICH, Lazar M., a First Deputy Premier.
KALNBERZINS, Ivan E., First Secretary of the Latvian party.
KALCHENKO, Nikifor T., Premier of Ukraine.
KAPITONOV, Ivan V., First Secretary of Moscow Province party.
KIRILENKO, Andrei P., First Secretary of Sverdlovsk Province party.
KIRICHENKO, Alexei I., First Secretary of Ukrainian Republic party.
KISELEV, Nikolai V., First Secretary of Rostov Province party.
KLIMENKO, Vasili K., First Secretary of Voroshilovgrad party.
KOZELEV, B. N., First Secretary of the Irkutsk Province party.
KOVRIGINA, Maria D., Minister of Health.
KOZLOV, Frol R., First Secretary of Leningrad Province party.
KOLUSHCHINSKY, Evgeni P., First Secretary of Omsk Province party.
*KONEV, Marshal Ivan S., [Commander of Warsaw alliance forces].
*KORNEICHUK, Alexander E., leading Soviet writer and playwright.
KOROTCHENKO, Demyan S., Chief of State of Ukraine.
*KOSYGIN, Alexei N., a Deputy Premier.
KUZNETSOV, V. V., a Deputy Foreign Minister.
KUNAEV, Dinmukhamed A., Premier of Kazakhstan.
*KUUSINEN, Otto V., Chief of State of Karelo-Finnish Republic.
KUCHERENKO, Vladimir A., a Deputy Premier.
KEBIN, Ivan G., First Secretary of Estonian Republic party.
LARIONOV, Alexei N., First Secretary of Tyumen Province party.
LAPTEV, Nikolai V., First Secretary of Chelyabinsk Province party.
LATUNOV, Ivan S., First Secretary of Vologda Province party.
LEBEDEV, Ivan K., a First Deputy Premier of Russian Republic.
LUBENNIKOV, L. I., First Secretary of Karelo-Finnish Republic party.
MAZUROV, Kirill T., Premier of Byelorussia.
*MALENKOV, Georgi M., former Soviet Premier.
MALINOVSKY, Marshal Rodion Y.
MALYSHEV, Vyacheslav A., a Deputy Premier.
MARKOV, Vasily S., First Secretary of Orel Province party.
MARCHENKO, Ivan T., Second Secretary of Moscow Province party.
MATSKEVICH, Vladimir V., Minister of Agriculture.
MEZHAVANADZE, Vasili P., First Secretary of Georgian Republic party.
MIKOYAN, Anastas I., a First Deputy Premier.
[illegible] Mark B., a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.
MIKHAILOV, Nikolai A., Minister of Culture.
MOLOTOV, Vyacheslav M., a First Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister.
MOSKVIN, Vasili A., First Secretary of Omsk Province party.
MOSKALENKO, Marshal Kirill S.
NIKITOV, Zinovi I., First Secretary of [illegible] Province party.
NUSRATAEV, Turan D., First Secretary of Azerbaijan party.

*MUKHITDINOV, Nuritdin A., First Secretary of Uzbek Republic party.
NASHIDDINOVA, Y. S.
ORGANOV, N. N., First Secretary of Krasnoyarsk Territory party.
PANKRATOVA, Anna M., leading Soviet historian.
PEGOV, N. M., Secretary of Presidium of Supreme Soviet.
PERVUKHIN, Mikhail G., a First Deputy Premier.
PETUSHKOV, Konstantind, a Deputy Minister of Heavy Engineering.
POLGORNY, Nikolai V., Second Secretary of Ukrainian Republic party.
POLYANSKY, Dmitri S., First Secretary of Cheslov party.
POSCHARIEV, V. N., a party theoretician.
PONOMARENKO, Pantcleimon K., Ambassador to Poland.
POSPELOV, Peter N. [a leading party theoretician].
PROKOFIEV, Vasily A., First Secretary of Murmansk Province party.
PUZANOV, Aleksandr A., a Deputy Premier of Russian Republic.
PYSIN, K. G., First Secretary of Altai Territory party.
RAGIMOV, Sadik G. Y., Premier of Azerbaidjan.
RAZZAKOV, Ishak R., First Secretary of Kirgiz Republic party.
RUMYANTSEV, Alexei M., editor of official party journal Kommunist.
SABUROV, Maxim Z., chief Soviet planner and a First Deputy Premier.
SERDYUK, Zinovy T., First Secretary of Moldavian Republic party.
SEROV, Gen. Ivan A., chairman of Committee for State Security.
SNECHKUS, Antanas Y., secretary of Lithuanian Republic party.
SOKOLOVSKY, Marshal Vasili D., Ass. Chief of Staff.
STAKHURSKY, M. N., First Secretary of Khabarovsk Territory party.
STRUYEV, A. I., First Secretary of Moscow Province party.
SUSLOV, V. M., First Secretary of Krasnodar Territory party
SUSLOV, M. A., a secretary of old Central Committee.
PEVOSYAN, Ivan T., a Deputy Premier.
TITOV, V. N., First Secretary of Kirov Province party.
TITOV, F. E., First Secretary of Ivanovo Province party.
TIKHONIROV, S. M., Minister of Chemical Industry.
TOVMASYAN, Suren A., First Secretary of Armenian Republic party.
USTINOV, Dmitri F., Minister of Armament Industry.
FURTSEVA, Ekaterina A., First Secretary of Moscow City party.
KEVOROSTUKHIN, Alexei I.
KHRUNICHEV, Mikhail V., Deputy Premier and Minister of Medium Machine Building.
KHRUSHCHEV, Nikita S., First Secretary of old Central Committee.
PATOLICHEV, Nikolai S., First Secretary of Byelorussian Republic party.
CHERNYSHEV, Vasili N., First Secretary of Kaliningrad Province party.
SHVERNIK, Nikolai M., head of Soviet trade unions.
SHELEPIN, Aleksandr N., First Secretary of Young Communist League.
SHEPILOV, Dmitri T., editor of Pravda.
SHKOLNIKOV, Alexei M., First Secretary of Tambov Province party.
SHTIKOV, Terenty F., First Secretary of Maritime Territory party.
YUDKIN, Pavel F., Ambassador to Communist China.
YAKOVLEV, Ivan D., Second Secretary of Kazakh Republic party.
YASNOV, Mikhail A., Premier of Russian Republic.

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INDEXED - 81

MAR 15 1956

Only one

Bloch

W. C. Blanchard

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy
MR. BRANIGAN

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The Decline of Stalin

An Analysis Based on Use of His Name at Last Two Soviet Party Congresses

By HARRISON E. SALISBURY

Stalin's name seems to have been mentioned not much oftener than half a dozen times in ten days of discussion at the twentieth congress of the Communist party in Moscow.

At a modest estimate it was mentioned at least 400 times a day at the nineteenth party congress held in the autumn of 1952.

A comparison of the addresses delivered by the same party bosses in 1952 and 1956 is a startling demonstration of the ideological backflips of which the party leadership is capable.

This year Nikita S. Khrushchev, party chief, mentioned Stalin once, remarking that Stalin had died in the interval between the two congresses.

In 1952, larding a purely technical report on party rules with references to "our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin," Mr. Khrushchev mentioned him fourteen times.

Malenkov's Turnabout

Former Premier Georgi M. Malenkov mentioned Stalin fifty-one times in a 1952 speech. This year he didn't utter the name once in his speech at the congress.

Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin worked twenty-six references to Stalin into a twenty-seven-page speech in 1952. In 1956 he didn't mention the name.

The most startling contrast was provided by Deputy Premier Anastas I. Mikoyan. In a 1952 speech at the congress he referred to Stalin nineteen times. At this year's congress he mentioned him once—in order to belittle him.

In 1952 Mr. Mikoyan said that "the genius work of Comrade Stalin about the economic problems of socialism in the U. S. S. R. enlightens with the bright flame of Stalinist genius the road forward to a more brilliant Communist future."

Mr. Mikoyan went on to say in 1952 that "the bright light of the science of Comrade Stalin enriches our life, gives us a program of action and directs our victorious advance toward communism."

But, speaking last week, Mr. Mikoyan said:

"It is doubtful that we can be helped by—and it is doubtful if it is correct—Stalin's well-known dictum in 'The Economic Problems of Socialism in the U. S. S. R.'"

Stalin's Ideas Opposed

The number of passages in which Communist leaders in 1956 expressed directly opposing opinions to those that they uttered in 1952 was far too numerous to list.

Imposing, however, were the number of slurring references to what they euphemistically called the "cult of personality" by which they meant one-man rule. In 1952 every speech was replete with encomiums of the genius by which Stalin had led the party.

References to Stalin this year in addition to those of Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Mikoyan were made by the Chinese fraternal delegate, the French fraternal delegate, and a Georgian delegate.

The Chinese Marshal Chu Teh, Vice Chairman of the Communist China's Defense Council, listed Stalin as one of those who had built up communism after the death of Lenin. The French Communist leader, Maurice Thorez, listed Stalin with Marx, Engels and Lenin as a Marxist theoretician. The Georgian party secretary, V. P. Mzhavanadze, mention a factory named for Stalin.

NOT RECORDED
126 MAR 14 1956

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From The Hall Syndi Inc.
342 Madison A New York 17, New York

2/24/56

NOTE TO EDITORS:

The world today is discussing the new "collective leadership" of the Soviet Union and the disappearance, for the first time since the 1917 revolution, of a single, all-powerful, dictator in the Soviet Union.

Official Moscow reports from the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union emphasize the return to the "Leninists' norms of Party life" and the establishment of "collective leadership."

Yet none of this is new to readers of Victor Riesel's column. Exactly 2½ years ago, your columnist predicted all this in a dispatch from Paris -- writing practically word for word what is being reported now.

In the column filed from Paris on July 11, 1953, shortly after Stalin's death, Riesel was first to report that Malenkov was only a powerless front for the "collective leadership."

Riesel wrote: "...it is known that they (the collective leadership) called in Malenkov and gave him the choice of fronting for them or going with his master (Stalin). Malenkov took the premiership instead of the bullet and agreed to work with them."

Riesel added: "Then they decided to run a collective tyranny. They wanted to go back to the days of Lenin...to go back to Lenin meant wiping out tens of thousands of Stalin's younger worshippers and automaton Communists. It meant slowing down -- two steps forward and one step back. It meant not provoking the West into an angered retaliatory military haymaker.

"It meant wiping out Beria's secret police power and neutralizing the internal espionage network which kept check on them..."

And that is exactly what happened in the intervening two years, attesting once more to the reliability of Riesel's sources -- and the accuracy of his reporting.

NOT RECORDED
126 MAR 5 1956

The Hall Syndicate, Inc.

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SOVIET CONGRESS REVISING HIS

Party Meeting in Moscow Hailed as Greatest Event Since Lenin's Death

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MOSCOW, Feb. 18—The twentieth Communist party congress, termed by Soviet leaders the most important event since Lenin's death, has already produced more fundamental changes in the official version of party history than were made during the entire Stalin era.

The lengthy speech by Deputy Premier Anastas I. Mikoyan published here this morning went further in this direction than any other party pronouncement.

Some observers believe Mr. Mikoyan's references to distortion of the civil war history and unjust accusations against the early Bolshevik leaders foreshadow a broad effort to rehabilitate the memory of many of those branded as traitors under Stalin.

The present regime has already accorded many honors and other distinctions to old Bolsheviks who were cast in the shadow under Stalin.

New Textbooks Asked

Mr. Mikoyan called for new textbooks of early Bolshevik history that would no longer attempt to explain some "complex and contradictory events * * * by the allegedly subversive activity of some former party leaders who many years after the events described were wrongly declared enemies of the people."

In this connection Mr. Mikoyan referred particularly to Vladimir Antonov-Ovseyenko, who supervised military affairs in Lenin's first Government, and Stanislav Kosier, veteran Politburo member and former leader of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks.

Antonov-Ovseyenko was a Menshevik [a somewhat moderate Bolshevik minority] supporter who sided with Trotsky in opposition to Stalin. The pre-war Soviet Encyclopedia described him as a member of "the Zinoviefs-Trotsky counter-revolutionary bloc." Later he was said to have affected reconciliation with Stalin.

Antonov-Ovseyenko became a Soviet diplomat and served in Czechoslovakia, Lithuania and as Ambassador to Poland. He fought with the Loyalist forces against Generalissimo Franco during the Spanish civil war in 1930's.

Antonov-Ovseyenko has also been credited with leading the attack against the Winter Palace in Petrograd [Leningrad] in 1917.

Mr. Mikoyan said some party historians "went so far as to say "that Antonov-Ovseynko and Kosier were responsible for the activity of the anti-bolshevik bands led by Markhno, Grigoryev and others who harassed Red forces in Ukraine during the civil war.

False Charges Cited

The two purged Ukrainian leaders were falsely charged, Mikoyan said, with making the establishment of independent "communes" in the Ukraine during the civil war.

Mr. Mikoyan said, however, that such communes were "a general party phenomenon" and were not confined to the Ukraine.

"This kind of history writing, Mr. Mikoyan told the congress, "has nothing in common with Marxist history. It rather smacks of the idealistic Socialist revolutionary interpretation of historical events.

"I believe there are Ukrainian historians who will write the history of the birth and development of the Ukrainian Socialist state better than some Moscow historians who took on a job that perhaps they never should have."

Mr. Mikoyan called for preparation of special textbooks on theory to replace the famous "Shot Course of the History of the Party" prepared under Stalin. He charged that the "short court" failed to cast any light on the last twenty years in the life of the Communist party and asked "can indeed the lack in our country of an elaborated history of the party for the last two decades be justified?"

He charged that scientific research into party history was "the most backward" field of Soviet ideological endeavor.

Mr. Mikoyan's denunciation of the official textbooks of early party history in the Transcaucasus and Baku regions was particularly sharp. It is known that these tracts, many which were prepared under the supervision of Lavrenti P. Beria, executed fromer Stalin lieutenant, gave a very prominent place to Stalin in the Bolshevik organizations of the early period.

Mr. Mikoyan said such official histories distorted events and failed to appraise the important role of "our Leninist Central Committee."

Mikoyan's 1952 Views Cited

MOSCOW, Feb. 18 (AP)—Deputy Premier Mikoyan's speech differed considerably from the views he expressed about Stalin's writings at the nineteenth party congress in 1952.

On that occasion he declared the work "lights up with Stalin's genius both the great historical path we have traversed as well as the road toward a more and more tangible Communist future."

At that time he also referred to Stalin's works as "a treasury of ideas' and said that in the books "Comrade Stalin illuminates our life with the brilliant life of science."

Mr. Mikoyan shouted "glory to the great Stalin' at the end of his 1952 speech.

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PROPAGANDA GAIN IN SOVIET URGED

Leading Papers Ask Better Party Work and Attention to Student Problems

By WILLIAM J. JORDEN

Special to The New York Times.

MOSCOW, Dec. 12—Leading Soviet newspapers called today for better party propaganda and more attention to the problem of students inside the Communist homeland.

Pravda, official Communist party newspaper, noted that on pages of the Communist press "all kinds of articles" were appearing by authors who had "fallen under influences alien to communism." It called on all propaganda elements—art, science, literature, the press and party—to battle against "unhealthy moods" and "echoes of reactionary foreign propaganda."

Izvestia, official Government newspaper, said that propaganda work among college and university students "calls for well deserved criticism." It said many students lacked any knowledge of life and had never had to work.

It implied that these youths were in danger of "errors" because Communist doctrine had not been properly or convincingly ex[illegible]d to them. The newspaper [illegible]d this was a matter of "vital concern."

These expressions of dissatisfaction from official voices of the Communist party and the Government came at a time when there was growing evidence that the Kremlin leaders believed sterner party discipline was a necessity. During the last month there have been numerous signs that a decision has been made by the leadership to tighten up all along the propaganda line.

Vyacheslav M. Molotov, veteran Bolshevik, has assumed overall control of agitation and propaganda, including culture. Recently signs of grave dissatisfaction on the part of the Communist party leadership have appeared toward writers who depart from party doctrine and artists who forget their works should be based on "Socialist realism." Students have come in for strong attack in the press for their attitude toward work and party discipline.

Today's defense of the Marxist-Leninist theory in Pravda and the discussion of the students problem in Izvestia indicated the depth of the party's concern with these problems.

Pravda hailed its doctrine based on the teachings of Marx and Lenin. It said that doctrine provided a solution for all fundamental problems.

Pravda said one of the major tasks was "to expose the cunning of reactionary ideology." It said this struggle now assumed significance because "on the pages of various organs of the Democratic and Communist press a kinds of articles now appea whose authors, falling under in fluences alien to communism an unable at times properly to explain the new phenomena of life deviate from Marxism-Leninism and thereby help reaction."

This was considered an especially strong attack on some elements of press in countries such as Poland and Hungary, where criticism of one-party rule and of the Soviet role in the satellite states has appeared.

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As Pegler Sees It:

About Russians And Revolution

By WESTBROOK PEGLER

THE National Broadcasting Company recently produced a good historical television fill-in on the Russian revolutions of March and November, 1917, and the continuation of the Communist imperial war for world conquest down to the present. Of course no single TV production, probably no effort in any medium, can tell the whole story with all its conflicting phases. Yet NBC has made a good start and has done something to remind the American people that we never have known much about this terrible subject and have forgotten much that we did know.

So all of us who respect truth and try to keep history reasonably honest should offer thanks and congratulations on a daring venture.

Naive Americans Rejoiced

The subject is dangerous and attacks upon it call for daring because many people would like to suppress the facts of their own complicity. There were many naive Americans who, in 1917, thoughtlessly rejoiced at the news of the overthrow of the Russian Imperial house. The Czars had a bad reputation among us, probably worse than they deserved because they were constantly hammered by propaganda here and had no machine of their own to create a counterforce. However, we have always been sanctimonious about the brutality of czars and dictators in other countries and our loud loathing of the Czar was an expression of a native instinct. At the time of the Kerensky revolution in March few Americans had the sense to realize that this probably meant the elimination of the great Russian armies and the release of many German divisions to attack us in the West. That did happen after some futile efforts by Kerensky and the generals.

Although most of us were pleased to hear the startling news of the first revolution simply because we had no sense of the obvious immediate consequences, others did know what it meant in the long run, and rejoiced nevertheless. It almost meant victory for the Germans, Austrians and Turks, and that probably would have been a comparative blessing to Western civilization because Communism and the degradation of the human being which it caused would have been frustrated. The monarchs would have kept their thrones and even Russia would have retained her royal system.

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In People's Affection

Although the Russian people were hungry and despondent they did not make the revolutions which have been attributed to some spontaneous stirring of a mighty resentment and longing within them. They are now depicted as strange, sentimental oafs with an inexpressible devotion to their homeland, called mother Russia. But in those days that affection, which probably is not wholly imaginary, was directed at the Czar and his family. The Oriental hordes included in the population of the empire were not regarded as Russians either in the empire or elsewhere. The real Russians are a particular breed and in those revolutions they were the cats-paws of manipulators within and outside their homeland. At one stage they almost overthrew Lenin and Trotsky.

The Germans were excellent conspirators as we learned by some of their activities among us and they played a great part in the March revolution because the advantage to them was plain to the simplest German soldier.

My own curiosity has sent me to great libraries where I find much information which flashed by the vision of my generation and was quickly forgotten. Our people were more angry over Prohibition in its early, experimental days than we were over fateful developments in Russia, Germany and the Balkans which in recent years have imposed military conscription on us as a permanent phase of our economy, citizenship and state.

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Tues. Jan. 3, 1956 New York Journal-American

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As Pegler Sees It:

The Russians And Revolution

By WESTBROOK PEGLER

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FROM THE NEW YO[illegible] - February 1, 1956 - F[illegible]GN AFFAIRS
by C. L. Sulzbe[illegible]

CHURCH AND ST[illegible] SOVIET UNION

Writing from Paris, Mr. Sulzberger, observes that the present state of religions in the Soviet are in line with policies enunciated by Karl Marx ("Religion is the groan of the downtrodden people."), Lenin (Religion is "the opiate of the people"), and Stalin ("The Party stands for science, whereas religious biases are opposed to science.") The reality is that communism cannot tolerate competition for men's minds by a spiritual force. The pressure of persecution was eased somewhat during World War II but even then a Communist-atheist, Karpov, became supervisor of the Orthodox hierarchy in order to "prevent distortion in the relations of church and state." Since the revolution there has been a 90% drop in priests. No Hebrew Bible has been published since 1917. The position of the Jews differs from that of other believers because of political implications. Bolshevism is anti-Zionist as well as anti-religious. The teaching of Hebrew is allowed for prayer and secular purposes only. Anti-Semitism, fanned by the German occupation, has become a force in the maze of Russian nationalism. Fewer than 3,000,000 Jews remain in the U.S.S.R. today. Even in Birobidzhan, an autonomous region set aside for Jewish colonization, the Jews remain a minority group. As it promotes its cause among the Arabs, Russia increases its hostility against Israel; the new state is defined in the current Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary as "a bourgeois republic governed by a dictatorship of capitalists appointed by Washington and London - an Anglo-American strategic base in the Middle East."

However, aware of foreign interest in religion, Soviet officialdom encourages visitors to witness services in the remaining churches, which are shrewdly employed to scatter their spiritual poppy seeds abroad for highly material purposes.

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SOVIET TOUR A E TAKES HIGH RANK

Security Chief, Kept in Rear in India, Accorded Proper Title in Afghanistan

By A. M. ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times.

KABUL, Afghanistan, Dec. 18 —Gen. Ivan A. Serov came into his own today.

The thin little man, who never makes any speeches, has been acknowledged as the third most important man in the Soviet political troupe, right behind Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin and Nikita S. Khrushchev, Communist party chief.

When the Soviet delegation came to India on the first stage of their tour General Serov's name was listed ninth in the delegation line-up. He was called "chief administrative officer" and at banquets sat below the salt.

But in Afghanistan the pretense has been dropped. The Soviet Embassy news bulletin now simply calls him Army Gen. I. A. Serov and jumps him in listing ahead of Andrei A. Gromyko, a First Deputy Foreign Minister, and Pavel N. Kumykin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade.

On the road and at home General Serov is in charge of security. On tour he is the man who snaps orders to Soviet bodyguards, whispers into Mr. Khrushchev's ear, prowls restlessly around while the two top men are genially inspecting laboratories and farms. At home he is the Soviet Union's No. 1 policeman.

Camouflage Is a Puzzle

It is a puzzle why the Russians tried to camouflage General Serov as "administrative officer" and ranked him so low in India. Indians who boned up on Soviet personalities regard him as a successory to Lavrenty P. Beria, executed Interior Minister, in police powers though not in political strength. He is reported to be a member of the Central Committee of the Communist party and is head of the Committee of State Security.

In any case the Soviet Embassy listing showed he is a lot more important than mere civil servants, even high-ranking ones like Mr. Gromyko.

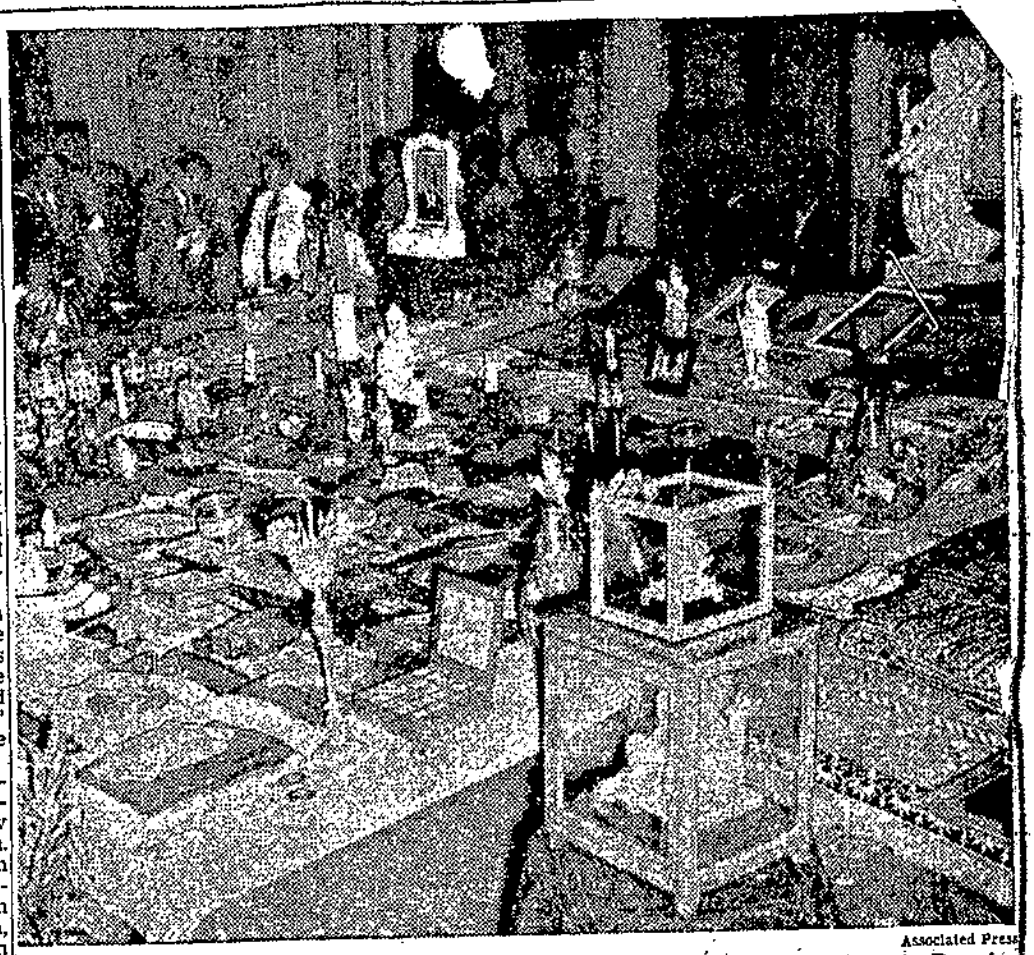
General Serov's security job in India was a tough one. The Russians were making a play for mass appeal, and the Russians had to show themselves to the crowd. Often they were almost mobbed by the Indians, and the security officers were plainly unhappy about it all.

Things are considerably easier for General Serov in Afghanistan. He ordered a Soviet bullet-proof limousine sent to Kabul and when the Soviet leaders travel they are usually escorted by jeeps full of Afghan troops armed with submachine guns.

General Serov has been carrying on a feud with Western correspondents almost since the tour started. In Bombay, early in the Soviet leaders' swing of India, a United States correspondent suggested to a member of the Soviet delegation that he would like to have a few words with Mr. Khruschchev. The Russian turned to General Serov, who said he did not "expect any thing good from the Americans."

In Burma it was General Serov who told a correspondent for a British newspaper who had taken a picture of a Burmese soldier with a mine detector at the airport where the Soviet chiefs were expected that in the Soviet Union he would be beaten up by the crowd. In Afghanistan he ordered correspondents pushed away from the bullet-proof limousine they were inspecting.

On the Afghan stage of the tour, Soviet leaders got a silent reception from small crowds when they arrived. The tame welcome made the security problem easier for General Serov but made the propaganda job more difficult for writers of the Soviet Embassy bulletins. Rising to the occasion, they solemnly assured the readers that the Russians' trip to the city from the airport was marked by "applause, enthusiastic shouts and ardent greetings and cheers."



Associated Press

GIFTS FOR SOVIET LEADERS: Tables at Jaipur, India, hold presents given to Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin and Nikita S. Khrushchev, Communist party chief, during recent visit. Gifts included statues of Hindu gods and goddesses and portraits of Soviet leaders.

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A-10 THE EVENING STAR, Washington, D. C.
MONDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1955

Radio Lists Malenkov As First Deputy Premier

LONDON, Dec. 5 (AP).—Deposed Soviet Premier Georgi Malenkov was described in a Moscow radio broadcast today as "first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers." That would make him a first deputy premier, the council being the Soviet equivalent of a government cabinet.

It was not clear whether Malenkov is again moving up the ladder of power in the Soviet Union. Since he was forced out of the Soviet premiership last February, he had been described merely as a deputy chairman—without the first.

Announcements of the Soviet lineup after Malenkov's ouster listed five first deputy chairmen of the Countil of Ministers. These were Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov, L. M. Kaganovich, A. I. Mikoyan, M. G. Pervukhin and M. Z. Saburov. Malenkov then was listed along with seven other deputy chairmen. He also was named minister of the electric power station industry.

The broadcast describing him as a first deputy chairman said he had been attending a Communist Party conference in the Ural Mountain area. It added that he was accompanied by Z. A. Shashkov, minister of inland water transport, and F. G. Loginov, minister of electric power station construction.

GEORGI MALENKOV
Gets New Rating

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Wash. Post and Times Herald
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Wash. Star A-10
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Mirror
Daily Worker
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Rumblings

COMMUNIST PARTY boss Nikita Khrushchev is ready to make bid for top power in Russia, according to reports of a shake-up brewing in the Soviet.

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Political Rumblings Precede Conclave of Soviet Communist Party

By Paul Wohl
Written for The Christian Science Monitor

Behind the bright façade of production records which workers have "voluntarily" vowed to achieve in honor of the forthcoming 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, important political changes are taking place, discreetly, piecemeal, but in accordance with a clearly discernible pattern. Their common objective is the strengthening of the Khrushchev-Bulganin duumvirate and the packing of the party congress.

According to frequently well-advised British observers these changes cast shadows over former Premier Georgi M. Malenkov. Other observers feel that the political and economic problems of the days are not urgent enough to call for the dramatic incrimination of a member of the party presidium.

It is perhaps significant that Mr. Malenkov has attended no public functions since Nov. 7 and that he was not present at the airport in the early morning hours of Nov. 18, when First Deputy Premiers Anastas I. Mikoyan and Maxim Z. Saburov with a half dozen deputy premiers and a flock of ministers saw off India-bound Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin and Party Chief Nikita S. Khrushchev. But First Deputy Premier Lazar M. Kaganovich and other high dignitaries also were absent and there may be natural explanations.

Yet the congress is expected to lower Mr. Malenkov's political stature and to reduce the influence of a whole section of Soviet society with which he is identified.

Dangers Pointed Out

Officially the main purpose of the forthcoming congress is to approve general directives for the sixth five-year plan (1956 to 1960) and to elect a new central committee and its presidium as well as members and officers of other permanent party organs. Actually it is bound to confirm the supremacy of the party over the state and to set up political and administrative safeguards against three potential dangers which hover over the regime:

1. A worsening of the agricultural situation which might get out of hand and discredit Mr. Khrushchev as the originator of the present course.

2. Emergence among the younger elements of the high command and the "technocrats" of a new sense of leadership, more specifically among the "practical people," managers, engineers, and officers of the technically specialized branches of the armed forces.

3. Loosening of Moscow's control of its Communist associates and dependencies beyond the borders.

None of these dangers is im-

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Newspaper: CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
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cp of 21 DEC 1955

Supreme Soviet To Meet Dec. 23

By the Associated Press

Moscow

The Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of the U.S.S.R. has been summoned to meet in special session Dec. 23.

A decree signed by President Voroshilov and N. M. Pegov, Secretary of the Supreme Soviet's Presidium—or interim organization—gave no reason for the unusual holiday session.

Western diplomats believe, however, it is intended to provide a forum for Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin and Communist Party First Secretary Nikita S. Khrushchev to report in a full blaze of publicity on their current jaunt to India, Burma, and Afghanistan. It also could provide an opportunity for Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov to report on the recent foreign ministers' conference at Geneva.

The most recent Soviet session met Aug. 4 to hear a report from Marshal Bulganin on the Geneva summit conference. It was at such a session last February that Georgi M. Malenkov quit as Premier to be succeeded by Marshal Bulganin.

The new session will convene just two months before the 20th congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

minent, but their existence is admitted implicitly in current "theoretical" articles in Kommunist and Partinaya Zhizn, and is indirectly referred to in fictional writing and literary criticism and recognized by most students of Soviet affairs.

Supremacy of the party over the state now is openly displayed. During Stalin's last years and as long as Mr. Malenkov was Premier decisions and decrees virtually always were announced on behalf of the council of ministers and the central committee of the party. Under the Bulganin-Khrushchev duumvirate it is the other way around. The German magazine Osteuropa recently remarked that the Soviet Government has become an executive agency of the party's central committee. The congress may institutionalize this condition.

Another major item is the revision of the party program. This long-postponed issue apparently will be tackled with a view to establishing a basic ideology for Communist governments and to underpinning worldwide Communist propaganda.

Directives Ignored

So much is at stake that those in control of the party machine are bound to make a sustained effort to assure the election of delegates of their choosing. According to the rules, every 5,000 party members are to elect one delegate with deliberative vote and another one who will attend in an advisory capacity, which should make for altogether approximately 1,400 congress delegates. Provincial and republican electoral conferences are to convene from Dec. 1 to Jan. 15.

In contrast to the elections to the Supreme Soviet or parliament which are essentially civic ceremonies, party conferences vote, and since Stalin's passing it has happened repeatedly that they ignored the secretariat's directive. Only recently a candidate of the party bureau was defeated in an inner party election.

The principal changes and developments leading up to the party congress are:

1. Recent dismissal of four veteran central committee members as first secretaries of provincial or republican party organizations in Gorky, Volgda, the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Republic and the Cherkess Autonomous Territory of the Russian Republic, as well as of the first secretary of the politically important town soviet of Sverdlovsk in the Urals. All five were appointed under Stalin or Mr. Malenkov. Their ouster is capped by the reported replacement by Mr. Khrushchev in the second part of 1954 of at least two-thirds of the provincial party secretaries of Soviet Russia proper.

2. The firing early in November of the editor in chief of the party magazine Kommunist, S. M. Abalin by A. N. Rumyantsev, one-time First Secretary of the Province of Kharkov in the Ukraine; later chief of the science and culture section in the apparatus of the central committee.

Wrong Policy Step

At the 19th party congress Mr. Rumyantsev was appointed a member of the strategic committee for the revision of the party program. It was he who in Kommunist last January opened the attack on those who unduly had favored consumer-goods industries, an attack which preceded Mr. Malenkov's fall. Mr. Abalin, on the other hand, was clearly an appointee of Mr. Malenkov.

3. An attack in Izvestia of Oct. 28 an "maniacal [Russian] great power chauvinism" signed by one G. Kim, apparently a Soviet Korean from Central Asia where the present party secretariat is in full control. Although Mr. Khrushchev himself always favored the Great-Russian line, it was Stalin and Mr. Malenkov who were identified with the glorification of the Great-Russian "older brother."

Some observers see a connection between Mr. Kim's article and the recent execution of former Georgian Minister of State Security Rukhadze who is known to have opposed the pronounced multinational policy of Beria and was publicly attacked in connection with the indictment of the "doctors conspiracy" of January, 1953.

The full significance of all this may not become known for some time. Only one thing is certain: The rumblings which precede the U.S.S.R.'s impending party elections do not convey an impression of smooth unanimity.

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(RELEASE AT 7:00 P.M. EST)

NEW YORK--RUSSIAN SCHOOL CHILDREN ARE BEING TAUGHT HISTORY FROM A NEW TEXTBOOK THAT SAYS THE SOVIET UNION DEFEATED JAPAN SINGLE-HANDED IN WORLD WAR II, THE PUBLISHER OF THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITTANICA SAID TODAY.

PUBLISHER WILLIAM BENTON, FORMER U.S. SENATOR FROM CONNECTICUT, SAID THE BOOK, OF WHICH 1,000,000 COPIES WERE PRINTED JUST BEFORE THE GENEVA BIG-FOUR CONFERENCE LAST JUNE, CONTAINS A NUMBER OF OTHER DISTORTIONS.

HE SAID THE DISTORTIONS WERE SIMILAR TO THOSE THAT OCCURRED RECENTLY IN A SPEECH BY NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, BOSS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, IN BOMBAY, INDIA. AT THAT TIME, KHRUSHCHEV SAID THE U.S. AND BRITAIN STARTED WORLD WAR II.

BENTON SAID DISTORTIONS IN "HISTORY OF USSR--A SHORT COURSE TEXTBOOK FOR THE FOURTH GRADE" GIVEN HIM BY THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION OF THE FEDERATED RUSSIAN REPUBLIC CONTAINED A NUMBER OF MISSTATEMENTS.

THE PUBLISHER RETURNED RECENTLY FROM A TRIP TO RUSSIA.

AMONG THE ERRORS HE CITED WAS THE CLAIM THAT THE U.S. AND ENGLAND OPENED THE SECOND FRONT IN EUROPE IN WORLD WAR II "ONLY WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR, AS A RESULT OF GREAT VICTORIES OF THE SOVIET ARMY, THAT THE SOVIET UNION ALONE WAS ABLE TO DEFEAT THE ENEMY, OCCUPY THE GERMAN TERRITORY AND LIBERATE ALL WESTERN EUROPE, INCLUDING FRANCE."

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Extensive Purge Believed On in Russia Now

LONDON, Nov. 26—A widespread purge of Soviet Communist Party officials is believed to be taking place now, according to students here of Moscow politics, with most of the victims assertedly being provincial officials who owe their prominence to former Prime Minister Georgi M. Malenkov. Malenkov was demoted to minister of electric power stations in February.

Taking as one clew the lecture yesterday by the Moscow radio on Communist Party discipline, British writers on Soviet affairs now agree that many local Soviet bosses of considerable influence are absent from their posts.

They also are in agreement on the forecast that more "Malenkovites" will be missing from the offices in which Malenkov installed them.

The tell-tale Moscow radio broadcast, according to the British writers, was the statement that "the Soviet Communist Party is decisively purging its ranks of all hostile elements who have wormed their way in and is consolidating the party's iron discipline."

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0-19 (11-15-55)

BERIA CASE IS STILL A MYSTERY

Executions Indicate Struggle for Power Goes on in Russia

By HARRY SCHWARTZ

The Soviet Union announced last week that six former officials had been executed and two sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of having conspired with the late Lavrenti P. Beria to seize control of the country. This brought to nineteen the number of men executed on such charges since late 1953. The following is an attempt to reconstruct the story of Mr. Beria against the background of the Kremlin power struggle.

CHAPTER ONE

"Lavrenti P. Beria is one of the outstanding directors of the Communist party and of the Soviet Government, a faithful pupil and one of the closest comrades in arms of J. V. Stalin." LARGE SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA, 1950.

Published two and a half years before Stalin's death, this quotation mirrors Beria's eminence during the last decade and a half of the former Soviet dictator's life. He was a member of the Politburo, the country's policy-making body. He headed up the secret police over much of this period, commanding hundreds of thousands of agents and soldiers at home and a vast spy ring abroad. For much of the post-war period, he was in direct charge of the feverish Soviet atomic bomb effort, scoring a major success in 1949, when the first Soviet nuclear weapon was successfully exploded.

He had come a long way from his humble beginnings in an obscure Georgian village, not far from where Stalin was born. His path up the ladder to power had been through the secret police, promotion after promotion following his success in ferreting out the most diverse opponents of the Soviet regime. He approached the top in the late Nineteen Thirties, when Stalin called him to Moscow and gave him the job of purging the purgers, of ending the reign of terror that accompanied the great purge trials of 1936-1938.

New Leaders

In mid-1949 Malenkov and Beria were the leaders among Stalin's potential heirs. Malenkov's strength lay in the party organization, Beria's in the secret police. Their power may well have disturbed Stalin, who believed in discord among his subordinates as a guarantee of his own primacy. Perhaps to promote such discord, a new contender was brought to Moscow, Nikita S. Khrushchev.

Khrushchev made important strides in 1950 by successfully amalgamating the collective farms into larger units. Disturbed by the rise of a new foe, Beria struck back the next year and obtained the repudiation of most of Khrushchev's most radical ideas for changing Soviet agriculture. Then, in late 1951 or early 1952, a Beria protégé, V. S. Abakumov, was removed as secret police chief and replaced by S. D. Ignatiev, whose background linked him with both Malenkov and Khrushchev.

At the Communist Party Congress in 1952 it was clear that Beria was slipping. His name appeared lower than usual on the lists of party dignitaries, while Malenkov and Khrushchev delivered major speeches. Then, in January, 1953, Khrushchev moved to eliminate Beria entirely. It was announced that a group of Soviet doctors had murdered two high party leaders. Beria had been in charge of the secret police in the years when the two murders were supposed to have been committed. At the very least it was his

HE LOST

Associated Press

Lavrenti Beria.

HE WON

Associated Press

Nikita Khrushchev.

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negligence that could be blamed. At the most, he could be accused of being personally behind the murders. The stage seemed set for a new purge.

CHAPTER TWO

*"Dear Comrades and friends * * * At 19:50 P. M. Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin * * * died after a grave illness."* PRAVDA, MARCH 6, 1953.

Stalin's death meant that whatever their personal rivalries, Stalin's associates had to close ranks for the moment and show a common front.

The immediate solution was one that gave Malenkov and Beria the upper hand. The former became Premier, on Beria's nomination, while the latter not only took the second highest Government post, but regained control over all Soviet security forces as Minister of Internal Affairs. But within ten days Khrushchev, shunted aside at the first moment, came back by forcing Malenkov to leave the party secretariat, a move that made Khrushchev, in fact if not yet in title, first secretary of the party.

Bid for Power

Beria early made it apparent that he was making a bid for power. In his speech at Stalin's funeral he, the secret police chief, posed as the defender of the population's civil liberties. A month after Stalin's death, Beria exposed the "doctors' plot" as a fraud and ousted Ignatiev from the party secretariat. (Ironically the repudiation of the doctors' plot was never repudiated, and the police official accused by Beria of having fabricated it was executed in 1954. Ignatiev, however, was restored to an important Communist party position after Beria's execution.)

Beria's greatest coup came in early June, when he purged another of Khrushchev's henchmen, Leonid G. Melnikov, from his post as chief of the Ukrainian Communist party. Events were obviously moving toward a climax.

CHAPTER THREE

*"After hearing and discussing a report of the Presidium of the Central Committee by Comrade G. M. Malenkov on the criminal anti-party and anti-state activities of L. P. Beria * * * the Central Committee * * * adopted a*

IS HE NEXT?

Associated Press

Georgi Malenkov.

*decision to remove L. P. Beria from membership in the Central Committee * * * and to expel him from the ranks of the Commmunist party of the Soviet Union as an enemy of the Communist party and the Soviet people."* PRAVDA, JULY 10, 1953.

Apparently within a step of winning power, Beria had stumbled and himself fallen victim to the power struggle. All other contenders, the evidence suggests, had felt themselves forced to combine forces to stop his bid. It was Malenkov, whom Beria had nominated as Premier, who publicly led the attack, but two other men were the immediate gainers. Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov got Beria's place on the Central Committee, while two months later Khrushchev officially got the title of First Secretary of the Communist party.

A purge aimed at Beria's supporters began immediately. High chiefs of the secret police were removed and imprisoned. The entire Communist party leadership in the Caucasian republics, Beria's old political stronghold, was removed. In the Georgian Republic alone several thousand party members were expelled. Soviet history was again rewritten so as to make it appear that Beria was a traitor from the very beginning of his participation in the Communist movement.

Beria himself and a group of his leading allies were tried secretly and shot in December, 1953, by a tribunal headed by Marshal Ivan S. Konev. The world thought the matter closed. But exactly a year later another group of men labeled as his confederates, and including a former Minister of State Security, was also tried and executed. The fate of the third group to be so treated was announced last week.

Why did Khrushchev wait one and two years, respectively, after executing Beria before killing the other two groups of his confederates? The timing involved seems to provide a clue. The 1954 executions took place only a few weeks before Malenkov would be forced to resign as Premier. The latest killings have been announced only three months before next February's Communist Party Congress.

It seems significant that the latest group of victims was executed on charges connected with crimes allegedly committed as far back as twenty years ago. But if one goes that far back, one can find many instances of Malenkov-Beria cooperation for mutual benefit. The possibility arises, therefore, that these men were kept alive until they had made confessions, which can be used to involve Malenkov in Beria's conspiracy, and thus destroy the former too. With the next party congress less than three months away, the truth of this hypothesis should be soon verifiable.

0-19 (11-15-55)

6 Executed By Soviet in New 'Beria' Purge

By ALLEN R. DODD, JR.

LONDON, Nov. 22 (INS). — The Soviet Republic of Georgia disclosed Tuesday the execution of six former security officials in the Soviet Union's first blood purge since soft-spoken Marshal Bulganin came to power as Premier last February.

The Tiflis radio announced the six were collaborators of the late Lavrenti P. Beria, and were executed following conviction for high treason and failure of an appeal to the Supreme Soviet (parliament). Treason executions in Russia are always carried out by shooting.

THE BROADCAST said the six officials were tried in September. The date of their execution was not given.

Two others were sentenced to long prison terms, the broadcast said.

Moscow dispatches disclosed foreign correspondents in the Soviet capital had heard rumors of the executions of seven Beria followers for weeks, but had been unable to file their dispatches.

* * *

THE EXECUTIONS were announced only a day after Soviet Communist Party chief Nikita Khrushchev told members of India's two houses of parliament in New Delhi that the Soviet people were "one happy family," living in "real freedom."

The British Foreign Office said through a spokesman that the government "has been disabused again of the idea that the period of executions in Russia has come to an end."

The purge victims, it was disclosed, had been imprisoned for two-and-half years in Georgia, home state of Beria and the late Premier Stalin.

* * *

BERIA, former powerful secret police chief and deputy premier, was executed by a firing squad in December, 1953, in the struggle for power that broke out after the death of Stalin. He was accused of plotting against the Communist Party and the regime of power Premier Georgi Malenkov, who succeeded Stalin and then quit with the admission he was inept.

The six victims, accused of having helped Beria hid his real intentions, were identified as:

N. M. Rukhadze, one-time chief

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Mr. Harbo
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Mr. Parsons
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Soviet Executes 6 For 'High Treason'

Continued from Page 2

prosecutor in Georgia's internal affairs ministry which controls the secret police, and a former security minister. His arrest was first disclosed about a month after Stalin's death in March, 1953.

Rokava, former commissar for internal affairs.

Stavitsky, former prosecutor for the internal affairs ministry.

Khazani, a former prosecutor.

Tsertell, former deputy commissar for internal security.

Krinan, former interrogator for the internal affairs ministry.

* * *

THOSE RECEIVING prison sentences were former officials of the internal affairs ministry Paremenov and Naderai.

In 1953, Rukhadze, the most prominent of the group, was described by then Georgian Premier V. M. Bakhradze as "an enemy of the people" who had trumped up false charges against "three prominent comrades and eminent officials" who were under arrest.

The charges against Rukhadze were made after Beria's arrest in the power struggle that brought Malenkov to the Soviet premiership.

The last known purge in the Soviet Union was carried out about two months before Bulganin became Premier.

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5 More Beria Men Shot in 3d Set of Soviet Executions

2 More Get Life After Tiflis Trial

Were Beria Aids In Soviet Georgia

By The Associated Press

MOSCOW, Nov. 22.—Five former associates of the late Lavrenti P. Beria, Soviet police head in the Stalin era, have been executed in Soviet Georgia and two others have been sentenced to life imprisonment, the Tiflis (Tbilisi) radio announced today.

The broadcast did not make clear what the charges were against the seven men, identified only by their last names. But the radio report from the Georgian Republic, home region of both Beria and Josef V. Stalin, indicated the men were accused of conspiring with Beria, who was executed in December, 1953, on charges of plotting to seize power in Moscow.

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RUSSIA

Executions Spaced

This was the third announcement of executions of Beria co-conspirators. The announcements have been spaced almost a year apart. The first was in December, 1953—and disclosed the death of a group of seven headed by Beria himself; the second was in December, 1954, of the execution of four more Beria men.

Beria was a product of the security organization of Georgia and throughout his career as the over-all Soviet police chief he kept a tight rein on the organization in his home republic.

The Tiflis radio listed those executed as Rukhadze, Rokava, Tserteli, Stavitsky and Khazani. Those sentenced to imprisonment were listed as Riarmi and Paramanov.

A Former Minister

N. M. Rukhadze is a former Minister of Internal Security in Georgia and former chief of the prosecution department of the Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs (M. V. D.). He appears to be the same man mentioned in a Moscow broadcast just after Beria's downfall in July, 1953. If this is so, he has been under arrest ever since that time on charges of persecuting innocent workers and plotting to arouse popular dissatisfaction.

Tserteli apparently was Shalva Otarovich Tserteli, former Deputy Minister of Internal Security and a lieutenant-general in Beria's M. V. D. army of secret police.

Rokava is a former Georgian Internal Affairs Minister; Stavitsky and Khazani are former prosecutors.

The broadcasts said the men were convicted by a military tribunal in September on charges of high treason, terrorist activ-

Continued on page 2, column 3

Beria Men

(Continued from page one)

ity and taking part in counter-revolutionary work. Beria and his other associates also were condemned by a military tribunal.

If the usual procedure was followed, the five defendants were executed by shooting after a no-appeal judgment by the military tribunal.

Georgia long has been a trouble spot for the Moscow regime.

Many of the region's 3,600,000 inhabitants are descendants of mountain tribesmen who fought the Communist bitterly during the civil war which followed the Bolshevik revolution. The republic since has been the scene of many political purges of persons suspected of being disloyal or dangerous to the central Communist regime.

Reported from Tiflis

MOSCOW, Nov. 22 (U.P.)—Western observers today interpreted the new executions of Georgian Republic security officials as part of a continuing cleanup of Beria's followers, rather than and outcropping of new problems.

The executions were not announced in Moscow. Correspondents here were informed by cables from their home offices of the Tiflis radio announcement.

Western travelers who had visited Tiflis, capital of Georgia, in recent days have reported nothing unusual in that part of the southern republic bordering on Turkey.

Gen. I. A. Serov, head of the security commission which took over Beria's functions after his ouster and execution, is out of the country. He accompanied Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai A. Bulganin and Communist party leader Nikita S. Khruschchev on their current visit to India.

In the absence of any official report, the sole possible explanation for the present batch of executions appears to lie in a final effort to uproot Beria's influence in Georgia. There seemed to be no parallel trials in other parts of the Soviet union.

0-19 (11-15-55)

6 Followers of Beria Executed

London, Nov. 22 (U.P.). — The Soviets announced today they have executed six folowers of purged Secret Police Chief Beria in Stalin's native province of Georgia. The broadcast said the six men, including top secret police officials, were shot folowing a treason trial in September. Two other police officials were sentenced to long prison terms. The purged officials were charged with "high treason, terrorist acts and participation in counter-revolutionary organizations."

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. Boardman ✓
Mr. Nichols ✓
Mr. Belmont ✓
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THE ~~X~~ REVOLT GAME

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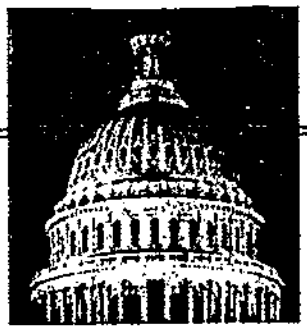

THE SOVIET GAME

(Here are two dispatches from Soviet Russia by two American correspondents published on the same day last week. Though written independently of each other for two different newspapers in New York City, they give a comprehensive report of Moscow's reasoning in dealing with the United States and the Western powers.

The Soviet game is based primarily upon the belief that Americans are gullible and that a conciliatory policy, without making any real concessions, will prove frustrating to the West and eventually mean a victory for the Communists.

Harry Schwartz, who now is in Soviet Russia for The New York Times, *speaks and writes the Russian language and for several years has been the expert for his newspaper on Soviet affairs. His analyses of trends inside the Soviet Union have often been confirmed by events. His dispatch is given below.*

Marguerite Higgins, who writes from Moscow for the New York Herald Tribune, *is an experienced reporter on international affairs and won prominence by her brilliant coverage of the Korean war. Her dispatch also appears below*—David Lawrence, Editor.)

Dispatch by Marguerite Higgins from Moscow to New York Herald Tribune:

The West can achieve the reunification of Germany at the forthcoming Geneva conference if, as the Soviet Government has made plain, the West is prepared:

(1) To dismantle the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and construct instead, a collective security system, including Russia and Eastern (Soviet-dominated) Europe.

(2) Guarantee in advance that a united Germany would not align itself politically and militarily with the West.

(3) Agree that the present social system in Western Germany, which Russia says is dominated by bankers, foreign monopolists and rich farmers, be changed so as to give "peace-loving forces" the dominating voice in the government. This can be done, according to the Soviet position, if the West Germans simply adhere to the Potsdam agreement for land reform, destruction of monopolies, and other economic and social measures similar to those existing in Eastern Germany.

(4) Agree that the existence of Eastern Germany is an inescapable historical fact and—as the Soviet press puts it—that Socialism in East Germany is there to stay. The West must also face the fact that Russia, to quote Communist party boss, Nikita S. Khrushchev, "would never agree to any program that would bring about destruction of the great social and economic gains already made in Communist East Germany."

All this of course, is so unacceptable to the West that it seems incredible the Russians should advance the program at all.

But the Russians, who are realists, know that the West will not accept these points at Geneva. At the moment, that fact simply does not bother them, for the status quo in Europe, where Soviet power extends to the Elbe River, suits them very well.

Khrushchev has repeatedly said that the Communist world feels that time is on its side. If the Communists wait long enough, the processes of history and the process of time will, according to the theory being repeated in Moscow every day, bring most if not all of what the West is justly unwilling to concede now.

The Soviets believe they can have their geographical cake and eat it too. They calculate that even if they refuse to budge from the middle of Europe, and even if Geneva fails, a continuation of the present outward cordiality and a mild relaxation of the "Iron Curtain" will predispose the free world to give the Soviet Union more of the things the Communist world does need badly.

These are deliveries from the West of machine tools and other essential materials to build heavy industry in this country and Red China. And almost all Western European countries have recently indicated a very practical interest in widening their commerce with the Soviet Union.

But just as the Russians do not expect any concessions from the West at Geneva, it is highly important that the West realize that the Russians are in no way interested in making concessions of their own.

The Soviet Union is going to the second Geneva conference for the same reasons it went to the first—because it could gain more than it could possibly lose.

As the world has now realized, earlier speculation that Russia had to go to Geneva because of internal crisis has proved to be wishful thinking on the part of Western statesmen. The Russians went because they found it useful for these reasons:

The thaw in the cold war reduces Western fear of the Soviet Union and alarm over possibility of another European war. This in turn lessens the concern in Western Europe about Russia's extension of power

(Continued on back of this page)

THE SOVIET GAME *(Continued from the back of this page)*

to the middle of Germany. Since the Western European nations are less alarmed, they are also less anxious to put real pressure on the Russians to go back to their old borders.

Dispatch by Harry Schwartz from Tiflis, USSR, to *The New York Times:*

Soviet motivation and reasoning behind the past half year's change of foreign policy is a subject for speculation by all Western diplomats in Russia. The following factors are most frequently offered in explanation:

(1) Experience during the past ten years convinced Moscow that a tough policy tended to stiffen the attitude of the West and helped to stimulate Western efforts to rearm. Moscow now hopes that a mild and conciliatory policy will reduce the fear of a Soviet attack and thus soften the cement binding Western nations. The present conflict among Greece, Turkey and Britain is offered as an example of the kind of Western disunity which would not have occurred if fear of Soviet aggression were as great now as it was during the Korean war.

(2) Moscow is now confident that time is on its side. It is, therefore, more willing to wait for further successes than it was formerly. In this respect Moscow is believed to attach great importance to the prospective industrialization of Communist China and to the greatly increased military and economic power which will thereby be added to the Communist bloc.

(3) Moscow is believed convinced that the long-awaited capitalist world postwar depression has been prevented only by what the Soviet press calls the militarization of the Western economy, that is, by the high level of arms production in the West. Moscow, it is held, believes that with lowered world tension Western arms production will be cut and that a depression will inevitably follow, with consequent political and economic weakening of the West. And the consequence of a Western depression would be increased opportunities for Communist subversion in any capitalist country having large numbers in the unemployed ranks.

(4) Finally and not least important there has been good reason to suppose that Moscow really wants a lowering of world tension and a reduction of armaments. Ten years after the war the Soviet living standard is still low and great efforts will be needed to raise it as well as to increase Soviet heavy industrial production.

At the same time that Moscow seeks a general lowering of world tension, however, the Soviet is determined to make no fundamental concessions on the most important world problems nor to miss its golden opportunities for causing trouble and dissension in the nations of the Western world.

That Soviet officials believe their policy this past half year has been highly successful can hardly be doubted by anyone who attends Moscow's diplomatic receptions these days or who reads the Soviet press. At diplomatic receptions the highest Soviet leaders make clear that they are fully satisfied with the way things are going for them in most areas of the world. On another level Soviet newspaper men ask American correspondents why United States reaction to Soviet foreign policy is so clumsy.

The Soviet press carries frequent material quoting Western correspondents on the alleged confusion and hardships which Soviet foreign policy has created for American foreign policy. Even Secretary Dulles was quoted this week as saying in his Miami speech that Soviet policy has created enormous difficulties for the conduct of American foreign policy.

Moreover, from time to time events occur which further bolster the Soviet's belief that its foreign policy is on the right course. Only this week there has been great rejoicing in this country over the election results in Indonesia, with the indicated defeat of pro-Western elements as against Communist-supported groups hostile to the West. The great difficulties of France in North Africa further bolster Moscow's confidence that the tide of history is now going its way.

The Soviet analysis of what is wrong with American foreign policy is summed up by the title of a recent Pravda article. The article is entitled "In Search of a Realistic Foreign Policy." The article suggests that American foreign policy today is unrealistic, inadequate and unsuitable to meet the needs of the current world situation.

Moscow's indictment of America's foreign policy contains these main counts:

(1) While Moscow offers peace and an end of the "cold war," Washington persists in keeping the "cold war" in existence, though people all over the world are tired of all wars, hot or cold, and want peace.

(2) American foreign policy does not really seek disarmament or prohibition of atomic weapons. It pays no attention to the fact that the people of the world are weary of paying for armaments and are terribly frightened by the possibility of atomic war and would support any means which seem likely to get rid of the atomic war nightmare.

(3) The colonial peoples of the world want freedom and will fight for that freedom. The United States must inevitably lose the support of world public opinion so long as it supports the colonial powers such as France in North Africa.

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Molotov's Small Apology For a Curious Error

The easiest interpretation of Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov's confession of error is that Mr. Molotov is on the way out. Since Mr. Molotov has always been regarded as a "hard" policy man, the next conclusion in the easy interpretation is that the new Kremlin leaders—that is, mostly Mr. Khrushchev, the chief of the Communist Party in Russia—are downgrading Mr. Molotov to better accommodate Russia's "soft" policy that is now being exhibited.

The explanation may be that easy and that simple, but it has serious weaknesses. First is that the new Russian policy, for all who take the trouble to look at it twice, is not really soft. It is unyielding on the unification of Germany. It has taken the offensive in the Middle East by allying Communists with Arab demands for arms in the Palestine area and for independence from France in the North African area. Second is that Mr. Molotov's supposed error seems small, even in a country which places fantastic emphasis on the details of dogma.

Mr. Molotov's "error" is that last February 8, when he was reporting to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, he said: "Together with the Soviet nation, *where the foundations of a Socialist society have already been built*, there are also those people's democratic countries which have taken only the first but very important steps in the direction of socialism."

The supposed error is the italicized portion. In confessing error, Mr. Molotov pointed out that "as early as 1932 it was pointed out in the decision of the 17th party conference that the basis of socialism *had been achieved* in the USSR." Thus Mr. Molotov's mistake on February 8, 1955, was not having noticed a situation that had existed in Russia (according to official party papers) since 1932. "The political harmfulness" of the February 8 statement, he now writes, is that "it throws doubt on the presence of a Socialist society which had already been built *in the main* in our country." (Italics ours.) By using the phrase, "in the main," Mr. Molotov considerably narrowed the extent of his apology.

The incident is so curious as to suggest the possibility of a stage play to influence world opinion. Mr. Molotov may not have hurt himself very much in Russia by confessing such a small error and then taking back some of the apology. But to a world already half-willing to believe the new Russian propaganda, an apology from Molotov could look like another proof that "hard policy" men are losing out in the Soviet Union.

If this explanation seems fanciful, a better one will have to be put together. Mr. Molotov's confession was long delayed and came just after the Adenauer visit to Moscow. This may indicate a disagreement over German policy. The necessity for apologizing may indicate the desire of the new regime to cut Mr. Molotov down to size. More pieces will be needed before this jig-saw puzzle can be fitted together.

U.S.S.R. Russia

The Virginian-Pilot
October 11, 1955

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The Molotov 'Confession'

The oldest Bolshevik in the Soviet Government is Vyacheslav Molotov, who also acts as foreign minister. Only he and Kaganovitch can claim a relationship with Lenin. The president of Russia, a dim figure, is the military man, Klementi Voroshilov, who is also an old Bolshevik.

Khrushchev, Bulganin, Malenkov and most of the other leaders are second generation Communists. They did not make the Revolution; they moved up professionally in it. Even Stalin was not an important figure in 1917 when the Bolsheviks made the Smolny Institute in Petrograd, as it was then called, and from it conquered Russia and set out to conquer the world.

Molotov withstood every change of party leadership. He was not affected by the various Stalinist purges which killed off the really great men of the Russian Revolution. After Stalin's death, he was named one of the triumvirate that was to take power. Of the three, Beria was killed; Malenkov was reduced in rank and importance; now Molotov is made ridiculous by being required to confess that having devoted his entire life to the Marxist Revolution in Russia, he does not understand what it is all about.

Khrushchev

To this he has already confessed formally and publicly. It is a great crime in the Marxist world, equivalent to heresy in medieval Europe. For heresy, men were burned.

Now, we are to see whether because of this, he is to be retired, perhaps to write a history of Russian diplomacy, or whether he is to be purged and killed. Stalin would have killed Molotov for whatever reason makes him now unsatisfactory and unnecessary. A system which is based on the law of necessity and not on morals kills readily.

However, Stalin did not have Litvinov killed, holding him over for the day when he might wish to show the United States and Great Britain, where Litvinov was popular, a smiling face. Litvinov was permitted to end his days in obscure seclusion, doing nothing of any value and keeping his mouth tightly shut, lest a word betray him.

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So far as we know, he died of natural causes. He was Molotov's predecessor and was unwanted when Stalin went into partnership with Hitler.

Khrushchev also stayed his hand with regard to Malenkov, whom he deposed, apparently for inefficiency. Malenkov was reduced in rank and office and probably thanks whatever god a Marxist can thank that he is alive, as humiliating as that may be.

It is possible that Molotov will be permitted to sit out his days. Somewhere along the line, he annoyed Khrushchev, who is the boss and can do what he wishes. Wherever Molotov goes, along goes Gromyko who is undoubtedly slated to take his place, but the foreign policy will be managed by the ebullient, effervescent Khrushchev, who is likely to develop into a humorous Stalin, a more dangerous character because he gives the impression of being off guard.

Khrushchev is a product of the purges which removed his seniors and made room for such as he. But he handles his own generation more gently than Stalin needed to. That is why Malenkov and Molotov are alive.

RELIGION IN RUSSIA

Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

ON [RELIGION IN RUSSIA]

"The State Has the Children . . ."

By ANDREW TULLY Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

MOSCOW, Sept. 27—Yakob Gitkov sat in his little office in Moscow's only Protestant church and his words implied the hopelessness of the future for religion.

"No, there is no Sunday school," he said. "The children all go to state schools and the state teaches there is no God. The state has the children."

Yakob Gitkov is a tall man with the long white beard of the patriarch. He is pastor of the Baptist church, perched on a hill from which you can catch a glimse of the Kremlin's red brick towers. In the church itself, nearly 2000 of the membership of 4000 were jammed into every corner, waiting for the 10 a. m. service to begin. The rest would attend the 6 p. m. service.

That is typical of religion in Moscow, a city of 8,000,000 people—one Baptist and one Roman Catholic church, three Synagogs and 59 Russian orthodox churches.

Moscow once had more than 400 churches. But that was when the population was only about 2,000,000 and before the Bolshevik revolution. Today most of those churches, some of them breathtakingly beautiful are shuttered. Others are open as museums and some have been converted into living quarters.

OBJECTIVE

The Soviet objective long has been to eliminate all churches. Communist Party boss Nikita Khrushchev, who has urged more effective anti-religious effort since last fall, told a French delegation last week:

"We remain atheist and we do everything we can to liberate a certain part of the people from the opium attraction of religion which still exists."

The key slogan of the communist anti-religious propaganda is Lenin's 50-year-old statement—"Religion is the Opium of the People."

Yet Yakob Gitkov was not completely sad. Services are held thrice weekly by the Baptist congregation, and by the Seventh Day Adventists, who share the church. Yakob Gitkov says there is no interference from authorities. He was proud to report that this year the Baptists congregation had taken in 110 new members and that another 340 were candidates.

SOBS

About three-fourths of these in the church were women, most of the rest older men. There were only about 75 children praying. But there also was a choir of 120 voices, ranging in age from 18 to 30, and scattered about the congregation was an occasional military uniform.

Of the country's 214,500,000 people, only 520,000 are members of the approximately 2000 Protestant church congregations. Only 10,000 to 12,000 a year become members, which means an average of five to six per church annually. These are mostly Baptist since in 1944 all but the Seventh Day Adventists united with the Baptist church in Russia.

The Baptist church here in Moscow does not look like a church. It looks like every other public building in Moscow—a two-story, tan stucco affair, squarish and with no steeple. But it is fairly easy to find at Malii Vuzovski. No. 3 because it is a fairly populous side street. It is much harder to find Moscow's only Catholic church.

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IN AN ALLEY

St. Louis Catholic church is tucked away in a little alley, surrounded by workers' flats and grayish-looking back yards, only three blocks from Lubianka Prison. It is a white, squarish building, faced with heavy white pillars and with a small steeple surmounted by a small cross.

As the 8:30 Sunday mass ended, the congregation began to straggle out slowly, as if loath to leave. Mostly they were old men and women, with a generous sprinkling of Americans and others from foreign embassies. Some women knelt on the church steps for a final prayer before leaving.

Five minutes away by car, in another workers' neighborhood, is one of three Jewish Synagogs in Moscow. On the Rosh Hashonoh holiday overflow was jammed into the street outside, 300 strong—but the worshippers say it is like that on every sabbath.

120 IN CHOIR

Inside the Synagog, the voice of the Cantor rose in rich, full tones filling the pristine whiteness of the holy chamber. Yet above it you could hear the sounds of women sobbing; here and there a man wiped a tear from his eye.

Outside, the late-comers clustered in little groups—here a man in a white prayer shawl, there an old woman holding a baby, a young couple whispering in the shelter of one of the massive pillars.

Religion still lives, but always in the shadow of doom. For, as Yakov Gitkov said, "the state has the children."

[illegible] queries):

WASHINGTON—Wh[illegible] religious [illegible] liam Campbe[illegible], Ft. Belvoir, Va.

Is there freedom of religion in Russia as [illegible] son, 3602 12th-st N., Arlington, Va.

BIRMINGHAM—Do they have freedom of worship [illegible] Patterson, Verbena, Ala

CINCINNATI—How many Catholic churches are there [illegible] Mrs. Alma Lockwood, 4112 Oakwood-av, Deer Park.

Is it true that the Holy Bible is not allowed to be taught [illegible] Elmer Barger, 1211 Broadway.

CLEVELAND—Do Russians have regular places of worship? [illegible] land Whitacre, 1437 W. 81st.

Do any go to church? How much freedom do they have to worship? —Mary Ann Robifan, 10108 Manor.

COLUMBUS—Are the Russians Christians (nominal or true believers)? What is the predominant church?—Mrs. Betty Spies, 1444 4th-st.

DENVER—As stated by returning clergymen who visited Russia recently, is it really true that the Russians have complete freedom of worship?—J. E. Doherty, 3640 York.

HOUSTON—Is there much religious persecution in Russia?—Nancy Durham, 718 Bayland.

How strong is Christianity in Russia?—Henry Ralph Wells, Route 1, Box 331, Channelview.

INDIANAPOLIS—What about religion in Russia? Is there freedom to worship?—Mrs. Lucille Farley, 2616 Graydon-st.

What about the Jews in Russia? Can they worship as they like?—L. Greenberg, 2914 Ruckle-st.

KNOXVILLE—Are there any Christian Russians or are they all atheists?—Eugene F. Pierce, Andover, Va.

MEMPHIS—What are the religious convictions of the masses?—O. M. Fairley, Osceola, Ark.

NEW YORK—Is there any religious education for children?—Marjorie B. Dubois, 823 Prospect Place, Brooklyn.

Do Russians believe in God?—Vincent Victory, 253 128th-st, Rockaway Beach.

PITTSBURGH—Can Russians worship freely?—Louis Dunhoff, [illegible] Irene-st.

What's the attitude of Russians to God? Is religious worship permitted?—C. B. Gilck, 2013 34th-st.

What are the worship [illegible] Moscow's Baptist Church

PARTY'S CHANG IN SOVIET NOT

Personnel Shifts Watched as Clue to Composition of Coming Red Congress

By HARRY SCHWARTZ

Recent personnel changes among provincial Communist party leaders in the Soviet Union appear to suggest continuing ferment beneath the outward calm of "collective leadership."

Communist party changes at the republic and provincial level are being watched especially carefully by foreign observers now because of the twentieth Communist party Congress scheduled to be held in Moscow early next year.

The question foreign observers are seeking to answer is whether the party machinery is now being purged and revamped to install supporters of any one leading figure in more key posts and thus "pack" the Congress next February.

The most important party purge in recent months is the ouster of Alexander N. Yegorov as first secretary of the Communist party of the Karelo-Finnish Republic, one of the sixteen constituent Soviet republics.

Mr. Yegorov is the most important Communist party chief purged since Georgi M. Malenkov resigned as Premier last February. There appears to be some probability that the two events are connected. The Karelo-Finnish post was given Mr. Yegorov five years ago, in September, 1950, a time when Mr. Malenkov appeared to be in Stalin's good favor and essentially in control of the Communist party apparatus over the country.

he Ukraine, two provincial groups, in Poltava and gov provinces, received st secretaries late last . Vasily S. Markov, party boss of Chernigov Province, was replaced by P. F. Kumanko, the former second secretary. M. M. Stakhursky, another veteran Ukrainian Communist leader, was replaced as party chief in Poltava province by N. M. Rozhanchuk, former head of the government in that province.

In both cases the men replaced were said to have been assigned to other, unidentified jobs.

Both Mr. Markov and Mr. Stakhursky are old associates of Nikita S. Khrushchev, present first secretary of the Communist party of the Soviet Union and formerly Communist chief in the Ukraine. This relationship suggests that rather than being purged they may be assigned to more important jobs in Moscow or elsewhere in the Soviet Union.

In the Byelorussian republic, two additional Communist party secretaries at the republic level have been named recently, P. A. Abrasimov and T. Y. Kiselev. Additional party secretaries are normally named when an area's problems become so complex that they are judged to be beyond the powers of the normal complement of three party secretaries.

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TIMES

SOVIET POLICY AFTER STALIN
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This is a clipping from
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Date August 15, 1955
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SOVIET POLICY AFTER STALIN

From Offensive

TWO DEVELOPMENTS have governed Soviet foreign policy in the last few years and will continue to govern it for some time. These two developments are:

1. The substantial growth in the power of the Soviet Union.

2. The decline of Communist movements in the Western world.

The "contradiction," as Moscow would say, of these two trends is the root of Soviet policy today—a policy which mixes intransigence and "coexistence," massive rearmament and attempts to relax international tensions.

The Soviet Power

THE INCREASE in Soviet power has been spectacular. In the two World Wars, Russia was in no position to operate without military and economic aid from Western allies; left to her own resources, she was no match for her foes. Soviet power in World War II combined Russian manpower with overseas lend-lease. Moscow emerged a victor in 1945 as a result of Western assistance. Now the situation has changed.

Anticipating the possibility of an East-West conflict, the Soviet regime has devoted enormous energies and resources to new types of industry and to military stores which could support a prolonged war against the West. It has been attempting to organize a self-sufficient military economy in its orbit. This attempt underlay both Stalin's last five-year plans and the Khrushchev-Malenkov controversy over "heavy industry."

Soviet success has been considerable. New weapons and new inventions have been introduced, new plants and railroads constructed, aviation perfected and a formidable intelligence network maintained. Although nothing is known about food reserves, by now they must be sufficient to last a large army at least a year. (We must recall that, at the height of the famine of 1931-32, when several million peasants were starving to death, a reserve of two million tons of grain was assembled because war with Japan seemed imminent.)

Russia today is more powerful than any nation of continental Europe and, in many respects, is on a par with the United States. But, in power terms, the Soviet Union is virtually isolated, despite a number of small allies. The West is a combination of *great powers*, and though Russia is strong compared to any one of them, she and her allies are weak compared to the Western alliance which comprises six great powers.

For several centuries now, a group of powers has defined the contours of world politics; their relations have decided the course of history. These powers have included Britain, France, Prussia-Germany, Russia, and a few others. In the many wars among them, the nations that were defeated soon rose again. Humiliated in 1815, France was a major power again within five years; the same was true after 1871. Defeated in 1918, Germany came back in less than two decades; now we are again witnessing her resurrection after the collapse of 1945. Russia experienced incomparable catastrophe during the First World War and the Civil War of 1918-20. But, even with the devastation of World War II, Soviet power today greatly exceeds that of pre-Revolutionary Russia. Against a background of perpetual change—frontiers moved backward and forward, treaties imposed and broken, armies mobilized and demobilized—the stability of the Great Powers has remained a constant.

A few other nations in Europe were Great Powers for a time, only to retreat again: Sweden, Holland, Spain. One power, weak because of its multinational tensions, has disappeared completely: Austria-Hungary. At the end of the last century, Italy joined the select company of major nations. And, finally, two non-European nations have entered the ranks of Great

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David J. Dallin *(cut below)*, Contributing Editor of THE NEW LEADER for the past decade, is one of the nation's leading writers on Soviet affairs. His books include *Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy, The Real Soviet Russia, The Rise of Russia in Asia, Soviet Russia and the Far East* and *The New Soviet Empire*. He was also co-author with Boris I. Nicolaevsky of *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia* and has contributed to the New York *Times Magazine*, the *Russian Review* and other periodicals. In this series, which will be continued next week, Dr. Dallin attempts to define the leading problems which Western policymakers will face as a result of the post-Stalin evolution of Soviet foreign policy.

By David J. Dallin

First of a Series

to East-West Detente

THE SOVIET DELEGATION AT GENEVA: IN A PERIOD OF 'CAPITALIST STABILIZATION,' A NEW POLICY

Powers: the United States and Japan. Today, seven drivers sit at the wheel of the political chariot: Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia and the United States. Of these, six constitute the Western bloc of nations, outnumbering the Soviet Union 6 to 1.

Every Soviet leader realizes this basic Soviet weakness and understands that Moscow cannot hope for military success if she must defeat the combined power of the others. On the balance of arms and armies, the West greatly outweighs the East. The Soviets know this, but they believe that an additional factor can redress the balance: the Communist movement in the West.

How Communism Helps

THE TERM "Communist movement" will be used here to mean more than the Communist parties, their members and their organs. It will refer to that part of every nation which, to some degree, is under the influence of Communist ideology and is willing to give at least partial support to certain Communist tenets. There is, for example, Nenni's Socialist party in Italy, and the extreme portion of the left wing of the British Labor party; there are so-called "progressive" groups in several countries: there are trade-union leaders affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions, men and women active in the various "peace" appeals, the "Democratic Women," "Democratic Youth." Then there are non-Communist groups which have been useful to Soviet policy at one time or another. For example, when the Soviet satellites emerged, these groups vouched for the independent, non-Communist character of the new regimes; when the Korean War began, they resisted the defense of South Korea; they have been active in opposing West German rearmament, and so on.

The older Soviet leaders remember (and every Soviet schoolboy has studied) the "armed intervention of fourteen nations" in 1918-19 against the weak Soviet Republic, and how that assault ended. This chapter of Soviet history serves as a classic illustration of "international solidarity": the popular movements in London and Paris under the slogan "hands off Soviet Russia"; the political crises in the Western nations; the mutiny of the French fleet in the Black Sea; and, finally, the total collapse of intervention followed by official recognition of the Soviet Government. This Soviet triumph resulted from the combination of Soviet resistance with pro-Soviet pressure in the West. Either of these factors alone could not have turned the trick.

The interaction of the two forces—Soviet power and Communist movements abroad—has continued down to

our own day. The world-Communist response has not always been as strong as Moscow has wished, but in every Soviet maneuver, left-wing activity abroad was an element in Moscow's calculations. We are wrongly told that Stalin, having evolved into a Russian nationalist, began to despise the Communist International. Although he treated a number of foreign Communist personalities with contempt, he never disregarded the movement as such.

Besides, the Communist world abroad was considered important even to purely Soviet needs, especially those relating to war and peace. Russia's salvation in a war with a strong enemy would be the rising of the workers against the capitalist aggressor. A new war, Stalin predicted in 1934, "will be certain to unleash the revolution and will challenge the very existence of capitalism in many countries, as occurred in the course of the first imperialist war. . . . It is scarcely possible to doubt that the second war against the Soviet Union will lead to a complete defeat of the attackers, a revolution in several countries of Europe and Asia, and a rout of the bourgeois-landowner governments. Let not the gentlemen of the bourgeoisie blame us if, on the morrow of such a war, there are missing from the scene some favored governments now, by the grace of God, reigning safely. If the bourgeoisie chooses the path of war, the working class chooses the path of revolution."

Still earlier, at its conference in April 1925, the Soviet Communist party stressed that its policies depended on the progress of international Communism: "The dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR needs help on the part of the international proletariat." It blamed those party leaders who, in their "nationalist narrowness," were inclined to disregard the interdependence of the Soviet system and the "worldwide proletarian revolution."

Whether the democratic powers would aid Russia against Nazi Germany appeared doubtful to Moscow; on the other hand, the Kremlin felt certain that the response of the Communist world would be forceful and decisive. When Nazi Germany attacked Russia in 1941, Moscow was very disappointed that the "workers" throughout Europe remained silent and passive. The Comintern, which meanwhile had begun to impede the new Grand Alliance, was dissolved, though a department of the Central Committee of the Soviet CP continued to carry on its main functions.

Although the Communist movement abroad proved too weak to prevent the anti-Soviet war or to quell it at its start, in other ways world Communism rendered great services to the Kremlin during and after the war. Pro-Communist groups in Berlin with access to the strategic plans of the High Command relayed them to Moscow. The Soviet intelligence apparatus in Switzerland, in which the German Rudolf Rössler-Lucy was the star performer, was a little Comintern in itself: Its head was the Hungarian Rado, its chief worker the Briton Alexander Foote, its other important figures included a Pole and several Swiss. Soviet speed in manufacturing an atomic bomb was the product of another international Communist effort: Pertinent information and, in certain cases, samples were supplied in 1943-46 by the German Klaus Fuchs, the Canadian Allan Nunn May, the Italian Bruno Pontecorvo, the Americans David Greenglass, Clarence Hiskey and others.

One must conclude that Western Communism has assisted and can continue to assist Soviet foreign policy in a variety of ways. Though the basic principles of Communism remain constant, the vigor of each important Communist step depends to a large extent on those factors and developments abroad which we summarily term Western Communist public opinion.

A democratic government's policies depend largely on public opinion at home. A fascist government cares little for public opinion at home or abroad. The Soviet Government cares little for public opinion at home, but, in planning long-range world operations, is attentive to the reaction of broad left-wing circles abroad; these must supplement, as we have seen, what is lacking on the scale of power relations.

'Capitalist Stabilization'

THE IMAGE of Joseph Stalin, somewhat eclipsed after his death, has now been restored to a place of honor. His successors, after all, worked with his strategy, his tactics, his concepts throughout their political lives; they feel at home with the viewpoint and outlook which constituted their own education and experience.

One chapter from their common past is so instructive for an understanding of present Soviet policy that it should be reexamined in some detail. By 1924-25, the Communist leadership had concluded that the prospects for world revolution had deteriorated, and that "capitalism" had regained economic and political stability. At first, this seemed a paradox: Was not the Soviet upheaval in Russia part and parcel of the World Socialist Revolution? Was not their fate indissolubly linked? Yet here was an unexpected stability in the new Communist government in Russia, hand in hand with a weakening of revolutionary movements abroad and a "capitalist stabilization."

Yes, Moscow said, we were mistaken: Lacking experience, we miscalculated the pace of the world revolution. And so a theory emerged which has guided the Soviet leadership ever since. According to Lenin, the period of history which began in the great crisis of 1914-18 is a period of world social revolution which may last several decades. But there is a difference between three phases

TROTSKY AND LENIN, 1918: LACKED EXPERIENCE

in the prolonged revolutionary process. First, there develop "general revolutionary situations." Second come "situations of *immediate* revolutionary significance." Finally there are "actual revolutionary upheavals." Here is how the fourteenth conference of the Russian Communist party analyzed the situation in April 1925:

"There was a time when we all expected the victory of the proletarian revolution in Germany and in some other countries within a few months or even weeks.

"The German revolution came much later; it turned out to be not a proletarian revolution, but a revolution that just abolished Wilhelm II but not the power of the bourgeoisie. . . .

"It turned out that: (a) the pace of the world revolution proved to be much slower; (b) but that at the same time the first victorious proletarian revolution (USSR) can hold out alone (with a certain support of the workers of other countries) much longer than it appeared at the beginning of the revolution. . . .

"In Germany the revolutionary situation started to set in about 1914-15. In 1917-18 an immediate revolutionary situation developed. By the end of 1918 the immediate revolutionary situation developed into a revolution. . . . From 1920 to 1923 the immediate revolutionary situation was followed by a simple revolutionary situation. An immediate revolutionary situation was noticeable in 1923. It did not turn into a revolution. In 1925 there is *no* immediate revolutionary situation in Germany but the general revolutionary situation remains. . . .

"In Great Britain, it appears, only now a general revolutionary situation starts to develop, but it is absolutely clear that there still is a long distance to go to an immediate revolutionary situation in that country."

Although the "general revolutionary situation" continues, announced the Comintern in 1925, "a situation of immediate revolutionary significance does not exist in Europe at the present time." The inferences drawn from this belief for Soviet policy were far-reaching.

Here is how Stalin analyzed the picture:

". . . The production and trade of the capitalist countries, which had sunk very low in the period of the postwar crisis (I have in mind the years 1919-20), have begun to make progress, and the political power of the bourgeoisie has begun to become more or less consolidated. This means that capitalism has temporarily extricated itself from the chaos in which it found itself after the war. . . . Instead of the period of flow of the revolutionary tide that we observed in Europe in the years of the postwar crisis, we now see a period of ebb. This means that the question of taking power, of the proletariat capturing power any day, is not now on the order of the day in Europe. . . .

"The forces of these two camps have reached a certain temporary equilibrium, with a slight advantage for capitalism, and hence a slight disadvantage for the revolutionary movement; for, compared with a revolutionary upsurge, the lull that has now set in is undoubtedly a disadvantage for socialism, although a temporary one."

The foreign policy of the Soviet Government in the era of "capitalist stabilization" was limited to the consolidation of positions already won; there was no attempt to advance further. The unfavorable Treaty of Riga, which defined Russia's Western frontier, and which Lenin had regarded as highly temporary, was accepted and stabilized. Relations with Japan were established in 1924-25 and remained unaltered for a long time. The independent republic of Georgia, which had been reannexed in 1921, was firmly incorporated. Outer Mongolia was transformed into a Soviet province. Maintenance of the territorial *status quo* was the policy of Stalin-Chicherin-Litvinov, supplemented by acts of diplomatic recognition and the expansion of trade.

Communism Declines

HAD SOVIET Communism retained the freshness and vigor of its youth, its leaders would now step forward with the bold, though painful, statement that, after World War II, "capitalism" has again reached a high degree of stability, that revolutions are on the ebb, and that Soviet policy must be oriented accordingly. But new ideas and bold statements have become abhorrent in Moscow; Stalin's heirs, like Stalin himself, prefer confusion to frank acknowledgment of failures and defeats.

Unlike the first postwar period of 1918-23, there were no popular revolutions in Europe or America after World War II. Moscow tries to represent the upheavals in the satellites since 1944 as popular revolutions, but even these ended in February 1948, when a Communist Government took over in Czechoslovakia. Since then, an

adverse trend has prevailed. The civil war in Greece ended in a defeat for the Communists, and Finland and Iran remained independent.

More than once, Stalin's circle tried to spur the Western Communists to greater revolutionary activity—in vain. "The main danger for the working class at this moment," declared the first conference of the new Cominform, "lies in the underestimation of its own strength and overestimation of the force of the imperialist camp." Andrei Zhdanov, Stalin's deputy, castigated the French and Italian Communists for being too cautious; a short while afterward, the Communist leaders in those countries, thrown out of the coalition government, retreated without a fight.

According to the Communist concept, "capitalist stabilization" is to some degree reflected in the strength of Communist trends in the population. And the fact is that the deterioration of Western Communist movements has attained significant proportions since the war. Communist party membership in nine countries of Western Europe has changed as follows between 1946 and 1954:*

	1946	*1954*
Austria	**150,000**	**60,000**
Belgium	**100,000**	**30,000**
Denmark	**60,000**	**16,000**
German Federal Republic	**300,000**	**125,000**
Great Britain	**60,000**	**34,800**
Luxembourg	**3,000**	**500**
Netherlands	**50,000**	**33,000**
Norway	**40,000**	**7,500**
Sweden	**60,000**	**30,000**
TOTAL (nine countries)	**823,000**	**336,800**

In these countries, the Communist parties have declined to virtual insignificance. In two other countries, they have lost heavily but continue to play a vital political role: France and Italy.

	1946	*1954*
France	**850,000**	**450,000**
Italy	**2,300,000**	**1,700,000**
	3,150,000	**2,150,000**

Communist deterioration is just as remarkable in the Western Hemisphere. The U.S. Communist party, which has never been a mass movement, declined from 85,000 members in 1947 to 54,000 in 1950 to 25,000 in 1952. In four leading countries of Latin America, Communist membership went as follows:

	1947 (claimed)	*1954 (est.)*
Brazil	**130,000**	**60,000**
Chile	**50,000**	**40,000**
Mexico	**25,000**	**5,000**
Peru	**35,000**	**10,000**

"The combined strength of the Communist parties in Latin America amounts to less than 250,000. Ten years ago, it was estimated at 350,000, and the parties polled an aggregate of about one million votes in various national elections." (In Argentina, the only exception to this trend, the Communist party grew from about 30,000 in 1947 to 40,000 in 1954.)

Even more indicative are popular vote and the circulation of the Communist press. "In an interrupted process of decline, the Communists lost in Britain three-quarters of their voters, in Switzerland one-half, in Denmark two-thirds, in Belgium almost three-quarters. . . . At the general elections in 1945 the French Communist party polled 5 million votes, and this number has since undergone little change; with 152 deputies in the Chamber, it became the strongest party in France. [At the 1951 elections, the Communists obtained 99 seats in the Chamber.—Ed.] In Italy the combined vote of Communists and Nenni Socialists dropped from 40 per cent in 1946 to 35.3 per cent in 1953." The circulation of the French *Humanité* fell from 292,000 to 112,000 in the years 1948-54.

There are no Communists at all in the parliaments of Britain and West Germany. In the Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland, Communists occupy from 2 to 6 per cent of seats, in France 16, in Italy 24.2.

Eloquent as they are, these statistics do not convey the full measure of Communist deterioration. Hand in hand with the disillusionment of those who have turned their back on Communism in the postwar decade, a process of emotional enervation has been going on among the faithful. Zeal and force—Communism's strength in its younger years—have vanished in the Western nations; no general strikes are attempted, no barricades are set up, street demonstrations are dared only under solid police protection. . . .

The Soviet leadership is confident that this state of affairs is only temporary, that a new tide will "inevitably" follow the ebb. Meanwhile, however, the ebb is the reality and the rest is hope. Insofar as Soviet policies depend on public resonance abroad, the West has—by defeating its own Communists—influenced Moscow's course of action and prevented aggressive moves.

Whether or not the Soviet leaders publicl draw a parallel between "capitalist stabilization" in 19 and the present situation, every intelligent Communis is aware of the similarity between the two eras. By now he industrial production, agriculture and trade of the apitalist" nations have far surpassed prewar standards d reached unprecedented heights. The "capitalist" gernments, after a period of hesitation, have regained co ence and toughness in regard to their Soviet foe. An he "revolutionary forces" in the West, bold and gro g yesterday, have been decimated and tamed. By Mo w's logic, Soviet aggression is out of place under e circumstances. *(Continued next week)*

* *Strength of the International Communist Movement*, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, October 1953, May 1954. Two papers on postwar Communism, by S. Wolin, Free Europe, March and July 1955.

New York Journal-American
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THESE DAYS:

Only Force Can Free Satellites

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

WHAT are generally termed "The Satellites," are a series of countries which once were independent and now are part of the Soviet Universal State. These countries first lost their independence to Germany as a result of the Nazi expansion in Europe; they were liberated from Germany in World War II and became a part of Russian imperialism. They were first delineated in the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact (1939) which divided Europe between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. At Yalta, Roosevelt and Churchill permitted Stalin to regard these areas as a Russian sphere. At Potsdam, it was agreed that governments were to be established in these countries by free elections. No free elections have ever been held. They have since for all practical purposes become part of Russia.

The satellite countries are: Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Albania and East Germany. In Asia, they include Mongolia, Tannu Tuva, North Korea. Red China might be called a satellite state, although its position is somewhat different because of its size, its history and the importance of its leader, Mao Tze-tung, in the Marxist world. The satellites of Red China are Tibet and Northern Indo-China.

Theory of Need

Prior to World War I, a German philosophic historian, Baron Heinrich von Treitschke, wrote a book in which he sought to establish the need for a number of satellite states to protect a great country, such as Germany then was. His main concept was that such satellites would act as bulwarks of the great country so that it never could be attacked. Treitschke tried to reorganize the world so that while small nations continued to exist, they were wholly dependent upon their mother planet for their existence.

Treitschke has influenced the thinking of the Germans and Russians because his ideas fit what they wanted to be accepted as truth. The series of satellite nations serve Soviet Russia well from the standpoint of military as well as political strategy. As they have all been integrated into the Marxist system, they offer no severe problems.

While the United States would like to see free nations in Eastern Europe and while it is sound political policy to raise this issue because so many Americans are vitally interested in the homelands of their parents and grandparents, the Russians can always say that these satellites are Communist countries because the peoples of those countries have not opposed the Communist regimes in them. And where there are no free elections, how can anyone say what the people really want?

Professor Francis G. Wilson of the University of Illinois once put it another way:

". . . In truth, any form of government can stand for long periods so long as the subjects would rather live under the government than die resisting it. Revolution is more difficult than it was in the last century because of mass communication and fire power . . ."

No Revolutions Yet

So far as we know, there have been no successful revolutions in any satellite countries. And those who have resisted have either been killed or sent to slave camps. The Communists, having achieved power by revolution, having had a century of experience with revolutionary strategy and tactics, are extraordinarily skillful in anticipating and suppressing deviations. Each satellite country has had its purges and even though some purges achieved only party purification, others must have been related to underground revolutionary action. The fact remains that the Communist Party, in each country, has continued in power and that always it has obeyed the will of the Kremlin.

In the present period of good-will, it is even possible that some sort of election might be worked out to satisfy President Eisenhower, but the party machinery is so well-established in each one of these countries that an anti-Communist regime is not likely to be set up. It would be as difficult to upset Communist bossism there as it would be to elect a socialist mayor of New York City.

Should Russia show real weakness, should the regime in the Kremlin totter, it is within the realm of possibility that a revolutionary movement could develop in Czechoslovakia, Hungary or some areas of Poland. But while there is real power in the Kremlin, it is not believable that any of the satellites will risk liberation from the Communist regime. No matter what agreements the Russians might sign, they will never retreat from the satellites except by force.

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Washington Whispers®

[Items appearing on this page are reported in Washington and other news centers]

Did Republicans Snub Truman? . . . Short Life Predicted For Khrushchev . . . Nixon Misses Signals on Big 4 Talks

President Eisenhower, when he goes to Europe in July, plans to make at least two major addresses, one possibly in Great Britain, which will be designed to correct many of the wrong impressions about the United States that prevail in Europe.

* * *

A personal invitation has come to Ike to address the British people while in England, utilizing the full facilities of radio and television.

* * *

Sherman Adams, staff chief to the President, is being credited with issuing an order that White House aides no longer are to discuss the subject of a second term for President Eisenhower. Just prior to that order, some important aides to the President were predicting confidently, in private, that Mr. Eisenhower would accept a draft.

* * *

Ike is being advised that, in the give and take of repartee while a "draft-Eisenhower" move is shaping, he should do or say nothing that would give an impression which would picture the Presidency as anything other than the most honored position any man could hold.

* * *

Harold Stassen, the President's aide in charge of disarmament plans, is being talked about by Republican leaders for No. 2 place on an Eisenhower ticket in 1956 if, for any reason, the rivalry between William Knowland and Richard Nixon in California makes a change in the present team seem wise politically.

* * *

Clare Boothe Luce, Ambassador to Italy, has made it clear to friends that she is not interested in a Cabinet job as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare when that job is given up by Oveta Culp Hobby. The President is continuing to look for a woman, rather than a man, to fill that Cabinet post.

* * *

Lyndon Johnson, Texas Senator and Senate Democratic Leader, is under increasing fire from the New Deal wing of the party for not taking a more aggressive stand in Congress against the Eisenhower policies. Older heads in the party, however, counsel the wisdom of shaping a course designed primarily to preserve Democratic control of Congress after 1956.

* * *

New Deal Democrats are pictured by conservative Democrats to be somewhat at a loss to name the issue that in 1956 can beat the one of "peace and prosperity" to be offered to voters by the Republicans.

* * *

Harry Truman, former President who helped to launch the United Nations, first was offered only a seat on the platform during celebration of the tenth anniversary of that organization. Mr. Truman's friends feel he has been snubbed by the Eisenhower Administration and that he should have been invited originally to make a speech.

* * *

Richard Nixon, Vice President, missed his signals when he pictured the coming conference of Eisenhower with Eden, Bulganin and Faure as civilization's last chance to avoid nuclear war. The official White House line is that this meeting is really to be routine and that it may take a generation of talks before world problems get resolved.

* * *

This story is being told of Russia's Nikolai Bulganin in Yugoslavia: Bulganin, just before going to Yugoslavia, bought cloth in Moscow to be made into a coat and a pair of pants. There wasn't time to have the suit made in Russia, so he took the cloth to a Yugoslav tailor in Belgrade. The tailor told the Russian Premier he could make him a coat and two pairs of pants. Surprised, Bulganin asked how this tailor could make two pairs of pants, when in Moscow it could only be one pair. Said the tailor: "It must be because you are not quite as big a man as you were when you left Moscow."

* * *

Nikita Khrushchev, Russia's No. 1 man, now is labeled abroad as an individual who both drinks and talks too much. High officials in other countries are beginning to predict a short life for him.

* * *

If Communist China continues to behave, there may be some relaxing of barriers to shipment of American goods to that country. Some high Administration officials are giving hints to that effect to reporters.

* * *

V. K. Krishna Menon, India's undercover man, is not fooling the White House, where his maneuvering around the world is regarded with the deepest suspicion. Menon has a long reputation of working to help the Communist countries in their opposition to the U. S.

* * *

Neutrals in South Asia are finding that it takes a lot of traveling to maintain "neutrality." Premier U Nu of Burma, a visitor to Peiping, now is on his way to U. S. for a state visit. Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia, just back in his country from a visit to Communist China, is anxious to get an invitation to visit U. S., too.

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These Days . . . . . By George Sokolsky

Problem of the Satellites

WHAT ARE generally termed "the satellites" are a series of countries which once were independent and now are part of the Soviet universal state. These countries first lost their independence to Germany as a result of the Nazi expansion in Europe; they were liberated from Germany in World War II and became a part of Russian imperialism. They were first delineated in the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact (1939) which divided Europe between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. At Yalta, Roosevelt and Churchill permitted Stalin to regard these areas as a Russian sphere. At Potsdam, it was agreed that governments were to be established in these countries by free elections. No free elections have ever been held. They have since for all practical purposes become part of Russia.

Sokolsky

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WHILE THE United States would like to see free nations in Eastern Europe and while it is sound political policy to raise this issue because so many Americans are vitally interested in the homelands of their parents and grandparents, the Russians can always say that these satellites are Communist countries because the peoples of those countries have not opposed the Communist regimes in them. And where there are no free elections, how can anyone say what the people really want?

So far as we know, there have been no successful revolutions in any satellite countries. And those who have resisted have either been killed or sent to slave camps. The Communists, having achieved power by revolution, having had a century of experience with revolutionary strategy and tactics, are extraordinarily skillful in anticipating and suppressing deviations. Each satellite country has had its purges and even though some purges achieved only party purification, others must have been related to underground revolutionary action.

IN THE PRESENT period of good-will, it is even possible that some sort of election might be worked out to satisfy President Eisenhower, but the party machinery is so well established in each one of these countries that an anti-Communist regime is not likely to be set up. It would be as difficult to upset Communist bossism there as it would be to elect a Socialist mayor of New York City.

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SOVIET POSITION TODAY: IS IT WEAK OR STRONG?

Two Schools of Thought on Motives Behind Moscow's Recent Moves

By HARRY SCHWARTZ

Two sharply different evaluations of Russia's current position were given last week. Secretary of State Dulles was revealed to have told Congress that the Soviet system "is on the point of collapsing," a statement later modified by the White House. Communist boss Nikita S. Khrushchev said that Western speculation about Soviet weakness is "a fantasy of stupid people," and "never had we a more solid situation than now."

The very fact that Mr. Khrushchev is obviously sensitive to Western speculation about Soviet weakness suggests to many diplomats that his brave words at the American Embassy's Independence Day reception in Moscow were a form of whistling in the dark. But for an adequate evaluation of the basis of present Soviet foreign policy, consideration must be given to the two alternative theories debated by Western diplomats in seeking to explain the changed course of Moscow policy these past few months.

Theory number one holds that the combination of Western unity and strength plus internal weaknesses in the Soviet empire have forced the Kremlin to sue for a truce in the "cold war."

Theory number two is that Mr. Khrushchev was essentially telling the truth last Monday. Russia is strong today, and its recent policy changes simply reflect a decision that past Soviet hard tactics had outlived their time, and a new, subtler line is required to achieve Moscow's objectives.

Let us consider these points of view in turn.

SOVIET WEAKNESS

The first position emphasizing Western strength and Soviet weakness makes these points:

(1) The ratification of the Paris agreements represented a historic defeat for Soviet foreign policy. By restoring sovereignty to West Germany and opening the way for West German rearmament within the NATO framework, the Paris agreements have put Western Europe in a better position to withstand a Communist assault.

(2) The Western world as a whole, particularly the United States and Western Europe, are now ending a decade of amazing prosperity and economic growth. All Soviet plans based on the assumption of Western economic collapse have been exploded.

(3) Within Russia itself, the struggle for the succession is unresolved. Moreover, the Communist leaders are faced by the challenge of an ambitious military clique headed by Marshal Zhukov. Until the struggle at the top is resolved, the Soviet rulers need security from foreign complications.

(4) The food situation throughout the entire Communist empire is dangerous, ranging now from near famine in North Vietnam and parts of Communist China to meat and sugar shortages in Russia and satellite Eastern Europe. Even if present food difficulties can be surmounted the rapidly growing population raises the Malthusian spectre before the Communist Empire.

Case of the Satellites

(5) Discontent is widespread throughout the Communist lands. This mood is heightened in Russia, particularly by the failure to realize hopes for an improved living standard which former Premier Malenkov raised two years ago. Khrushchev and company need peace and at least some measure of disarmament because they can no longer afford the high costs of armaments and heavy industrial expansion at the expense of housing, clothing and food.

(6) Russia is now strained unbearably by the need to provide machinery and equipment for Communist China's industrialization while at the same time maintaining high armaments production and seeking to build up the Soviet Union's own heavy industry. The Communists need relaxation of tension because they must satisfy China's needs for industrialization in order to maintain the Moscow-Peiping axis.

SOVIET STRENGTH

Those who doubt that Russia is leading from weakness and see tactical considerations as primary in Moscow's recent moves emphasize another set of considerations. They also interpret differently some of the points raised above.

(1) Granting increased Western strength from the Paris agreements, these skeptics argue that the Soviet failure to stop ratification of the agreements caused Moscow to re-think its tactics. The Kremlin, it is held, decided that its policy of threats was self-defeating, driving the West together. Now Moscow is seen as trying to divide the West by seeming more agreeable. It is raising hopes of peace and relaxation of tension before millions who are weary of the "cold war" and fearful of nuclear conflict.

(2) Western prosperity, too, it is held, has caused a change in Soviet tactics. Moscow is seen as having decided that its former tactics are responsible for continued high employment and production in the United States and Western Europe, by inducing the West to spend many billions for armaments. By pressing for disarmament, this school of thought believes, Moscow still hopes to bring on the capitalist depression.

(3) How can one speak of Soviet weakness, it is asked, in the face of the military power and the victories Moscow has gained from the post-war period? In the matter of military power it is pointed out that the Soviet Union started virtually from scratch in the field of modern armaments. Yet today it has powerful stockpiles of atomic and hydrogen bombs, as well as significant numbers of the most modern jet bombers required to deliver nuclear weapons.

Communist Gains

(4) As for Soviet victories, it is pointed out that since 1945 Communist domination has been extended over most of Eastern Europe, over the Chinese mainland, and over Northern Vietnam. Some 900,000,000 people, more than one-third of humanity, are available to serve Moscow's goal. They are united politically, economically and militarily to a far greater degree than the relatively loose Western coalition.

(5) That Russia has internal problems is granted by this school of thought. These internal problems, however, are seen as being far less important than they are viewed by those holding the first theory. So far as food is concerned, it is pointed out that conditions in the Soviet Union today are far better than they were in the famine years of the early Nineteen Twenties, the early Nineteen Thirties, and the middle Nineteen-forties. Moreover, it is held that however wasteful and expensive Khrushchev's agricultural program may be, the fact that some 50,000,000 more acres have been planted this year promises a considerably better harvest only a month or two from now.

Strength at the Top

(6) This school of thought also sees greater strength at the top. It scoffs at the belief that rivalry in the Kremlin is a source of Soviet weakness. Malenkov, it is pointed out, has not been purged, even though he was demoted.

At the American Embassy last Monday, the most important of Khrushchev's colleagues were careful to show that they agreed with him. And as for Marshal Zhukov, he is a veteran Communist whose importance the West exaggerates because of its own long tradition—which is not a Russian tradition—of giving successful military leaders top political power similar to the manner in which General Eisenhower became President of the United States.

* * *

Many of the differences are seen to be matters of emphasis rather than clear-cut contradictions. Those who stress Soviet weakness do not deny the impressive character of last week's Moscow air show. Those who stress Soviet strength do not deny the existence of food problems in the Communist Empire—problems which Khrushchev himself has elucidated most revealingly in his speeches these last two years.

If Russia is not as strong as Mr. Khrushchev tried to prove last Monday, neither is Communist rule there showing any signs of collapse in the foreseeable future. And as for Soviet tactics, they have obviously changed significantly this past half-year, implying that Soviet leaders feel their present tactics are more suitable to their present policy needs than those that were followed as recently as last February or March.

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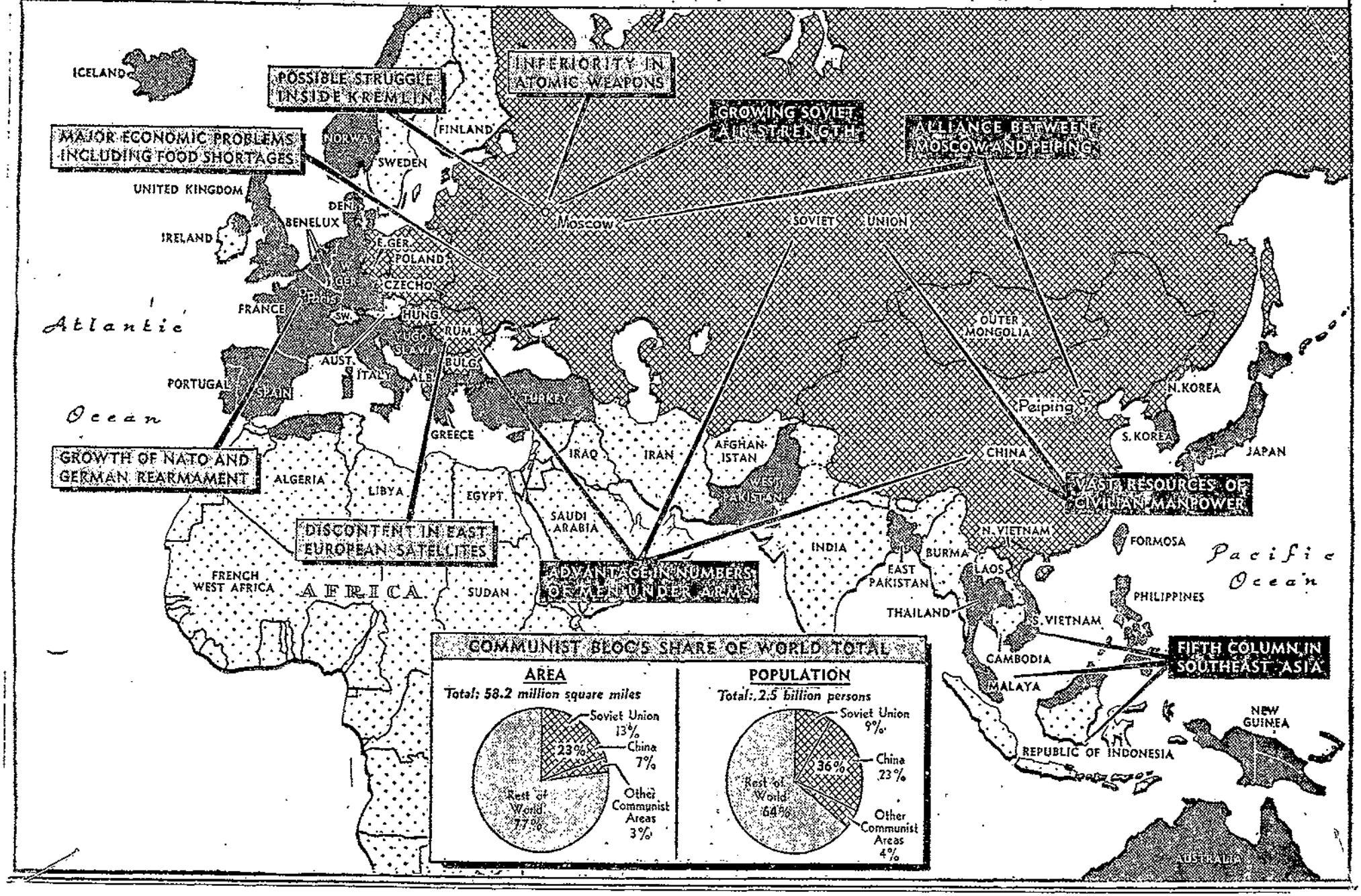
FACTORS OF STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS IN COMMUNIST POSITION—AS EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS APPROACH

Communist bloc | Countries associated with Western defense plans | White type in black boxes denotes factors favorable to Communists. | Black type in grey boxes denotes factors unfavorable to Communists.



Inside Communism — Family life destroyed

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Why and how the Communists deliberately destroy family life behind the Iron Curtain

Farewell to "Home, Sweet Home"

By Leland Stowe

FOR THE one third of the human race now under Communist rule, "home" in the traditional sense no longer exists. A man's house is not his castle; it is a classroom for applied propaganda and an inspection point on the Red policeman's beat.

The police state has good reason to look upon the normal home as its natural enemy, for the home is the strongest link with the past. Grown-ups, their memories of freedom and plenty still sharp, may infect their children with "undesirable" ideas and yearnings; family loyalties may prove stronger than loyalty to the insatiable State. All Red regimes, therefore, penetrate and undermine every home under their dominion.

Cunning devices for the conquest of the home, originally worked out in Soviet Russia, have been perfected and extended in Eastern Europe. The day-by-day testimony of escapees — gathered and recorded by Radio Free Europe and Allied interviewers in the last few years — reveals a coördinated pattern. Every home is subjected to at least nine tested methods of smashing its unity and destroying its influence as a sanctuary of "old-fashioned" religious and moral values.

When the Communists take over a country, here is what happens to home life:

1. *A poisoning of family relations through economic hardship.*

Every country captured by the Kremlin is forced to embark on an intensive Five Year Plan for speeded-up industrialization and farm collectivization. Invariably that leads to recruiting millions of women workers. With legions of mothers forced into the labor pools, the life-blood of normal home life is siphoned off.

At the same time, homes begin to suffer acute shortages of food, and commonplace necessities like kitchen utensils and sewing thread become luxuries or unobtainable. Four out of five families are swiftly impoverished as money loses its purchasing power.

"When a man comes home exhausted from work," said a Rumanian refugee, "he finds nothing for his comfort or peace of mind. Nerves are on edge from overwork and endless worries over money and the necessities of life. The harsh struggle for daily existence poisons family relations."

2. *Deprivation of leisure time to spend with the family.*

The all-powerful Communist Party invents an amazing variety of activities and duties for parents and for children above the age of ten. They are forced to attend all sorts of meetings and classes, and must take part in "voluntary" week-end projects.

If rated low on "coöperation" in such activities, parents may incur penalties or jeopardize their jobs.

LELAND STOWE in this article draws upon his five years of study of the Soviet satellite countries. During most of that period he headed the News and Information Service of Radio Free Europe (in Munich), and had at his disposal its immense files on life behind the Iron Curtain. An outstanding foreign correspondent, winner of a Pulitzer Prize, Mr. Stowe is the author of *Conquest by Terror: The Story of Satellite Europe.*

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A wife's obligatory evening assignments rarely coincide with her husband's, and even their vacations are usually fixed at different periods. Thus leisure time which would normally be shared by the whole family is deliberately cut to a bleak minimum.

Take typical cases from Radio Free Europe records. "At least three evenings a week I had to go to meetings," says a Polish army officer's wife who had been drafted as a factory worker. "On other nights my husband often had meetings. We felt fortunate when we could spend Sunday together." A Bulgarian refugee reports: "At least five evenings each week I had to attend Party meetings. I was lucky if I got home at midnight, yet I had to be up at five in the morning. I had no time for my family. I do not recall a single family that had a contented and happy home life."

3. *A systematic turning of children against their parents.*

In Soviet Russia about 20 years ago a boy who had informed on his parents, causing their arrest and liquidation, was beaten by infuriated relatives until he died. The authorities erected a statue to the young "hero and martyr." It still stands as a symbol of the Communist dictum that family loyalties are outmoded "bourgeois superstitions."

In schools, in the Communist Youth movements, wherever the State molds young minds, non-Communist adults are depicted as reactionary enemies of the "new life."

From kindergarten up, children are taught to reject parental guidance and "bourgeois morals," and to act as informers against older members of their families. The result is that the home, formerly a sanctum of mutual affection and confidence, is transformed into a place where an adult's chance remark against the State may precipitate disaster.

"You ache to denounce some outrageous lie taught in school," says a Polish escapee, "but your child would probably inform the teacher, and you'd soon have the police in your living room."

There are countless testimonials: After refusing to permit his 15-year-old son to attend a Communist Youth festival, Herbert Zoppe of Leipzig was arrested on the boy's complaint. At a 1952 purge trial in Prague, the son of Ludvik Frejka, one of the accused, requested a death sentence for his father and called him "a beast who has betrayed the Communist ideology." From Bulgaria a mother wrote to her daughter abroad: "Your brother calls us reactionaries and heaps so many insults on us that I am ashamed of having given birth to such a son."

Red teachers and youth leaders always side with children against their parents, who are powerless to oppose the alienation of their sons and daughters. Once well entrenched, the Communists increasingly demand that parents assist in the perversion of their children — or else be counted as enemies of the State.

4. *Constant visits from Party-appointed supervisors and inspectors.*

"Block wardens" and "house wardens" are the watchdogs of whatever goes on in the home. Ostensibly the house warden takes care of repairs and assigns tenants of apartments to clean hallways and back yards, but his real job is spying. In Hungary the warden must initial all certificates for family allowances and sick relief; he also compiles family statistics required by the authorities — a plausible excuse for probing into personal affairs in every home.

"Just when your wife is setting the supper table," explains a Czech worker, "the house warden appears with a bunch of forms for you to fill out before morning. While you try to make sense of these complicated papers, he pretends to inspect the plumbing but really hunts for a hidden radio. Or he looks through your books and newspapers so he can report what your family reads. He loudly praises some official policy, to sound out your political feelings. You never know when you'll get mentioned unfavorably in his report to the block warden."

House wardens must submit a weekly report on what visitors each household has had; the "mood" of all tenants; scandals that may be useful to the police.

5. *Regular inspection of the family budget.*

The "economy warden," usually an unemployed housewife, gathers information for the Party on how much you spend and for what

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regular examination of your accounts. The pretext is the promotion of thrift, instruction in home economics and enforcement of restrictions on the use of gas and electricity.

Says a former Budapest housewife: "The economy official notices the slightest deviation from a family's routine purchases and demands, 'Where did you get the money?' If you can't give a good explanation, investigators check further into your financial affairs."

6. *Persistent invasion by "peace," "culture," waste-collecting "responsibles."*

The citizen enjoying the blessings of Communist "progress" must contribute old pots and pans, clothing, rags and newspapers to national scrap collections. The waste-collecting "responsible" pokes through your kitchen and closets to make sure you've handed over the desired items, and in the process looks for telltale signs of disloyalty to the regime. The "peace" (or "culture") responsible invades homes every week to deliver a lecture, ask trick questions and collect signatures for Peace Appeals.

A Polish woman who had been drafted as a peace responsible reported to Allied interviewers: "We had to attend weekly training courses where lecturers pumped us full of political propaganda to spread during our house visits. We were supposed to tell about the 'inhuman germ warfare waged by Americans in Korea.' Every week they gave us new Moscow lies to deliver."

7. *Compulsory police registration of house guests.*

During 1953 most satellite regimes further tightened "home control" by introducing "house books," kept by the house wardens. Within 48 hours every family must report any overnight guests.

Suppose, in any Soviet-controlled country, you visit Aunt Susan for a few days. You must fill out a form giving the date and place of your birth, home address and occupation, details about your family, the number on your identification papers, the time of your arrival. Aunt Sue must immediately report the date of your departure and your destination. Thus the police can keep track of every person's movements.

A Czech engineer said: "At first we joked about house books as traps for itinerant prostitutes and people having illegal business, but we soon learned what they meant. Failure to register a guest brought a large fine. When some of my colleagues finally protested at a meeting of workers, the Party official blurted out: 'We will know what company you keep. Only those with something on their conscience would object.'"

8. *Destruction of the home as a meeting place for friends.*

The mere fact that you invite people to your home is regarded as a suspicious circumstance. Any intimate family party or holiday reunion invites police interference. Moreover, there is always the dread that by innocently receiving into your home a person already under sur-

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veillance you will expose your family and all the other guests to suspicion. Thus the idea of a home as a social center for friends tends to die out.

When a Warsaw doctor invited seven men friends for an evening of bridge, one of them accidentally dropped a security-police credentials card on the floor. As it bore no name, the host remarked pointedly, "One of you has lost something valuable." No one claimed it. Next day two secret-police agents called and collected the card, threatening the host with severe consequences if he ever mentioned the incident. Having no idea which of his friends was the police informer, the physician dared not invite any of them again.

9. *Wire-tapping and police interrogation.*

If you live under Communism your telephone is, of course, tapped, and any indiscreet or suspicious remarks are recorded. More terrifying is the knock on the door in the night, announcing the visit of a "security agent." A common pretext for such intrusions is the continuous search for hidden radios and persons listening to Western broadcasts. Since the majority of puppet-state citizens habitually tune in on Western programs, almost anyone can be hauled away for police interrogation. A Pole described what all Communist subjects regard as a routine event:

"I opened the door and two security men ordered my friend and me to accompany them immediately to headquarters. I asked why and one of them struck me in the face. When we got to their interrogation room the older officer snarled: 'Tell us the whole truth or we'll break your bones. We know you listen regularly to American broadcasts. Someone betrayed you, so don't deny it.' For four hours they alternated between questioning me and beating me. Finally they threw me in a cell and I thought I would die. After more of the same next day they let me go."

The mere awareness of ever-possible "security" visitations imposes a taut-nerved seclusion on most families.

"There is no place like home," says the old adage. Every nation, every people has a similar saying. But under the all-powerful Communist State a home — once the haven of love, privacy and contentment — ceases to be a home.

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The Kremlin's Problem

PARTY-RUSSIA

The persistent reports of unrest among Soviet workers and students would, in any normal nation, seem merely superficial. In the Communist states, however, where dissent is treason and unrest can demonstrably be fanned overnight into uprisings, no disturbances can be written off as unimportant. This is particularly true when it appears among industrial workers, originally the chief source of the Bolshevik Revolution and ostensibly the principal beneficiaries of Marxism-Leninism. It is no less significant when the students are stirred to protest, for they are the indoctrinated élite of the Communist state.

It must be recognized that the clique in the Kremlin have vast powers at their disposal. They can soothe the troublesome with concessions—and have already taken some steps in that direction, at least among the satellites. They can direct a mighty flood of propaganda to attempt to convince the discontented that their woes are imaginary, stirred up by "imperialist agents." This is also being done. Finally, if efforts to placate or deceive the people fail, there is force.

The first recourse would not be the army. The Russian Ministry of Home Affairs controls the police and, like most continental countries, the police include a substantial aggregation of men organized on military lines. In the U. S. S. R. the M. V. D. troops are grouped in divisions, equipped with heavy weapons, including tanks and artillery, and number some 400,000 troops. They are an elite group, picked for their special tasks of internal security and frontier control and are given special uniforms and privileges. They would be the first to see action if Soviet unrest gets out of hand.

If the M. V. D. could not cope with disorders, the Kremlin's position would be perilous. To be sure, there would still be an army five or six times as numerous as the police and armed with every modern device. But the army—except, perhaps, the officer corps—is a part of the Soviet people. Its reluctance to engage the Hungarians, while perhaps exaggerated in some early reports, was sufficiently marked to show that Khrushchev & Co. would find difficulty in making the troops fire on their own folk. To be sure, the U. S. S. R. is a huge land of many different peoples, and by using troops from, let us say, Turkestan against the White Russians and Ukrainians in Siberia, the Kremlin might divide and still reign. But in a major revolt, this would be a chancy procedure. Any serious defections from the army to the people would mean the end for the present masters of the Soviet Union.

It is for this reason that the danger of military adventures by the Kremlin is now great. If they became truly desperate, Khrushchev & Co. might try to revive the nationalist spirit of what the Soviets call the Great Patriotic War—the war against Hitler—by creating an enemy outside Soviet borders. And it is against that danger that the West must be alert, united, strong and determined.

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O.C.P. Russia

Wave of Resistance Is Reported Rising in Heart of Soviet Union

Students In 6-Hr. Rally At Moscow

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Strikes in Urals, Unrest in Baltics

By Don Whitehead

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20.—A wave of resistance is sweeping over not only the satellite states but also the heart of the Soviet Union, posing the greatest challenge yet faced by the leaders of the Communist party since the revolution which swept it into power in 1917.

This swelling and urgent cry for freedom from the iron domination of Soviet Russia's Communist government is being heard all the way from shattered Hungary to the gray walls of the Kremlin itself.

Strikes Reported

Intellectuals and university students, and in some cases the workers themselves, have begun openly to question the Communist system and the leadership with unprecedented boldness. The students are daring to heckle their professors and the workers are reported to have actually gone on strike in some areas.

This is the picture which is being pieced together here by Administration sources from underground reports out of Russia, reports received from travelers returning from Russia, and other sources in a position to know what is going on behind the Iron Curtain.

West Berlin press reports of anti-Soviet demonstrations in the Baltic provinces, demands for withdrawal of Russian troops and freedom for political prisoners, unrest among Russian students, and "numerous" strikes in the Urals and in the Don River valley fit into the pattern of reports received by American experts on Russia.

Moscow Student Revolt

The West Berlin newspaper, "Der Tag," reported today that more than 1,000 Moscow University students held a six-hour meeting to speak out boldly against policies of their own government—and as a result were expelled.

Reports received here also tell of similar student unrest in Leningrad. And it is suspected that this unrest, running across the board from the intellectuals to the workers, is taking place also in other parts of Russia.

"The rebellion by the youths and the intellectuals behind the Iron Curtain is a very real thing," one informed Administration source told the New York Herald Tribune. "We know beyond doubt that it is taking place in Moscow and Leningrad and believe it extends to other big centers of the Soviet Union. The Moscow government is worried."

Students of events in Russia in this capital regard the "revolt of the intellectuals" as perhaps the most significant development taking place in this epochal situation. Thirty-nine years of Communist education

Continued on page 13, column 1

This came from moscow Reporter And handled in this way toward expulsion of moscow Reporter

Revolt

(Continued from page one)

has not snuffed out the thirst of the Russian intellectuals and young students for freedom to express themselves and to know what is going on in the world around them.

What is the well-spring of this outburst against the Communist thought-control and demand for unquestioned loyalty to the Communist government?

"It's something unquenchable in the human spirit," one official said. "The Russians are learning that the desire for freedom simply can't be 'educated out' of a person."

Students Jeer

There is the story recalled here of Russian students jeering the time-worn lecture by their professor and hooting with laughter when he spoke of "capitalistic encirclement" as a grave danger to the Soviet Union.

This open defiance and questioning of the Communist system within Russia and the satellites has gained impetus since February when the Russian leaders began tearing down the image of Stalin from his godlike pedestal—and encouraged the idea there are more ways than one for a country to achieve communism.

Then came the Hungarian revolution.

"There has been nothing since the American Revolution which had the impact on the world as did the Hungarian revolt for freedom," one official said. "It not only stirred the whole non-Communist world—but it also had reverberations inside the Soviet Union.

"When the Russians gave their young people an education, they taught them to be inquisitive. But a man who is inquisitive about the mysteries of science also is inquisitive about other things as well. He becomes inquisitive about politics and about why his government does the things it does, and about what is going on in the outside world. The Communist leaders tried to explain away the Hungarian revolt as the work of imperialists and fascists. But Hungarian workers are not imperialists and the Russian intellectuals knew it.

Result of Education

"What the Communists have done is educate their people into rebellion. They tried to keep out new and liberal ideas—but they couldn't do it. This ferment started and it kept going."

There is the example of the young Russian, an exchange student, who toured Western Europe. When he returned home he made a report on the situation as he saw it—and he called for abolition of direct party leadership. He declared that it was wrong for the government to say what people should write and think. He suggested there should be a new look at all the plays and books and poems which had been censored in the past or refused publication—a

[illegible] not at [illegible] published but what had not been published.

No responsible person is yet ready to say where all this ferment within Russia and the satellite countries will end—or that it can be assessed as a beginning of the end for Communism as practiced by the Soviet Union.

But this much is known: Powerful forces are at work which very likely may force a dramatic change in Soviet Union policies.

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Anti-Red Underground Wants Acts, Not Words

By VICTOR RIESEL

Workers of the Communist world unite. You have nothing to lose but your chain reaction—a chain reaction of strikes which are crippling the Russian war machine by shutting down factories deep in the heart of Russia itself.

It may, however, be quite patronizing for anyone to shout out to the anti-Communist underground behind the Iron Curtain to unite. Something strange is developing. Mass strikes are reported by international labor networks to be paralyzing huge metal, steel and armament works in and around Moscow, Leningrad and other big Soviet working-class cities.

Victor Riesel

Whether shut-downs are spontaneous or organized by a single anti-Communist underground network reaching from Warsaw and Budapest right into Russia, no one can yet say for sure. But it is certain that the Russians are gasping for steel, coal and transport and electrical equipment.

AND AS CERTAIN as a vodka glass in Khrushchev's hand, is the existence of a tough, disciplined, well-directed anti-Communist underground stretching across the satellites. It's representatives move, like the Scarlet Pimpernel of old, in and out of Red-occupied lands. To some labor leaders of the western world, these Communist-hating agents are more than wrathful wraiths.

Leaders of the underground have, for example, met with Victor Reuther in Vienna during the past few weeks. Reuther, just back from the border of brutality, has this to report:

Polish industry is really at the mercy of anti-Communist Workers Councils in direct contact with the west. These councils have systematically purged themselves of not only of Stalinists, but of active Communists as well.

THEY ARE WATCHING carefully what the U. S. and the rest of the free world will do for the embattled Hungarian strikers and decapitated workers' councils here.

* * *

THEY ARE NOT impressed by the world's warmth to the Hungarian refugees. That is humane and should be taken for granted. That is the least that can be done. And the least is being done, they believe. They would like to see some of our big luxury liners, such as the U. S. Constitution and the United States, chartered by the western world, steam into Trieste and shuttle back and forth with thousands of refugees each trip to the outside world.

The anti-Communist underground asks why U. N. truce units cannot be put into Hungary as they are being rushed into Egypt. The underground wants to see just what the world does about getting teams of U. N. observers into Budapest. The underground fighters and strike committees want to know if the Western world is going to continue recognizing the bone-crushing Kadar regime or set up the Hungarian workers' leader Anna Kethly as head of a Hungarian government-in-exile.

Miss Kethly is now in the U. S. —and is the highest ranking survivor of the tragic, short-lived anti-Communist Hungarian government which was "voted" out of existence when the Russian rolled up a huge plurality of tanks and guns.

ALL THESE are actions really short of war and "the brink." If the West will not make these peaceful moves, the anti-Communist underground will know that they can get no support. If the west stands up for its simple rights, the underground may stand up against Russian tanks.

I believe I've passed on Victor Reuther's report correctly. That is what he heard from the anti-Communist underground agents who now may well be back inside Hungary, Poland, and the other satellites.

If we want that anti-Communist chain reaction to speed, we had better speed some of ourselves.

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(PRAVDA)
MOSCOW--PAVEL A. SATYUKOV, A RELATIVE NEWCOMER IN RUSSIA'S COMMUNIST PARTY, TODAY WAS NAMED EDITOR OF THE PARTY'S OFFICIAL NEWSPAPER PRAVDA.

SATYUKOV, DEPUTY EDITOR PRIOR TO HIS PROMOTION, SUCCEEDED DMITRI SHEPILOV WHO HELD THE POST FROM 1952 UNTIL LAST JUNE 1 WHEN HE REPLACED VYACHESLAV MOLOTOV AS SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER. THE EDITOR'S JOB HAD BEEN VACANT SINCE SHEPILOV LEFT IT.

THE NEW EDITOR BECAME A PARTY MEMBER IN 1939. UNLIKE SHEPILOV, HE IS NOT A MEMBER OF THE PARTY'S RULING CENTRAL COMMITTEE, BUT HE IS A MEMBER OF THE IMPORTANT AUDITING COMMITTEE.

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Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

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C. P. - Russia

(MEETING)
MOSCOW--THE COMMUNIST CENTRAL COMMITTEE ASSEMBLED HERE TODAY FOR A SECRET MEETING WHICH WAS EXPECTED TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEMS OF "DESTALINIZATION"--PARTICULARLY THE "UNHEALTHY STATE OF MIND" IT HAS CREATED AMONG RUSSIA'S YOUTH.

THE MEETING WAS NOT EXPECTED TO PRODUCE ANY SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN RUSSIA'S TOP LEADERSHIP.

THE 133 MEMBERS AND 122 ALTERNATES MAKING UP THE COMMITTEE WERE IN MOSCOW, AND "INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS" WERE REPORTED GOING ON TODAY ALTHOUGH THE MEETING IS NOT EXPECTED TO START OFFICIALLY UNTIL TOMORROW.

THE COMMITTEE HAS NOT MET SINCE FEB. 27, WHEN IT CONFIRMED N. S. KHRUSHCHEV AS THE FIRST SECRETARY OF SOVIET COMMUNISM AFTER THE PARTY CONVENTION AT WHICH HE "DOWNGRADED" THE LATE PREMIER JOSEF STALIN.

EVENTS SINCE THAT TIME, INCLUDING THE HISTORIC EVENTS IN HUNGARY AND POLAND, WILL GIE THE COMMITTEEMEN PLENTY TO DISCUSS, BUT THE YOUTH PROBLEM IS EXPECTED TO OCCUPY A PROMINENT PLACE ON THE AGENDA.

AS PART OF THE DESTALINIZATION CAMPAIGN, YOUNG RUSSIANS HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED TO THINK AND SPEAK MORE FREELY, TO ASK QUESTIONS AND TO CRITICIZE--AND IT APPEARS THEY ARE GETTING OUT OF HAND.

OTHER PRESSING DOMESTIC PROBLEMS FACING THE COMMITTEE INCLUDE REVISION OF ECONOMIC PLANS TO INCREASE CONSUMER GOODS PRODUCTION AND EXPEDITE THE NATIONAL HOUSING PROGRAM.

FOREIGN PROBLEMS DISCUSSED AT THE COMMITTEE MEETING ARE SURE TO INCLUDE THE "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION" IN HUNGARY AND OTHER EAST EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENTS--NOTABLY THE ROLE PLAYED BY YUGOSLAV PRESIDENT TITO IN URGING NEIGHBOR NATIONS TO SEEK THEIR "OWN WAY TO SOCIALISM."

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PROPAGANDA GAIN IN SOVIET URGED

by William J. Jorden, NY Times, Dec. 13 1956

MOSCOW -- The Soviet press called for better party propaganda and more attention to the problem of students inside Russia. Pravda noted than in the Red press appear articles by authors fallen under influences alien to Communism. It urged all propaganda elements -- art, science, literature, the press and party -- to battle against "unhealthy moods" and "reactionary" echoes. Izvestia criticized propaganda work among college and university students, saying many students lack any knowledge of life and have never had to work, leaving them open to making "errors" because Red doctrine hadn't been explained to them properly. Kremlin leaders evidently believe sterner party discipline is essential, alongwith tightening up the entire propaganda line. Tough Molotov is now controlling propaganda and culture and is displeased with writers and artists and students departing from party doctrine and discipline. Pravda assailed some elements of the Polish and Hungarian press where criticism of one-party rule and of Russia's role in the satellites has appeared recently, due to "lack of exposure of the cunning of reactionary ideology."

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Khrushchev Rises In Kremlin Again

By Drew Pearson

The see-saw of [illegible] inside the Kre[illegible] party chief Niki[illegible] on the upgrade [illegible]. The reason is that, even though the full might of the Red army has turned loose against the Hungarians, the revolt against Communist rule in this brave little country is still going on. This puts Khrushchev in the position of saying "I told you so," because he had opposed using the Red army against the Hungarians. United States sources in Russia report that the Kremlin shows every sign of being confused and jittery over what to do next. Now that the Red army has embarked on a policy of brutal reprisals, it cannot turn back. It is certain to be more ruthless than ever.

Pearson

Air Lift to Satellites

Top Administration officials have been instructed by President Eisenhower to try to come up with a dramatic gesture of friendship to all of the enslaved people in the satellite countries.

Ike has told his staff that we must take some spectacular steps to reassure the satellite people that we have not forgotten them.

One idea still in the planning stage is to set up a large air-lift operation to carry food, clothing, and medical supplies in to the satellites. Various advisers warn, however, that this would risk war.

CAB Rides the New Jet

Before the Civil Aeronautics Board O.K'd the new jet transport plane for civilian passenger use, it did a unique thing. 18 CAB officials took a somewhat hazardous experimental flight from Seattle to Los Angeles in the first model of the forthcoming Boeing 707.

CAB board member Joey Adams took over the controls for 10 minutes of the flight. Adams is a Marine Reserve flyer and has been checked out in both jets and helicopters.

It was the first time in history that the CAB has gone direct to an aircraft factory to obtain technical data. However, with a new age of air travel dawning, the board realized that unique problems will develop. Safety regulations, schedules, airline financing, all will become obsolete or revolutionized when the big jets take over the airways in 1959.

Besides the Boeing plant in Seattle, the CAB visited the Douglas plant in Los Angeles where another giant jet transport, the Douglas DC-8, is on the drawing boards. Like the Boeing 707, the Douglas DC-8 will make present airliners look like model Ts.

Washington Pipeline

It now looks as if Uncle Sam may be forced to supply oil to Egypt as well as Western Europe. The Egyptian government has asked for emergency oil to replenish her dwindling reserves . . . The State Department doesn't see how we can turn down Egypt as long as we are shipping oil to Britain and France . . . A confidential State Department cable from Vienna reports: "Total Hungarian refugees arrived, 92,325. Departed, 21,947." . . . The State Department expects another 100,000 to sneak across the border to freedom during the months ahead . . . Most Austrians have given up their Christmas money to help care for the refugees. Meanwhile American aid still has not reached Austria in significant quantity.

Capitol News Capsules

United States disagreement over Hungary — Secretary of State Dulles and Henry Cabot Lodge, our Ambassador to the U. N., are bickering over American policy toward Hungary. Lodge wants the United States to refuse to recognize the new Hungarian puppet government. But Dulles says no. He thinks appeasing Russia might bring a softer policy by the Kremlin. Dulles is anxious to reassure Russia that we have no ulterior designs on her satellite empire. Lodge, however, favors not only cutting off diplomatic relations with Red Hungary but also refusing to seat the Hungarian delegation to the United Nations.

Natural gas headaches — It looks as if Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senate Leader Lyndon Johnson, both oil-minded Texans, will not take the initiative in bringing up the controversial natural gas bill next session. They know the Eisenhower Administration secretly wants the bill passed, and has made a commitment to big oil campaign contributors. So Rayburn and Johnson figure they'll force President Eisenhower to ask for the bill, so the Republicans can suffer the political headaches.

Luis and Anastasio Somoza, sons of the slain Nicaraguan dictator, have hired former President Truman's personal bodyguard to thwart further assassination of the Somoza family.

He is Frank Barry, who served 10 years on the White House Secret Service detail, then resigned to become Truman's personal bodyguard after Truman refused to run for re-election.

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(BERIA)

MILAN, ITALY--RUSSIAN SECRET POLICE CHIEF LAVRENTI BERIA WAS STRANGLED BY MEMBERS OF THE SOVIET POLITBURO AFTER HE FELL FOR THEIR BUST THAT HE WAS TO BE THE NEXT STALIN, AN ITALIAN NEWSMAN SAID.

INDRO MONTANELLI WROTE IN MILAN'S RESPECTED CORRIERE DELLA SERA THAT THE OTHER MEMBERS OF RUSSIA'S POST-STALIN "COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP" WERE SO AFRAID OF BERIA THEY SET UP AN ELABORATE TRAP AND THEN STRANGLED HIM SOME SIX MONTHS BEFORE HIS "EXECUTION" WAS ANNOUNCED.

MONTANELLI, WHO JUST RETURNED FROM BUDAPEST, SAID SOVIET COMMUNIST LEADER KHRUSHCHEV TOLD THE STORY TO OUSTED HUNGARIAN PARTY BOSS RAKOSI AND HE WAS GIVEN THE DETAILS BY A HUNGARIAN OFFICIAL CLOSE TO RAKOSI.

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THESE DAYS:

Soviet Terrorism Was Expected

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

THE sad reassertion of brutal colonialism by Soviet Russia in Hungary was to have been expected. Nothing in the history of Soviet Russia since its founding in 1917 justifies the assumption that that country would approach any problems of international relations with any regard to the moralities of international conduct. In one of the more important state papers of recent years, Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State, on August 10, 1920, wrote:

"It is not possible for the Government of the United States to recognize the present rulers of Russia as a government with which the relations common to friendly governments can be maintained. This conviction has nothing to do with any particular political or social structure which the Russian people themselves may see fit to embrace. It rests upon a wholly different set of facts. These facts, which none dispute, have convinced the Government of the United States, against its will, that the existing regime in Russia is based upon the negation of every principle of honor and good faith, and every usage and convention, underlying the whole structure of international law; the negation, in short, of every principle upon which it is possible to base harmonious and trustful relations, whether of nations or of individuals.

Disregard Obligations

"The responsible leaders of the regime have frequently and openly boasted that they are willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign Powers while not having the slightest intention of observing such undertakings or carrying out such agreements. This attitude of disregard of obligations voluntarily entered into, they base upon the theory that no compact or agreement made with a non-Bolshevist government can have any moral force for them. They have not only avowed this as a doctrine, but have exemplified it in practice. Indeed, upon numerous occasions the responsible spokesmen of this Power, and its official agencies, have declared that it is their understanding that the very existence of Bolshevism in Russia, the maintenance of their own rule, depends, and must continue to depend, upon the occurrence of revolutions in all other great civilized nations, including the United States, which will overthrow and destroy their governments and set up Bolshevist rule in their stead. They have made it quite plain that they intend to use every means, including, of course, diplomatic agencies, to promote such revolutionary movements in other countries."

C.P. Russia

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This is an extract from a long dispatch which at the time attracted world-wide attention. Chicherin, who was then the Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs, issued a circular note to Russian representatives abroad on September 10, 1920, generally denouncing Colby's views, making assertions which are of current application, particularly to the uprisings in Hungary and Poland:

"The Soviet Government stands steadfast for the right of the working people of all nations to national self-determinism, including the rights of secession and formation of new States. It is precisely on this that the Soviet Government bases its unwavering desire to establish and maintain friendly relations with the border States which have separated from Russia. At the same time, the system represented by the Soviet Government, under which the working masses—after the abolition of the rule of the exploiters—themselves determine their own fate, is the only safeguard against and the only obstacle to the domination of the exploiting interests of the leading groups of international finance capital, and in the first place, the American finance groups."

Machine-guns and Terror

But when Hungary attempted to free itself by revolutionary uprising, to assert the principle of self-determination, and to secede from its contractual relations with Soviet Russia, it was met by machine-guns and terror.

Chicherin in this note also said:

"The Soviet Government recognizes clearly enough that the revolutionary movement of the working masses in each country is their own affair and their own task; it holds firmly to the opinion that a Communist regime cannot be imposed upon another nation by force and that the struggle for it must be carried out by the working masses of each country themselves. . ."

This statement of principle has apparently been ignored in Hungary.

It is noteworthy that Soviet Russia which in 1920 was pleading for recognition by the United States is in 1956 so powerful because of the revolutionary techniques it has employed, that the United Nations delayed its decision on the brutalities in Hungary until they were inoffensive and futile.

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Red 'Justice': Guilty Now; Confession? Maybe Later

By DR. THEODORE R. VAN DELLEN

How do the Communists extract information from prisoners and force them to confess to crimes they never committed? We have seen this happen to some of our captured aviators and clergy who are men of intelligence, ability and strength of character. This technique is known popularly as brain washing.

I obtained a better insight into their methods from a special report on Communist interrogation and indoctrination of prisoners, given by Dr. Lawrence E. Hinkle Jr. and Dr. Harold G. Wolff of New York in a recent issue of Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry.

Red Version of 'Justice'

The original Bolsheviks had many encounters with the Tzarist secret police. Following the revolution the Soviets placed reforms in this department high on their list. They instituted a plan that is in marked contrast to Western justice. A suspect is not arrested until authorities feel certain he has committed a "crime" against the people and Communistic ideology.

The crime may be talking to a foreigner or destroying the people's property. In contrast to our attitude, the prisoner of war also is regarded as an enemy of Communism and is subjected to the same type of trial as a "human" enemy.

According to Red law, those who are caught or seized are not arrested—merely detained for interrogation. In the detention center the suspect is seated with those who made the arrest to discuss his crime and why he committed it. Guilt is a foregone conclusion but months or years of interrogation may be needed to obtain a confession.

Psychological Brutality

The method is a psychological type of brutality; it relies upon fear, isolation, uncertainty and such procedures as sitting or standing for hours, poor food, little sleep and constant questioning. Whenever signs of a breakdown become apparent the captive is hospitalized temporarily and revived.

After a confession is signed the court pronounces sentence. If the death penalty is not received the transgressor usually is sent to some isolated area, such as Siberia, where rehabilitation continues for years, if necessary.

The Chinese Communists concentrate more on conversation or ideological reform. This is where brainwashing enters the picture. Instead of isolation, the culprit is placed in a cell with others where he is bombarded day and night by interrogations.

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As Pegler Sees It:

How Bolsheviks Won a 'Revolution'

By WESTBROOK PEGLER

SARASOTA, Fla.: Dave Cohen laughed at the recollection of the ignorant, stupid Russian Imperial guardsmen, sworn by special vows to defend to the death the special treasury of 500,000,000 golden rubles in the palace of St. Peter and St. Paul in old St. Petersburg, and said:

"A soldier is a guy who holds out a tin pan to be fed. If his master does not put food into the pan the soldier does not know what to do. For more than a week nobody had fed those big, dumb guards so Lenin and Trotsky sent a bunch of guys down to the palace. They all yelled 'Comrades, this is the revolution. We are the people. Down with the Romanoffs. Come with us and we will put meat in your pans.' So the imperial guards yelled 'Down with the Romanoffs. Hooray for the revolution,' and marched away and we put stew in their mess-tins and used those Romanoff gold rubles to pay the Kaiser for the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk which took Germany out of the war."

This is Karl Bickel's free-style recollection of one of many informal sessions with Mr. Cohen in the old Russian Foreign Ministry in 1923 when the Bolshevik government still was haphazard, unorganized and incompetent. Mr. Bickel was then president of the United Press.

Dave Cohen had worked in Charleston, W. Va., in an explosives plant and had driven a laundry wagon in Hoboken. This background qualified him as an expert in American affairs. The Americans and British spoke the same language so it followed that he was an expert in British affairs, too. Therefore, he was appointed director of Anglo-American affairs in the Soviet Foreign Office and, as such, he sent Mr. Bickel an invitation to cocktails with M. Tchicherin, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, at two o'clock. Mr. Bickel rarely drank anything and two o'clock seemed out of season, whether P. M. or A. M.

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Owl-Blood in His Veins

Mr. Cohen said Tchicherin had a strong strain of owl-blood in his veins and didn't begin to relax until two in the morning.

"Tell him," said Mr. Bickel, "that I can't stay awake that late," but in time they accommodated their schedules and he met the Foreign Minister in his study, as big as the Yale Bowl, where Tchicherin played an enormous grand piano with keys like the pedals of a pipe organ.

"'This fellow was a real pianist," Mr. Bickel said. "Harry Truman is just a piano-player.

"Cohen and I were sitting in this big place one night and Cohen suddenly said, 'Twelve Broadway cops could have stopped this whole damned thing. We hear talk about a conspiracy, but there was no conspiracy, no plan, no organization. Nobody knew anybody else outside about 50 guys and we didn't trust each other.

"'There was a little tin armored tug called the Aurora lying in the river with a couple of little cannon like the kind you shoot off on Fourth of July to make a noise. A bunch of sailors got drunk and went bang, bang, bang and Kerensky's crowd got scared and ran like thieves. So Lenin and Trotsky said, "The town is ours, let's take it" and they got a couple of truckloads of stupid soldiers and sailors with rifles to ride through the streets shooting wild and howling "We are the revolution. We are the people. Down with the Romanoffs." The people yelled "We are the revolution," but they did not know what the hell a revolution was. It was not really a revolution. The Romanoff government was so rotten it just caved in and we had only 50 or so in our crowd when we went into the Smolny Institute and formed the government.'"

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U.S. News + World Report
Nov. 30, 1956 P. 60

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KHRUSHCHEV—NOW THE SMILE IS GONE

—United Press

For two years, Nikita S. Khrushchev posed as a jolly soul who wanted to be friends with the West. Recently, his grin has changed to a snarl. Now he is threatening the West, talking tough.

To those who have studied his career, however, this is no surprise. His record shows that what the world is seeing now is the real Khrushchev.

WHEN NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV climbed into the top tier of Soviet rulers three and a half years ago, he was little known outside the Soviet Union. Then he began to make visits abroad. He showed himself to the public in India, Burma, Yugoslavia, Switzerland and England.

Everywhere Khrushchev went, he wore a broad grin. He made broad jokes. He talked of peace and "coexistence." He began to be called "the smiling Stalin."

Now, however, the Khrushchev smile is turning into a scowl. His jests are turning into threats and vituperation. Instead of talking about "peaceful coexistence," he is sending tanks to slaughter Hungarians and has threatened to send Soviet fighting men into the Middle East.

Day by day, Nikita Khrushchev looks more and more, to the outside world, like the man whom he has denounced, Joseph Stalin.

The "new" Khrushchev showed himself twice to the world's diplomats last week.

It happened first at a Kremlin reception in Moscow to honor the visiting new chief of the Communist Party in Poland, Wladyslaw Gomulka. Ambassadors from many countries were present. Suddenly Khrushchev began railing against the "bandit-like attacks of Britain, France and their puppet, Israel," upon Egypt. He described as "fascist gangs" the Hungarian patriots who rebelled against Soviet rule. He referred to Western nations as "imperialists."

Diplomatic representatives from 13 countries—including the United States, Great Britain, France and Israel—stalked out of the Kremlin in protest.

Next night Khrushchev did it again. This time it was at a diplomatic reception in the Polish Embassy. Addressing the assembled diplomats, Khrushchev turned red in the face and started waving his hands.

"If you don't like us," he shouted, "don't accept our invitations and don't invite us to come to see you."

Then he turned from insults to threats. "Whether you like it or not," he roared, "history is on our side. We will bury you."

Once more the Western diplomats walked out.

The "real" Khrushchev. These recent angry outbursts by the man who used to grin and joke have left some people in the West wondering if Khrushchev has changed somehow.

—Herblock in The Washington "Post"

"HOLD IT MEN. THAT LAST ONE WAS KHRUSHCHEV AGAIN"

Look at the man's lifelong record, however, and the "new" Khrushchev that the world is now seeing does not seem so new, after all. What that record suggests is that the "new" Khrushchev is the real Khrushchev.

Behind that smiling exterior, the man who now heads Russia's Communist Party has always been a ruthless man of action. In the band of hard-bitten Communists who rule the Soviet empire, it was not by smiling that Khrushchev fought his way to the top.

When Khrushchev denounced Stalin at the Communist Party's Twentieth Congress last February, he accused the late dictator of having committed many political murders and mass liquidations. Yet the record shows that Khrushchev not only was a long-time friend and close associate of Stalin, but also was deeply involved in some of the very crimes that he later condemned.

Handpicked by Stalin. At the time of the bloody Stalin purges of 1937-38, Khrushchev was a member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Central Executive Committee. Khrushchev was handpicked by Stalin in 1938 to carry out the purge in the Ukraine. More than 1,200 party officials were killed in those purges.

In his hostility toward Western nations, Khrushchev consistently has been one of the most outspoken of the Kremlin's leaders. It was not Khrushchev, but former Premier Georgi M. Malenkov who invented "peaceful coexistence."

When it comes to Communist ideology, Khrushchev is one of the most rigid doctrinaires in the Kremlin. He once said the new Soviet regime would never abandon

Communism until "a shrimp learns to whistle."

The only basic policy in which Khrushchev has really deviated from the Stalinism he now condemns is that of keeping a strangle hold on the satellite countries. In sponsoring a reconciliation with Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia, Khrushchev showed an inclination to allow other Communist nations some freedom from Moscow's direction.

In Hungary and Poland, however, Khrushchev showed how little freedom he is really willing to allow—where he is able to enforce his will. When Hungary tried to set up a Communist regime independent of Moscow, Khrushchev sent thousands of tanks pouring into Hungary to re-establish Moscow's rule with an iron hand. And in Poland he insisted on keeping Soviet troops on hand to bar the Poles from going too far with their new "freedom."

Schooled in violence. When it comes to brute force, Khrushchev can call upon a lifetime of schooling and practice under the old master of violence, Stalin.

Reared in poverty, the son of a Ukrainian coal miner, Khrushchev became a Communist in 1918, at the age of 24, and fought in the Russian civil war.

After the civil war, he won admission to a school for adult workers. There he made such an impression that, upon his graduation in 1925, he was named a regional party secretary. Four years later he was sent to Moscow for further study and there, again, he became a secretary, in the school's party committee.

It was in that position that Khrushchev attracted the personal attention of Stalin. The dictator's wife, in 1929, made an "unwise" speech at the school, and Khrushchev succeeded in suppressing news about the speech. Khrushchev's promotion after that was rapid.

When Stalin was seeking underlings to carry out his purge of the Moscow party organization in 1934, Khrushchev was made first secretary of the city party committee. The next year he was named to the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Central Executive Committee, and in 1938 Stalin accepted him as a candidate-member of the Politburo. He took the place in the Politburo of Stanislav Kossior, a man he had helped to purge.

Purger of Ukraine. It was then that Stalin sent Khrushchev to the Ukraine as first secretary of the Ukrainian party organization to carry out the purge there. By 1939, at the age of 45, Khrushchev was a full member of the Politburo and one of the top 10 leaders of the Soviet Union.

Throughout World War II, Khrushchev remained in the Ukraine and from 1944 to 1947 he was a virtual dictator of that big republic, subject only to Stalin.

The rapid climb of this bright pupil

(Continued on page 62)

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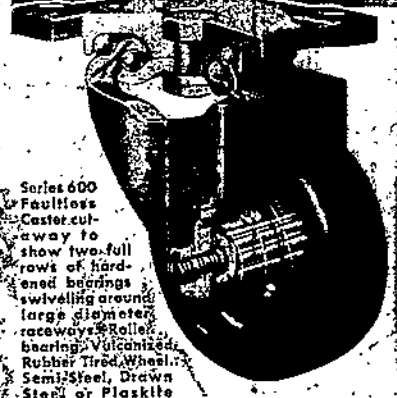

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FAULTLESS SOLVES THE TOUGH JOBS

. . . Crisis on farms caused Khrushchev's first setback

of Stalin's was interrupted temporarily in 1947, apparently as a result of agricultural difficulties in the Ukraine. Lazar M. Kaganovich, now a First Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union, was sent to replace Khrushchev as secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

By 1949, however, Khrushchev was back in favor as first secretary of the Moscow province party committee and a member of the All-Union party secretariat which was headed by Stalin. He also emerged as the party's spokesman for a new agricultural program which forced millions of peasants into large collective farms.

When Stalin died in March, 1953, Khrushchev jumped from eighth to fifth place in the Soviet hierarchy, emerging as First Secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee, and the Government's top agricultural official. He solidified his position by helping purge the secret-police chief, Lavrenti P. Beria.

With the removal of Malenkov as Premier in February, 1955, Khrushchev's power expanded again and he is now regarded as the top Communist leader, even though Nikolai A. Bulganin holds the title of Premier. The job of party secretary that Khrushchev holds is the same one from which Stalin for many years exercised his dictatorship.

Lover of limelight. Until Stalin's death, Khrushchev remained little known outside Soviet circles. Since then he has become a figure familiar to the entire world. At international gatherings and on visits of Soviet officials abroad, Khrushchev has hogged the limelight.

The impression that Khrushchev sought to leave on those appearances before Western audiences was that of a genial man with whom the West could talk frankly and do business. He jested and laughed, even kissed babies, like a politician running for office. He also drank copiously.

When he drank, he sometimes became insulting. The Western tendency, for a time, was to blame his outbursts on his drinking.

Now, however, it is becoming apparent that Khrushchev does not have to drink to act mean. It was no drinking party that sent those tanks into Hungary. And that tough talk in Moscow last week did not come out of a bottle.

What the world is now beginning to realize is that the main difference between Stalin and Khrushchev was the smile on Khrushchev's face. Now even that smile is gone.

0-19 (11-22-55)

Brucker Assails Soviet Tactics

Army Secretary Brucker said today the Communists had made "a hideous jest" of the word "freedom" in their recent world manuevering.

He spoke before the Retired Officers Association at the Mayflower Hotel.

"In the Soviet mumbo-jumbo it means the alternative of following the Communist line wherever it may lead or spending the rest of one's life in a Siberian slave labor camp," the secretary said.

He went on to add that the word "coexistence" was another that had been "warped out of all its meaning" by the Communists.

"The Soviet idea of coexistence is for the rest of the world to let down its guard and become docile while Russia builds its military might and conducts psychological warfare in preparation for the day when the Soviet can take over the world," Mr Brucker said.

"We as a Nation must learn once and for all not to be deceived by mere words," he continued. "The Communists must be judged by their actions.

"What has actually occurred in Hungary and elsewhere and the increasing brazen efforts of the Kremlin to foment discord, exploit unrest and sap the power and resolution of the free world by open threat and covert intrigue have afforded us plain and unmistakable warning of our danger."

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These Days . . . . . By George Sokolsky

Fear of War

LET US START on the premise that nobody likes war and that nobody wants World War III ever to occur. From that premise, we must logically move to the next one which is that if nations persist in emphasizing their fear of war, will not one nation assume that all others are cowards and take a chance?

Sokolsky

There are three reasons why this may be Soviet Russia's best and even last opportunity to make a universal war:

1. It is now clearly evident, as Nikolai Khokhlov, former member of Soviet intelligence, pointed out on "Meet the Press," that the revolt against communism is developing not only in the satellite countries but within Soviet Russia. Were it not so, Khrushchev would never have consented to resurrect Molotov.

2. Soviet Russia's conduct in Hungary has not yet separated her allies in Asia and Africa but it has had a frightening influence which was so sharp that it caused Nehru to change his position swiftly—so swiftly, in fact, that Krishna Menon could not catch up with him. Although more emphasis has been put on the Egyptian situation, in history it will be as small as the point of a pin compared with the revolt in the Soviet satellites which can change the course of history.

3. From a Russian standpoint, the Egyptian affair is important for only one factor: It has finally loosened the bonds between the United States, Great Britain and France. That means that NATO is weakened. That means that it will not be too long before the British and the French will ask what good NATO is, what good American bases are.

THIS IS therefore a good time for Soviet Russia to try to bring on a war and Shepilov's conduct in the United Nations is evidence that the spirit of Geneva is dead. But the Administration in Washington has pledged itself to peace and the Russians can afford to gamble on how far they can push President Eisenhower around.

This is a matter not of politics but of temperament and no one can possibly tell at what point President Eisenhower will take no more guff from the Kremlin.

Khokhlov made this point, in answer to a question as to what the United States can do, on "Meet the Press":

"First, to detach themselves from the fear of the third war, third world war. You see I can only quote some words of Hungarian rebels who told our contact in Hungary, I mean our underground there, and he told the Western powers are only sissies to tremble so much before the Soviet threats of war. Now that is probably to realize that if you even do not want to go to fight you have to be prepared for that. I will quote you a small thing, that the delegation of Italy proposed to the United Nations to send volunteers to Hungary. Now it wouldn't mean a war. But an American delegation with all their previous firm stand opposed that because they said it could raise the chances of war."

IT WOULD SEEM that the issue in the world at this moment is "peace at any price" versus "liberty at any price." The arbiter has become Soviet Russia which can withhold peace and deprive of liberty. But the rest of the human race surely cannot tolerate a situation which would make men slaves if they wished to remain alive or dead if they wished to be free.

While it is possible to palliate and mitigate and explain away for a time, inevitably men will strive for freedom and upon that rock other empires have cracked. Soviet Russia's gimmick of associating Marxism with imperialism has run its course as Tito so clearly stated in his speech of Nov. 11, which is a complete indictment of Stalinism spoken by a Communist and which had wide circulation in all Communist countries. At any rate, "Pravda" devoted a good part of an issue to denouncing Tito, and Molotov was appointed to an important position to indicate a return to Stalinism.

The situation is adding up to a disaster and the blame will have to be carried by those who have appeased Soviet Russia with improvisations and rationalizations since 1945, with the result that the Kremlin has been encouraged to believe that great chances might be taken and no retaliation need be anticipated. That is always dangerous because it is almost an invitation to the establishment of conditions that lead to war.

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~~NKVD~~ OFFICE HERE BLOCKED BY HOOVER

SECRET POLICE from Moscow might have established an office here under an OSS plan during World War II if FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover hadn't blocked the idea. Don Whitehead tells about it in his "Story of the FBI," reviewed on page A 19.

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Top Reds May Be in Trouble

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By DONALD J. GONZALES
United Press Staff Correspondent

American experts believe Russia is taking a new look at its foreign policy, particularly toward its satellites, that could spell trouble for some of the Kremlin high command.

They said Russia is confronted by the knotty question of whether its "liberalized" policies toward some satellites, its easing of tension with the West and the downgrading of Stalin have done Moscow more harm than good.

As seen here, the evidence indicates Russia may find results to date more to its detriment than gain. The outcome, particularly in view of the continuing crisis in Hungary, could mean an early shakeup in Soviet leadership, diplomats believe.

CAUTIOUS

These experts were cautious, however, as to what such a shakeup might mean in terms of individual leaders.

The so-called "Stalinist" wing of the Kremlin leadership, led by former Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov, is believed to advocate a return to the tougher policies in force under the late Premier Josef Stalin.

However U. S. officials have not concluded yet that Molotov's recent appointment as minister of state control means a step toward greater power or prominence. They are watching closely for any such signs.

Diplomats said they have had no confirmation thus far of reports first heard in France that Molotov soon would take over from Nikita S. Khrushchev as Communist Party Secretary, and that former Premier Georgi Malenkov would replace Nikolai A. Bulganin as Premier.

However Khrushchev and Bulganin represent the so-called "liberal" wing of Soviet leadership that brought the new policies into effect. Any reappraisal of those policies that concluded they were unsuccessful could spell trouble for the Khrushchev-Bulganin combination.

FOCAL POINTS

The Kremlin reappraisal is believed to center on these questions:

- The degree to which Soviet policy toward the satellites needs revamping in the light of the Hungarian crisis, Poland's move toward greater freedom from Moscow and Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia's more challenging tone toward Kremlin policies.
- The degree to which Moscow can rely on her satellites in event of trouble behind the Iron Curtain or with the West.
- Whether the more friendly policy toward Tito is good or bad. There are growing signs of a new split between Tito and the Kremlin over satellite policy.

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Molotov in New Post, Seen Stalinist Victory

LONDON, Nov. 21 (AP)—Soviet Deputy Prime Minister V. M. Molotov was appointed Minister of State Control Wednesday in what appeared to be a victory for the Stalinists in the Kremlin power struggle.

Moscow radio indicated Molotov, an oldtime Stalinist, retained his office as a First Deputy Premier. He is a former foreign minister and a veteran Bolshevik.

His new post gives him extensive control over a wide range of Soviet activities and puts him in close association with General A. I. Serov, head of the Soviet secret police.

* * *

THE DEAD DICTATOR Joseph Stalin was minister of state control for three years before he took over as supreme boss of the Soviet Union in 1922.

Moscow radio said Molotov was relieving V. G. Zhavoronkov in the Control Ministry after being named to the post by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament).

In recent years the holder of the post had had relatively little prestige in the Kremlin heirarchy and Zhavoronkov is almost unknown to the outside world.

(Some Washington observers consequently held that Molotov's new job represents a demotion rather than a step upward in the Kremlin highcommand. The officials said the post is equivalent to the chief of the government accounting office. They said it may mean that Molotov, long recognized as a leader of the tough Stalinist group, is being shelved.)

V. M. Molotov . . . gets watchdog post in Kremlin power fight. (International Photo)

* * *

BUT THE FACT that the post has wide paper powers and was given to a man presumably retaining the title of First Deputy Premier was viewed here in London as indicating a big step up for the pro-Stalinist former Foreign Minister.

Molotov left the foreign ministry this year just before the Moscow visit of Yugoslav President Tito, the first of the

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Molotov Is Given New Soviet Post

Continued from Page 2

rebels against Stalin-line communism.

Tito only last week publicly disclosed a rift between Stalinists in the Kremlin and the "soft" faction led by Nikita Khrushchev, boss of the Soviet Communist Party.

The revolt in Hungary, developments in Poland and restlessness in other areas of the Soviet sphere had led to speculation that the Stalinists would move back into the spotlight.

According to the Soviet encyclopedia, Molotov's new office controls production, economic and financial activities of the state and cooperative and public organizations and enterprises.

It controls the expenditure of money and materials allocated to these organizations and checks to insure that government decisions are carried out. It has active representatives watching the navy, in military headquarters and in ports.

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Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

Communist Party - Russia

(MOLOTOV)

U.S. OFFICIALS AWAIT FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE KREMLIN BEFORE GIVING ANY FLAT ASSESSMENT OF EX-FOREIGN MINISTER V.M. MOLOTOV'S NEW JOB AS MINISTER OF STATE CONTROL.

THERE HAVE BEEN RECURRING REPORTS OF A JOCKEYING FOR POWER INSIDE THE SOVIET HIERARCHY, PARTICULARLY OVER MOSCOW POLICY TOWARD EASTERN EUROPE'S RESTIVE SATELLITES.

RUMORS, AND NOTHING MORE THAN THAT, HAVE BEEN HEARD THAT MOLOTOV MIGHT BE IN LINE TO SUCCEED COMMUNIST PART BOSS KHRUSHCHEV, AND FORMER PREMIER MALEMKOV MIGHT RETURN AS PREMIER, SUCCEEDING NIKOLAI BULGANIN. OFFICIALS, HOWEVER, SAID THEY HAD NO CONFIRMATION OF THESE REPORTS, WHICH ORIGINATED IN FRANCE.

BUT DIPLOMATIC EXPERTS DESCRIBED AS "WILD" THOSE DISPATCHES INTERPRETING MOLOTOV'S NEW JOB AS A VICTORY FOR THE STALINISTS. OFFICIALS WERE FRANKLY PUZZLED BY THE MOLOTOV APPOINTMENT, BUT THEY TENDED TO BELIEVE THE WILY OLD COMMUNIST HAD BEEN TIED TO A MINOR AGENCY WHICH CORRESPONDS TO THE GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE MINISTRY OF STATE CONTROL HAS BEEN A "WATCHDOG" AGENCY INSIDE RUSSIA. IT SEES THAT OTHER AGENCIES CARRY OUT PARTY AND GOVERNMENTAL DIRECTIVES.

DIPLOMATS SAID IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE AGENCY'S FUNCTIONS WOULD BE CHANGED, BUT ONLY TIME WILL TELL WHETHER MOLOTOV IS UP, DOWN, OR STANDING STILL ON THE KREMLIN LADDER.

LITTLE SIGNIFICANCE IS ATTACHED HERE TO THE FACT THE LATE JOSEF STALIN HELD A POST SIMILAR TO MOLOTOV'S BACK IN THE EARLY 1920'S WHEN LENIN WAS STILL ALIVE. THE ORIGANIZATION THEN WAS KNOWN AS THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' INSPECTORATE.

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o Communist Party - Russia

Molotov Back in Stalinist Victory

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58 DEC 3 1956

Old Bolshevik Returns With Wide Powers

Now Is in Position To Oppose 'Soft' Khrushchev Policy

LONDON, Nov. 21 (AP).—Soviet Deputy Prime Minister V. M. Molotov was appointed Minister of State Control tonight in what appeared to be a voctory for the Stalinists in the Kremlin power struggle.

The new job, although ambiguously titled, may give Mr. Molotov a powerful hand in steering Russia toward Joseph Stalin's concepts of communism.

Mr. Molotov, 66, is a veteran Bolshevik, a leader of the old guard.

The appointment as Minister of State Control was made by the President of the Supreme Soviet. In the new office Mr. Molotov succeeds V. G. Zhavoronkov.

Gets Wide Control

Moscow radio indicated Mr. Molotov retained his office as a First Deputy Premier. He is a former Foreign Minister.

His new post gave him extensive control over a wide range of Soviet activities.

The Minister of State Control normally supervises the work of other ministries, insuring that government decrees and instructions are carried out. The ministry is not a police agency. That is handled by the Ministry of State Security.

The appointment puts Mr. Molotov in close association, however, with General A. I. Serov, head of the Soviet Secret Police.

Can Wield Heavy Influence

The effect is to put a Stalinist in a position with immediate administrative powers. A Minister of State Control with the prestige of Mr. Molotov could be expected to wield heavy influence in arranging shifts of personnel.

There was speculation here that other shifts in second level ministerial posts may follow.

More important for the outside world, however, is the fact that the post puts Mr. Molotov in a strong position to buck Nikita S. Khrushchev, Communist Party boss, whenever he wishes to do so.

According to the Soviet encyclopedia Mr. Molotov's new office controls production, economics and financial activities of the state and co-operative and public organizations and enterprises.

Controls Money, Materials

It controls the expenditure of money and materials allocated to these organizations.

It checks to insure that government decisions are carried out. It submits to the government problems of over-all economic importance emerging from audits.

It has active representatives watching the navy, in military headquarters, and in ports.

The post has often been seen as a stepping stone to bigger things in the Kremlin heirarchy. At the time of Stalin's death in 1953, it was held by V. N. Merkulov, a secret police type who was feared throughout the Soviet Union. For a time in 1953, it appeared that Mr. Merkulov was headed for the heights, but he faded with the switch to a softer Kremlin line.

Konev Backing Seen

Most Western diplomats here believe Mr. Molotov has the active backing of Marshal Ivan Konev, commander of the Warsaw Pact armies, and possibly also that of Marshal Georgi Zhukov, the defense minister.

It has been reported that both see Mr. Khrushchev's soft policies as a threat to their military alliances.

Stalin was minister of State control for three years before he took over as supreme boss of the Soviet Union in 1922.

In recent years the holder of the post has held relatively little prestige in the Kremlin heirarchy and Mr. havoronkov is almost unknown to the outside world.

Big Step Up Seen

But the fact that the post has such wide paper powers and was given to a man presumably retaining the title of first deputy premier was viewed here as indicating a big step up for the pro-Stalinist former Foreign Minister.

Mr. Molotov left the Foreign Ministry this year just before the Moscow visit of Yugoslav President Tito, the first of the rebels against Stalin-line communism.

Marshal Tito only last week publicly disclosed a rift between Stalinists in the Kremlin and the "soft" faction led by Mr. Khrushchev.

Yesterday a report reached British diplomats indicating far-reaching changes were imminent in the Kremlin heirarchy.

Calls for More Propaganda

Mr. Molotov returned yesterday to the Soviet ideological stage, apparently for the first time since he got into ideological trouble himself and had to publicly confess errors more than a year ago.

He called for a greater output of Red propaganda. In a speech to Russian creative artists broadcast by the Moscow radio, he said:

"We advocate a high level of Bolshevist idea content in the creative work of our artists."

Mr. Molotov's instructions sounded like the same sort of orders issued by Stalin's chief executive on the artistic front, Party Secretary Andrei Zhandanov.

He said there is need for "profound and constant party leadership in the realm of artistic work."

V. M. MOLOTOV

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Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

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C P, RUSSIA

(REACTION MOLOTOV)

AMERICAN DIPLOMATS SEEMED PUZZLED TONIGHT OVER THE MOSCOW ANNOUNCEMENT THAT FORMER SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER V. M. MOLOTOV HAD BEEN APPOINTED RUSSIA'S NEW MINISTER OF STATE CONTROL.

THE JOB IN ITSELF IS MORE OR LESS ROUTINE AND CORRESPONDS ROUGHLY TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTING OFFICE. IT SERVES AS A SORT OF "WATCH-DOG," TO SEE THAT COMMUNIST PARTY AND SOVIET GOVERNMENT DIRECTIVES ARE CARRIED OUT. IT HAS NOT BEEN A TOP POST.

SOME DIPLOMATS DESCRIBED AS "WILD" LONDON REPORTS THAT THE APPOINTMENT WAS A VICTORY FOR MOLOTOV AS AN OLD LINE BOLSHEVIK WHO SUPPORTS TOUGH STALINIST METHODS. THESE REPORTS GAVE THE MOLOTOV APPOINTMENT SIGNIFICANCE WHICH DIPLOMATS HERE THOUGHT UNWARRANTED.

SOME DIPLOMATS BELIEVED INSTEAD THAT MOLOTOV HAD BEEN TIED TO A SECOND-RATE JOB WHICH WOULD APPEAR TO HAVE REDUCED HIM IN POLITICAL STATURE.

OTHERS SAID IT WAS TOO EARLY TO TELL, AND THAT ONLY FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS WOULD SHOW WHAT HAD REALLY HAPPENED.

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0529 (11-22-55)

We'll Bury You,' West Is Warned

Diplomats Leave Polish Reception When Kremlin Chief Starts Diatribe

By Harold K. Milks

MOSCOW, Nov. 18. (AP) Nikita S. Khrushchev dampened a diplomatic reception again tonight with a political monologue so bitter that envoys from NATO nations and Israel stalked from the room. Egypt and Hungary were his main themes.

"If you don't like us, don't accept our invitations and don't invite us to come to see you," the Soviet Communist Party boss suggested, red-faced and gesticulating.

"Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you."

The scene was a Polish Embassy reception following the signing of a Moscow-Warsaw joint declaration which some Poles hailed as a virtual declaration of independence, though Poland remains firmly within the Communist family of nations.

There was a similar walkout Saturday night at a Kremlin party honoring the Poles at which Khrushchev denounced "imperialists and their puppets" in a heated appraisal of the Egyptian war as a threat to world peace. He also blasted at "Fascist gangs" in Hungary.

That sent the envoys, including United States Ambassador Charles Bohlen, to the exits.

Tonight they retired to an outer room.

"The atmosphere is much more pleasant," a European diplomat said.

All returned to the reception when Khrushchev finished speaking.

Khrushchev's remarks on not accepting "our invitations" and his forecast that "we will bury you" was obviously directed at the Western diplomats.

A group of Red leaders crowded around Khrushchev gave him a burst of applause; Wladyslaw Gomulka, Polish Communist leader, who had been standing at one side rather glumly, laughed.

The Soviet Communist chieftain said many mistakes had been made in building socialism in the Soviet Union because of the lack of examples and the lack of personnel. He continued:

"If we could have the revolution over again, we would carry it out more sensibly and with smaller losses. But history does not repeat itself. The situation is favorable for us. If God existed, we would thank him for this."

Khrushchev then switched to the Hungarian situation:

"On Hungary—we had Hungary thrust upon us. We are very sorry that such a situation exists there. We are sure that the Hungarian working class will find the strength to overcome the difficulties. But the most important thing is that the counter revolution must be shattered.

"Dear comrades, gentlemen, they accuse us of interfering in Hungary's internal affairs. They find the most fearful words to accuse us.

"But at the same time (British Prime Minister) Eden says about Egypt that that is not war, that it is only a police action. When the British, French and Israelis cut the throats of the Egyptians, that is only a police action aimed at restoring order. But what order is this?

"No, for us it is the order of the colonizers. The order of enslavement, the domination of strong over weak."

Turning to Gomulka Khrushchev said:

"I am sorry to be making such a speech on the (embassy) territory of a foreign state.

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New Walkout On Khrushchev

The Western Powers are trying to denigrate Nasser, (the Egyptian President) although Nasser is not a Communist. Politically he is closer to those who are waging war on him and he has even put Communists in jail."

Here, Soviet President Klementi Voroshilov commented: "He had to." Khrushchev turned to the president with a smile and said: "Don't try to help me."

Then he continued:

Sees Nasser As Hero

"But he, Nasser, is fighting for independence. He is the hero of his nation and and our sympathies are on his side.

"We sent sharp letters to Britain, France and Israel—well, Israel, that was just for form—because as you know Israel carries no weight in the world, and if it plays any role it was just to start a fight.

"If Israel hadn't felt the support of Britain, France and others, the Arabs would have been able to box her ears and she would have remained at peace.

"The situation is serious and we are realists. The fire must be put out. I think the British and French will be wise enough to withdraw their forces and then Egypt will emerge stronger than ever.

"We must seek a reapproachment. We must seek a settlement so that coexistence will be peaceful and advantageous."

Referring to the Soviet government's latest disarmament plan, he said:

"You say we want war, but you now have got yourselves into a position I would call idiotic."

Mikoyan interjected:

"Let's say delicate."

Khrushchev contined:

"But we don't want to profit by it. If you withdraw your troops from Germany, France and Britain—I'm speaking of American troops—we will not stay one day in Poland, Hungary and Romania.

Gomulka, the Polish Communist Party boss, had said in a statement:

"In the previous period, fraternal relations between the Soviet Union and Poland were overshadowed by distortions and mistakes arising from what was called in brief the 'cult of personality.' But let me say today with full force that the results of our talk fully confirm that the Soviet Union's declaration of Oct. 30 was not empty words, but real facts, expressed in the present adjustment of relations between Poland and the Soviet Union on the socialist principle of full equality."

The Soviet government announced Oct. 30 it was ready to discuss the disposition of Soviet troops in Hungary, Poland and Romania with other members of the eight-nation Warsaw Pact. It said this discussion would strengthen "friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and other socialist states."

Khrushchev opened his remarks calmly tonight, saying:

"We are Bolsheviks. We stick firmly to the Lenin precept—'don't be stubborn if you see you are wrong, but don't give in if you are right. . . .'

"I fully agree with the way which Comrade Gomulka has summed up our work. I consider that there were reasons for us to have had certain misunderstandings. . . . We are glad to hear from Comrade Gomulka that the way has been cleared."

Then he repeated Lenin's precepts against stubborness, "but don't give in if you are right."

There was general laughter as Deputy Premier A. I. Mikoyan chimed in from the side:

"When are you right?"

Khrushchev continued: "If you base yourself on this principle, especially as it concerns people who maintain identical positions of Marxism-Leninism, there can be no problems, however complicated, to which we cannot find a solution on a basis of mutual understanding and equality."

Cries of 'Right, Right'

There were cries of "right, right" from Premier Nikolai Bulganin and other members of the top Soviet circle who crowded around Krushchev like a cheering section.

Khrushchev continued:

"We say this not only for the socialist states who are more akin to us. We base ourselves on the idea that we must peacefully coexist. About the capitalist states, it doesn't depend on you whether or not we exist."

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'WE WILL BURY YOU,' RED LEADER TELLS WEST

Khrushchev Would Thank God —if He Thought There Was One

MOSCOW, Nov. 19 (UP)—Western envoys walked out on Communist Party Leader Nikita S. Khrushchev last night for the second time in two days when he gave them another tongue lashing and said God would be on the communist side if he believed in God.

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"We will bury you," Khrushchev told the Western diplomats at a reception at the Polish Embassy to mark the signing of a Soviet-Polish agreement giving Poland the right to pursue an independent course of communism.

"If you do not like us," the Vodka-drinking Khrushchev told the American, British and other envoys, "do not accept our invitations, and do not invite us to you."

He also blasted Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito altho he did not mention him by name.

"Those socialist countries who boast of their experience and attempt to extol their forms and methods have a mistaken attitude that does not agree with the principles of Marxism-Leninism," he said.

RED-FACED RED

The red-faced Khrushchev delivered his bitter tirade at a reception given for Polish communist leader Wladyslaw Gomulka.

"Things are going very well with us. If we believed in the existence of God we would thank him for it."

Khrushchev was frequently interrupted by Soviet leaders but each time they tried to correct or tone down his remarks, he brushed them off.

The NATO diplomatic corps walked out of a Soviet reception for the Polish delegation Saturday because of Khrushchev's remarks. Last night, out of respect for the Poles, they merely withdrew to an anteroom until Khrushchev had finished speaking.

"We base ourselves on the idea that we must peacefully co-exist," Khrushchev said this time. "Only a madman would reject it. It doesn't depend on you whether or not we exist . . . whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you."

URGES WITHDRAWAL

Khrushchev called on the U. S. to withdraw its troops from Germany, France, and Britain, and said, "we will not stay a single day in Poland, Hungary and Romania" if it did withdraw.

He repeated Soviet charges of Anglo-French-Israeli aggression and said the western powers accuse Russia of interfering in Hungary's internal affairs.

He said British Prime Minister Anthony Eden said there was "no war in Egypt, that this is only a police action."

"When the British, French and Israelis cut the throats of the Egyptians, this is only a police action aimed at restoring order," he said.

"What order is this?" Khrushchev asked. "For us it is the order of the colonizers, the order of enslavement, the domination of strong over weak."

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—United Press Telephoto.

U. S. Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen is shown at right above, with Russian leaders during a reception last July 4 at Mr. Bohlen's embassy residence in Moscow. At left is Khrushchev and center is Bulganin. Mr. Bohlen and ambassadors of other NATO nations walked out of a Polish embassy reception yesterday when Khrushchev began a tirade against the Western nations.

0-19 (11-22-55)

'We'll Bury You,' West Is Warned

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By Harold K. Milks

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Then he continued:

Se.. Nasser As Hero

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"I fully agree with the way which Comrade Gomulka has summed up our work. I consider that there were reasons for us to have had certain misunderstandings. . . . We are glad to hear from Comrade Gomulka that the way has been cleared."

Then he [illegible]ated Lenin's precepts against stubborness, "but don't give in if you are right."

There was general laughter as Deputy Premier A. I. Mikoyan chimed in from the side:

"When are you right?"

Khrushchev continued: "If you base yourself on this principle, especially as it concerns people who maintain identical positions of Marxism-Leninism, there can be no problems, however complicated, to which we cannot find a solution on a basis of mutual understanding and equality."

Cries of 'Right, Right'

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'We Will Bury You,' West Is Told by Khrushchev

Diplomats Walk Out Again on Tirade As Russian Derides Eden and Israel

By HAROLD K. MILKS
Associated Press Foreign Correspondent

MOSCOW, Nov. 19.—Red-faced and gesticulating, Nikita S. Khrushchev told the West last night: "We will bury you."

For the second consecutive night, the Soviet Communist Party boss delivered an anti-Western tirade so bitter that diplomats from Atlantic alliance nations and Israel left the room. Mr. Khrushchev's main themes at a Polish Embassy reception were Egypt and Hungary.

Obviously speaking to the Western diplomats in attendance, Mr. Khrushchev said:

"If you don't like us, don't accept our invitations and don't invite us to come and see you.

"Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you."

Westerners Retire

The Western envoys, including United States Ambassador Charles Bohlen, retired to an outer room where one said, "The atmosphere is much more pleasant." They returned to the hall where the Poles were toasting a just-signed Moscow-Warsaw joint declaration after Mr. Khrushchev finished speaking.

The night before Mr. Khrushchev had denounced "Fascist gangs" in Hungary and "imperialists and their puppets" in the Egyptian war during a Kremlin reception for the Poles. On that occasion the Western diplomats stalked out and did not return.

NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV

Mr. Khrushchev began calmly: "We are Bolsheviks. We stick firmly to the Lenin precept—

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'We Will Bury You,' West Is Told by Khrushchev

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don't be stubborn if you see you are wrong; but don't give in if you are right."

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Solutions Always Possible

Mr. Khrushchev continued: "If you base yourself on this principle, especially as it concerns people who maintain identical positions of Marxism-Leninism, there can be no problems, however complicated, to which we cannot find a solution on a bisis of mutual understanding and equality."

There were cries of "Right, right," from Premier Nikolai Bulganin and other members of the top Soviet circle who crowded around Mr. Khrushchev like a cheering section.

Mr. Khrushchev continued:

"We say this not only for the socialist states who are more akin to us. We base ourselves on the idea that we must peacefully coexist. About the capitalist states, it doesn't depend on you whether or not we exist." (At this point he appeared to be directing his remarks to the Western diplomats.)

"If you don't like us, don't accept our invitations and don't invite us to come to see you. Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you."

Crowd Applauds

There was applause from the cheering section and Mr. Gomulka, who had been standing at one side rather glumly, laughed.

The Soviet Communist chieftain said many mistakes had been made in building socialism in the Soviet Union because of the lack of examples and the lack of personnel.

He continued:

"If we could have the revolution over again, we would carry it out more sensibly and with smaller losses. But history does not repeat itself. The situation is favorable for us. If God existed, we would thank Him for this."

Mr. Khrushchev then switched to the Hungarian situation:

"On Hungary—we had Hungary thrust upon us. We are very sorry that such a situation exists there. We are sure that the Hungarian working class will find the strength to overcome the difficulties. But the most important thing is that the counter revolution must be shattered.

Derides Eden's Talk

"Dear comrades, gentlemen, they accuse us of interferring in Hungary's internal affairs. They find the most fearful words to accuse us.

"But at the same time (British Prime Minister) Eden says about Egypt that that is not war, that it is only a police action. When the British, French and Israelis cut the throats of the Egyptians, that is only a police action aimed at restoring order. But what order is this?

"No, for us it is the order of the colonizers. The order of enslavement, the domination of strong over the weak."

Turning to Mr. Gomulka, Mr. Khrushchev said:

"I am sorry to be making such a speech on the (embassy) territory of a foreign state. The Western powers are trying to denigrate Nasser, although Nasser is not a Communist. Politically he is closer to those who are waging war on him and he has even put Communists in jail."

Belittles Israel

Here, Soviet President Klementi Voroshilov commented: "He had to."

Mr. Khrushchev turned to the president with a smile and said: "Don't try to help me."

Then he continued:

"But he, Nasser, is fighting for independence. He is the hero of his nation and our sympathies are on his side.

"We sent sharp letters to Britain, France and Israel—well, Israel, that was just for form—because as you know Israel carries no weight in the world, and if it plays any role it was just to start a fight.

"If Israel hadn't felt the support of Britain, France and others, the Arabs would have been able to box her ears and she would have remained at peace.

"The situation is serious and we are realists. The fire must be put out. I think the British and French will be wise enough to withdraw their forces and then Egypt will emerge stronger than ever.

"We must seek a reapproachment. We must seek a settlement so that coexistence will be peaceful and advantageous."

West's Position "Idiotic"

Referring to the Soviet government's latest disarmament plan and talking to the West, he went on:

"You say we want war, but you now have got yourselves into a position I would call idiotic."

Mr. Mikoyan interjected: "Let's say delicate."

Mr. Khrushchev continued:

"But we don't want to profit by it. If you withdraw your troops from Germany, France and Britain—I'm speaking of American troops—we will not

[illegible] day in Poland [illegible] and Romania.

"But we, Mister Capitalists, we are beginning to understand your methods," he said with scorn in his voice. "You have given us a lesson in Egypt. If we had a quarter of our present friendship for the Poles, Czechs and Slovaks before the war (World War II), the war would never have started.

"Don't let us repeat the mistake that has taught us a lesson. No one must claim his method of socialism is the best. We must not transform our country into a sausage shop.

"I Envy the Chinese"

"I bow my head before the Chinese because they have very carefully solved some of their problems. I envy the Chinese.

"Nobody should pretend to know the best methods of socialism. The Bulgarians, Poles, Yugoslavs, Romanians, Czechs and Soviets all have their own, but comrades, it is really better to hawk one's own wares and if they are good, they will find a buyer on their own.

"So when our enemies try to bring us into conflict over which is the best method of socialism, we reject this. It is not in the interests of socialism.

"We are above all internationalists. Comrades, Poles, comrades, brothers, never desert us and we will never desert you, never, never, never.

"As if we were trying to extract some material advantage from friendship with these countries!

"Are we invalids that we can't look after our own country? There have been some stupidities, but this is all in the past. I welcome Comrade Gomulka. I welcome him wi[illegible] all my heart. May his leadership strengthen. We shall do everything to support him, but I think the Polish people will do it themselves."

C-19 (11-22-55)

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'We'll Bury You,' West Is Warned

Diplomats Leave Polish Reception When Kremlin Chief Starts Diatribe

By Harold K. Milks

MOSCOW, Nov. 18 (AP) Nikita S. Khrushchev dampened a diplomatic reception again tonight with a political monologue so bitter that envoys from NATO nations and Israel stalked from the room. Egypt and Hungary were his main themes.

"If you don't like us, don't accept our invitations and don't invite us to come to see you," the Soviet Communist Party boss suggested, red-faced and gesticulating.

"Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you."

The scene was a Polish Embassy reception following the signing of a Moscow-Warsaw joint declaration which some Poles hailed as a virtual declaration of independence, though Poland remains firmly within the Communist family of nations.

There was a similar walkout Saturday night at a Kremlin party honoring the Poles at which Khrushchev denounced "imperialists and their puppets" in a heated appraisal of the Egyptian war as a threat to world peace. He also blasted at "Fascist gangs" in Hungary.

That sent the envoys, including United States Ambassador Charles Bohlen, to the exits.

Tonight they retired to an outer room.

"The atmosphere is much more pleasant," a European diplomat said.

All returned to the reception when Khrushchev finished speaking.

Khrushchev's remarks about not accepting "our invitations" and his forecast that "we will bury you" was obviously directed at the Western diplomats.

A group of Red leaders crowded around Khrushchev gave him a burst of applause; Wladyslaw Gomulka, Polish Communist leader, who had been standing at one side rather glumly, laughed.

The Soviet Communist chieftain said many mistakes had been made in building socialism in the Soviet Union because of the lack of examples and the lack of personnel. He continued:

"If we could have the revolution over again, we would carry it out more sensibly and with smaller losses. But history does not repeat itself. The situation is favorable for us. If God existed, we would thank him for this."

Khrushchev then switched to the Hungarian situation:

"On Hungary—we had Hungary thrust upon us. We are very sorry that such a situation exists there. We are sure that the Hungarian working class will find the strength to overcome the difficulties. But the most important thing is that the counter revolution must be shattered.

"Dear comrades, gentlemen, they accuse us of interfering in Hungary's internal affairs. They find the most fearful words to accuse us.

"But at the same time (British Prime Minister) Eden says about Egypt that that is not war, that it is only a police action. When the British, French and Israelis cut the throats of the Egyptians, that is only a police action aimed at restoring order. But what order is this?

"No, for us it is the order of the colonizers. The order of enslavement, the domination of strong over weak."

Turning to Gomulka Khrushchev said:

"I am sorry to be making such a speech on the (embassy) territory of a foreign state

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Religion - Russia

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The Western Powers are trying to denigrate Nasser (the Egyptian President) although Nasser is not a Communist. Politically he is closer to those who are waging war on him and he has even put Communists in jail."

Here, Soviet President Kleinenti Voroshilov commented: "He had to." Khrushchev turned to the president with a smile and said: "Don't try to help me."

Then he continued:

Sees Nasser As Hero

"But he, Nasser, is fighting for independence. He is the hero of his nation and and our sympathies are on his side.

"We sent sharp letters to Britain, France and Israel—well, Israel, that was just for form—because as you know Israel carries no weight in the world, and if it plays any role it was just to start a fight.

"If Israel hadn't felt the support of Britain, France and others, the Arabs would have been able to box her ears and she would have remained at peace.

"The situation is serious and we are realists. The fire must be put out. I think the British and French will be wise enough to withdraw their forces and then Egypt will emerge stronger than ever.

"We must seek a reapprochement. We must seek a settlement so that coexistence will be peaceful and advantageous."

Referring to the Soviet government's latest disarmament plan, he said:

"You say we want war, but you now have got yourselves into a position I would call idiotic."

Mikoyan interjected:

"Let's say delicate."

Khrushchev contined:

"But we don't want to profit by it. If you withdraw your troops from Germany, France and Britain—I'm speaking of American troops—we will not stay one day in Poland, Hungary and Romania.

Gomulka, the Polish Communist Party boss, had said in a statement:

"In the previous period, fraternal relations between the Soviet Union and Poland were overshadowed by distortions and mistakes arising from what was called in brief the cult of personality. But let me say today with full force that the results of our talk fully confirm that the Soviet Union's declaration of Oct. 30 was not empty words, but real facts, expressed in the present adjustment of relations between Poland and the Soviet Union on the socialist principle of full equality."

The Soviet government announced Oct. 30 it was ready to discuss the disposition of Soviet troops in Hungary, Poland and Romania with other members of the eight-nation Warsaw Pact. It said this discussion would strengthen "friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and other socialist states."

Khrushchev opened his remarks calmly tonight, saying:

"We are Bolsheviks. We stick firmly to the Lenin precept—"don't be stubborn if you see you are wrong, but don't give in if you are right. . . .

"I fully agree with the way which Comrade Gomulka has summed up our work. I consider that there were reasons for us to have had certain misunderstandings. . . . We are glad to hear from Comrade Gomulka that the way has been cleared."

Then he repeated Lenin's precepts against stubborness, "but don't give in if you are right."

There was general laughter as Deputy Premier A. I. Mikoyan chimed in from the side:

"When are you right?"

Khrushchev continued: "If you base yourself on this principle, especially as it concerns people who maintain identical positions of Marxism-Leninism, there can be no problems, however complicated, to which we cannot find a solution on a basis of mutual understanding and equality."

Cries of 'Right, Right'

There were cries of "right, right" from Premier Nikolai Bulganin and other members of the top Soviet circle who crowded around Krushchev like a cheering section.

Khrushchev continued:

"We say this not only for the socialist states who are more akin to us. We base ourselves on the idea that we must peacefully coexist. About the capitalist states, it doesn't depend on you whether or not we exist."

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Soviet Threat to Peace Will Peril World for Years, Editors Warned

Russian-provoked crises will threaten world peace for years to come, Associated Press foreign affairs specialists predicted yesterday, even though full-scale war may be averted in the Middle East.

Two gloomy analyses were presented at the 23d annual meeting of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association by Tom Whitney, an AP correspondent who served for several years in Moscow, and Max Harrelson, the service's chief correspondent at the United Nations.

SEEK 'CHEAP SUCCESSES'

Whitney pointed out that, aside from obvious advantages to be won in the strategically-located and oil-rich Middle East, the Kremlin is under constant temptation to launch foreign adventures to win "cheap successes" that might offset troubles within the Communist "empire."

"From the time of the Bolshevik triumph in the Russian revolution until the end of the Second World War, Communism all over the world was controlled from a single, central headquarters—Moscow," Whitney said.

"When, after the war, the Communist regime of Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia refused to take orders from Moscow, Communism and the Soviet Union faced a crisis. It became more acute after Stalin's death.

SEVERAL DIFFERENT KINDS

"Now, instead of only one kind of Communism, directed from Moscow, there are several kinds—Yugoslavian, Chinese, Polish, Hungary passed from a struggle for national Communism of its own to a complete revolt. As a result, the USSR faces serious difficulties."

Those difficulties, Whitney said, have been complicated by the personality of Nikita Khrushchev, Soviet Communist Party boss.

Khrushchev is the man who probably arranged the assassination of Stalin and who certainly arranged the liquidation of Lavrenty Beria, head of the Soviet secret police, the correspondent said.

KHRUSHCHEV A GAMBLER

"It is becoming more and more apparent that he has the mentality of a gambler and the fact that he governs the Soviet Union is ominous, since he is on a spot because of discontent among the Russian satellite countries."

Harrelson told the editors that an explosion in the Middle East has been inevitable since September, 1955, when Russia entered into an arms agreement with Egypt.

"If Israel hadn't started the war when she did, Nasser would have," he said. "The British and French were getting kicked around in North Africa, Jordan and Cyprus, and the climax came when Nasser seized the Suez Canal.

CALLS ATTACK TIMED

"Nasser was hoping for assurances of Russian support to liquidate Israel and Israel evidently timed her attack when she did because she felt that Russia's difficulties in Poland reduced the likelihood of Soviet intervention in the Middle East."

Israel agreed to a cease-fire, Harrelson said, because she was firmly convinced that otherwise Russia would enter the war.

He called the British-French invasion of the Suez zone a "monumental blunder" with many ill effects:

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PHILADELPHIA, PA.

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BULLETIN
DAILY NEWS

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It damaged Anglo-French relations with the United States; it may eliminate Britain and France as major factors in the Middle East; it enabled the Soviet Union to pose as the true friend of the Arab countries; it boosted Nasser as a major factor in the Mideast; it cost the world the use of the Suez Canal for six months and may mean the loss of Mideast oil to the Western Powers.

SEES U. S. GAINS

The United States made a real contribution to world peace in supporting the use of a U.N. force in the Mideast and greatly increased its prestige among other nations, Harrelson said.

He added, however, that the threat of an invasion of the Mideast by Russian "volunteers" would hang over the world for months to come.

"I believe we have just had a breather and that we're in for a long series of crises," he concluded.

CALLS TANKS SIGNIFICANT

Whitney, questioned by the editors, said he considered it very significant that the Russians crushed the Hungarian rebels by the use of tanks rather than foot soldiers.

"Evidently the Russians tried to avoid any personal contact between their own troops and the Hungarian fighters," he said. "In the revolutionary situation, the Russians obviously were worried about the loyalty of their own troops."

The meeting, held at the Warwick, will continue through tomorrow.

0-19 (11-22-55)

Radford Sees No Change In Red Goal

Adm. Arthur Radford said yesterday there has been no change in the Russian heart and the Communists still seek "one big Red world."

Speaking at the international luncheon of the Association of Military Surgeons of the United States, at Hotel Statler, the chairman of the Nation's Joint Chiefs of Staff expressed his doubt that the Russians ever wanted a peaceful solution in rebellion-torn Hungary.

"As far as I can observe," he declared, there has been no change in the basic Communist objective of one big Red World. We have seen no change in Soviet heart."

The recent events in Poland and Hungary, he said, have not only been dramatic but warrant this Nation's "serious concern." For a while, he pointed out, the Russians apparently sought to salvage conditions of unrest among the peoples of Poland and Hungary "by means other than force."

"What they offered, however, was no real solution—but then, I am not at all sure they ever really wanted a solution," he declared.

At a scientific session on veterinarian medicine, earlier yesterday, association members were told of the development of an all-metal ball and socket replacement joint for damaged hips.

Col. Harry A. Gorman, of the Air Force Veterinary Corps, reported that the new, false hip joints have already been made in three sizes for humans—though none has yet been installed.

Dog-size models of the metallic joints, however, have been installed successfully in 53 test animals, one of which has now been getting around on the false hip joint for more than two years "with no adverse symptoms."

The joints, in man or dogs, are kept "oiled" by body fluids which normally lubricate healthy bone ball and socket joints, he said.

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C. P. RUSSIA

(KREMLIN)
LONDON--DIPLOMATIC REPORTS FROM MOSCOW TODAY SAID AN UNEASY TRUCE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED BETWEEN THE QUARRELING FACTIONS OF THE KREMLIN, WITH THE RED ARMY ACTING AS UMPIRE.

SOVIET ARMY MARSHAL GEORGI ZHUKOV, MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, HAS INCREASED HIS INFLUENCE CONSIDERABLY OVER "OLD-BOLSHEVIK" VYACHESLAV MOLOTOV AND COMMUNIST PARTY BOSS NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV, THE REPORTS SAID.

THE DIPLOMATS SAID THE NEW POWER STRUGGLE IN THE KREMLIN WAS EXPECTED TO REACH ITS CLIMAX NEXT MONTH AT THE MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

THE REPORTS SAID THE EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE HAVE HAD A "PROFOUND EFFECT" ON THE KREMLIN'S LEADERSHIP AND HAVE LED TO CONSIDERABLE DISSENSION AMONG THE SOVIET LEADRS.

ZHUKOV, HERO OF THE BATTLE OF MOSCOW AND BERLIN, WAS REPORTED GAINING RAPIDLY IN INFLUENCE AND POWER.

THERE WAS NO SUGGESTION SO FAR THAT THE RED ARMY IS TAKING OVER FROM KHRUSHCHEV. BUT THE INDICATIONS WERE THE ARMY ALREADY HAS PLAYED AN IMPORTANT PART IN SWAYING THE KREMLIN'S DECISION IN FAVOR OF MILITARY INTERVENTION IN HUNGARY.

THE RED ARMY HAS INSISTED IT MUST HAVE THE SATELLITES TO SECURE RUSSIA'S "DEFENSE IN DEPTH" AND HAS WARNED THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF MILITARY CONTROL BY MOSCOW OF EAST AND CENTRAL EUROPE, THE FRONTIERS OF THE WESTERN POWERS MIGHT BE BROUGHT TO RUSSIA'S BORDER.

ZHUKOV'S VIEW PREVAILED. AND BY TALKING THIS LINE, HE HAS GIVEN SUPPORT TO MOLOTOV, ONE OF STALIN'S CLOSEST COLLABORATORS. MOLOTOV MOREOVER WAS UNDERSTOOD TO BE BACKED BY MARSHAL IVAN KONIEV, CHIEF OF THE WARSAW "RED NATO" COMMAND.

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Soviet Sins

SOVIET actions are exposing, flagrantly and blatantly, the debased nature of Soviet policy.

The Soviet objective is, of course, World Communism. Every move by the Soviet Government is directed to that end, and—since its attainment calls for the destruction of independent nationalities and the enslavement of mankind—Soviet policy has four major ingredients or strategies. These are: treachery, brutality, guile and hypocrisy.

Soviet treachery has been exhibited in dealing with the Polish and Hungarian revolutions. The Soviet regime pretended that it suddenly believed in granting self government and civil rights to the rebellious satellites. This ruse was designed to prevent Western intervention on behalf of the insurgent peoples. It also served to mollify the spirit of the rebellions, to diminish the vigilance of the provisional governments, and to camouflage a re-mobilization of Soviet armed forces.

Completion of the military maneuver in Hungary was followed immediately by a ruthless re-conquest. Sheer brutality was manifest in the Hungarian re-occupation—so manifest that Ambassador Lodge, in a United Nations speech, aptly described it as "a butchery."

Guile was transparent in the Soviet proposals to this country and the UN that an expeditionary force of American and Russian troops be sent to Egypt to "restore" peace and freedom. That transparent scheme would have introduced Soviet military power into the Middle East and across the Suez Canal and the prolific Asian oil supplies. Also, by arraying the United States against Great Britain and France, it would have disrupted NATO, the still insecure bulwark against Soviet aggression in Western Europe. Consequently, the Soviet proposal was both rejected and rebuked by the UN Security Council and the Eisenhower Administration.

Mideast Drive

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Soviet determination to inject its power into the Middle East has again asserted itself in evidence of Soviet jets being flown into Syria, and the Soviet "volunteers" being recruited for Mid-East duty. Whether this is bluff or fact, it starkly reveals the Soviet design.

Soviet hypocrisy was implicit in all of these actions. Moreover, it was explicit when Soviet Russia accused Great Britain and France of "colonialism" and "aggression" in Egypt, while Soviet Russia itself was perpetrating the same offenses against humanity in Eastern Europe and in the most barbarous form.

Sen. Knowland, it would seem, may have something in renewing his demand that the Soviet Union be condemned as an aggressor by the United Nations and be peremptorily expelled from membership.

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SOVIET ANNIVERSARY

HUNDREDS of millions of people throughout the world will be celebrating today the 39th anniversary of the founding of the first socialist land, the USSR.

They will be celebrating the fact that on Nov. 7 a new era in human society was inaugurated, one that will eventually eliminate all exploitation, war, oppression, that will one day lift the human spirit beyond the limits imposed upon it up to now by dog-eat-dog societies.

In spite of its initial backwardness and its isolation in a hostile world dominated by a few powerful imperialist nations, the Soviet Union rapidly developed its economic and political strength. Its very existence made possible the great revolutionary movements which liberated a billion people from imperialist bondage in the last decade.

Its existence permitted the great Chinese people, once considered the symbol of poverty and oppression, to destroy feudalism, toss out the imperialists and their stooges, and unify their nation and set about industrializing and socializing it.

Today, socialism has come to stay, and we have no doubt that eventually the peoples of all lands, including our own, will replace their outworn capitalist systems with it. This will be done, as the great founder of the Soviet Union, V. I. Lenin, emphasized, in conformity with the experience and will of the people of each nation.

This is the first Soviet anniversary since the Soviet Communist Party's 20th Congress and the Khrushchev revelations regarding the years of Stalin misrule. These revealed that in the course of building socialism there had been terrible distortions both of the democratic process within the USSR and of the relations between the USSR and other Communist movements, including those in Eastern Europe which had state power.

C.P. Russia

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The Worker
New Leader

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(See 11-6-56 memo Belmont to Boardman re CPUSA, ISC, ISA & IGEC and

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The Soviet Union has set about correcting ~~many of~~ these distortions. We believe, however, that it would be naive not to recognize that the patterns of Stalin misrule were made possible by profound historic conditions arising out of the original backwardness of Russia under the czars, the immense pressures of a hostile world upon the young socialist country, etc. If this be true, then the process of correction is of necessity a long and painful one.

We believe the USSR has made immense progress under socialism. We believe it has made and will continue to make great contributions to the freedom, peace and progress of human society. We believe it has proved the validity of scientific socialism as developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin.

But we believe, too, that such attitudes of uncritical idolatry which we formerly embraced toward the USSR were a violation of the spirit of scientific socialism.

And we believe that while we American Marxists must view world socialist developments with profound sympathy in a fraternal spirit, our primary concern is with the experience, development and aspirations of the American workingclass and the American path to socialism.

Our concern, at the same time, with the security and peace of our country is the source of our consistent fight over the years for proper American-Soviet relations. The country with which we were allied in the great war against Hitlerism is the country with which we must develop peaceful coexistence. When this paper fights the Soviet-baiters and Cold Warriors, it is to insure the peaceful coexistence upon which the very existence of mankind rests.

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
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Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
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Miss Gandy

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C.P. Russia

(RUSSIA)
LONDON--THE OLD GUARDIN THE KREMLIN IS REPORTED TO HAVE OVERRULED CHIEF "DE-STALINIZER" NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV IN RINGING DOWN THE IRON CURTAIN AGAIN ON RUSSIA'S EAST EUROPEAN EMPIRE.
DIPLOMATS HERE BELIEVE MOSCOW'S RE-IMPOSITION OF COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP ON HUNGARY SUGGESTED THAT KHRUSHCHEV AND HIS "LIBERALISING" GROUP WERE OUTVOTED IN THE SOVIET PRESIDIUM.
HOWEVER, THERE WAS NO IMMEDIATE INDICATION THAT THE DECISION MEANT KHRUSHCHEV'S OUSTING AS TOP MAN IN RUSSIA'S COMMUNIST PARTY.
REPORTS FROM EAST EUROPE SUGGESTED THAT KHRUSHCHEV MAY HAVE ACQUIESCED IN THE USE OF FORCE AGAINST HUNGARY BECAUSE HE, TOO, SHARED THE FEAR OF KREMLIN OLD-TIMERS FOR THE FUTURE OF THE SATELLITES.
THE ANGLO-FRENCH MILITARY INTERVENTION IN EGYPT MAY HAVE INCREASED THE PRESSURE BY THE GROUP AROUND VIACHESLAV MOLOTOV FOR ACTION AND SWAYED KHRUSHCHEV'S DECISION TO GIVE IN.
THE MOLOTOV FACTION REPORTEDLY WARNED THE PARTY BOSS THAT A FREE HUNGARY WOULD END UP IN THE WESTERN CAMP POSED AGAINST RUSSIA AND THAT POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA WOULD FOLLOW SUIT.
THE ARGUMENT THAT A SOVIET COLLAPSE IN THE SATELLITE EMPIRE WOULD LEAD TO REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY APPEARS TO HAVE FINALLY BROUGHT THE DECISION TO STRIKE QUICKLY.
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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

0-19 (11-22-55)

CONSTANTINE BROWN

Communists' Applecart Upset

Reds Will Do Selves Irreparable Damage If They Use Naked Force to Crush Rebels

It is hardly necessary to be looking through a Kremlin window these days to know that the contending gentlemen of Russia's collective leadership are having a hot and heavy time trying to make decisions.

The fast-moving events in Poland and most of all in Hungary have confronted the Communist bosses with facts of an unpleasant coldness. There will have to be a brand new line, or a revival of an old one, very quickly.

What course the Soviet Union will elect to pursue can only be guessed at the moment. By present indications, the final word on the subject will probably be said by the Red Army, represented by the able Marshal Zhukov.

As suggested already in this column, the army appears to hold the balance of power in the developing policy struggle between the friends of Khrushchev on the one hand and those behind wily old Molotov on the other.

But all of these men painfully know that the future of the Communist blueprint for world domination rests to a large extent on the decisions they are having to make.

After World War II the Soviet Union, ignoring or defying all the pledges, agreements and treaties promising a free and democratic Europe after the defeat of Hitler's Nazis, proceeded to Sovietize the nations of central and Eastern Europe one by one.

Hungary, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia were imprisoned in the Communist satellite jail. Yugoslavia proved a different case because there Marshal Tito had come to power on his own rather than on Russian army tanks, as had all the post-war leaders of the other satellites.

The Soviets failed to impress the Austrians, largely because of the joint allied occupation which made a Red coup or seizure of the government inadvisable if not impossible.

A similar situation prevailed in Germany, where the best the Communists were able to do was to split that nation into two parts.

But the Moscow policy was largely successful although halted in its pressures to extend farther into the West. All of Eastern Europe was safely in Red hands, each nation's economy tied in with the Russian economy and the armed forces linked to Russian military strength.

Dissident politicians and democratic movements were ruthlessly suppressed. Every effort was made to wipe out and reverse all the old traditions, customs, institutions and faiths of the captive peoples.

Up until recently, the whole area seemed to be safely in Moscow's orbit. Few indeed were the Western diplomats who expected any such events as those of last week in Poland and Hungary, even though stirrings of unrest have been long apparent.

Now the applecart is truly upset, and the world as well as the Kremlin knows that the vaunted Peoples' Democracies are not much more than a series of paper nations, held in check only by the hated secret police and the weapons of the Red Army.

The security belt erected at such a bloody cost and amid so much ruthlessness by the Russians and their native Communist stooges is proving to be not very secure.

In the light of events, it would seem impossible that the Russians this time can blame "American imperialists, spies and provocateurs" for the uprisings and shouts of defiance in Poland and Hungary.

Neither can they effectively convince the world that "Fascist agents, saboteurs, and counter-revolutionary forces" in the satellites are behind the revolts.

It is by now much too plain that the people of Poland and of Hungary are wholeheartedly behind the resistance. Mass support is clearly evident in both nations.

Of course, the Kremlin bosses may decide that conciliation is too late, that nothing can now be done except to murder all the opposition and clamp down tighter than ever.

This is a probable course under the circumstances, because the "liberalization" movement, which Khrushchev had seemed at first to encourage, has now gotten out of hand.

But if the Soviet Union does employ naked force to subdue their rebellious captives, they will do themselves irreparable damage in the eyes of Asia, Africa and the peoples of the neutral world.

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Communists in Convulsion

Well, many startling things have been happening—and happening rapidly—in the Communist world since Tito's return from Yalta. Even after one has put them together into a sort of pattern, however, the big question remains unanswered: whether these phenomena represent only another elaborate piece of Communist legerdemain or whether they really mean what they seem to mean—that the great Soviet empire is now in the process of break-up and realignment.

In Hungary, Tito's great enemy, Matyas Rakosi, is reported to have escaped from the party doghouse in which he had been confined and to have fled the country. The sentence of excommunication against Tito's putative friend, former Prime Minister Imre Nagy, has been withdrawn, apparently without exacting any public confession of error from him. The controlled Hungarian press has been calling for closer and better relations with Belgrade, and openly criticizing the party's economic program, especially the forced collectivization of farms.

In Poland, Wladyslaw Gomulka, who was thrown out as secretary general of the party in 1948 after the Titoist schism, arrested and put under suspicion of complicity in the mysterious death of Soviet Comrade Zhdanov, and whose followers were purged in the anti-Titoist terror of 1951, has now been readmitted to the central committee and will be reelected to its plenum at its next session. Nor was Gomulka's rehabilitation preceded by any confession of error; on the contrary he is said to have stipulated and obtained assent to the conditions on which he would return. His adversary, Hilary Minc, one of the founders of the Cominform, and long the chief economic planner, has abruptly resigned from the Politburo and from his government post as First Vice Premier. Dispatches cleared by the censors at Warsaw, and doubtless prompted by the now ascendant party faction, tell of assurances given to Comrade Edouard Ochab, first secretary of the party, by nobody less than Mao Tse-tung, that the Chinese Reds are fully behind the Polish Communists in their efforts to rid themselves of Soviet domination. Meanwhile at Belgrade, the other members of the visiting Italian Communist delegation appear to have followed Comrade Luigi Longo aboard the band wagon, no doubt to the great consternation of Comrade Togliatti, who in all probability will not be invited to ride on it.

Where does all this leave Comrade Khrushchev? It was Khrushchev, for all his prattle about "other roads to socialism," who sent out the secret directive to party leaders in the satellite countries warning them (according to the text now disclosed) that "the Communist Party of the USSR . . . remains the *directing party* among all the Communist organizations of the world," and that "each Communist Party" will be "judged in the light of the more or less intimate relations which it has with the Soviet Communist Party." But it was also this letter—betrayed to him no doubt by one of his Polish allies—that presumably produced a protest by Tito which in turn sent Khrushchev hurrying to Brioni, and led to the later conference at Yalta.

Dare we surmise, then, that Khrushchev had really assented to Tito's concept of national communism independent of Moscow as something to be applied in the Balkans and Central Europe? If so, how can Khrushchev persuade his colleagues of the Presidium to accept such an ignominious settlement? For the present such questions remain hypothetical. It may be, though, that the fugitive Rakosi will provide the key to the whole fascinating puzzle. There are only two countries in which he could conceivably find asylum. One of them is Austria, part of the free world; the other is the Soviet Union. Thus if such a notorious Stalinist as Rakosi turns up in Moscow it will doubtless be under the aegis of a faction of the Soviet hierarchy which is far, very far, from satisfied with the evolution of events under Comrade Khrushchev's leadership.

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(KREMLIN)

LONDON--SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV IS RELENTLESSLY PUSHING HIS DE-STALINIZATION CAMPAIGN IN RUSSIA AND ITS SATELLITES DESPITE OPPOSITION WITHIN THE KREMLIN, COMMUNIST DIPLOMATS SAID.

THEY FRANKLY ADMITTED THE EXISTENCE OF "DIFFERENCES" IN THE KREMLIN LEADERSHIP, BUT SAID THE "OVERWHELMING MAJORITY" OF THE MOSCOW PRESIDIUM IS SOLIDLY BEHIND THE PARTY LEADER.

KHRUSHCHEV IS GOING STRAIGHT AHEAD WITH THE "THAW" HE BOLDLY INITIATED AT THE 20TH COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS IN MOSCOW LAST FEBRUARY, THE COMMUNIST DIPLOMATS SAID.

"THE MAJORITY IS FOR KHRUSHCHEV," ONE DIPLOMAT SAID. WHEN ASKED HOW LARGE A MAJORITY THAT INCLUDED, HE REPLIED, "YOU IN THE WEST WOULD CALL IT AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY."

ALTHOUGH NONE OF THE SPOKESMEN WOULD SAY SO, CHIEF OPPOSITION TO THE KHRUSHCHEV LINE WAS UNDERSTOOD TO COME FROM FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER VYACHESLAV M. MOLOTOV, WHO WAS ONE OF STALIN'S CLOSEST COLLABORATORS.

FORMER PREMIER GEORGI MALENKOV, WHO WAS SUCCEEDED BY NIKOLAI BULGANIN WAS UNDERSTOOD TO HAVE TAKEN A POSITION HALF-WAY BETWEEN KHRUSHCHEV AND THE UNCOMPROMISING MOLOTOV. ANASTAS MIKOYAN, ANOTHER LEADING FIGURE IN THE KREMLIN LEADERSHIP, REPORTEDLY SIDED WITH KHRUSHCHEV AND BULGANIN

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Khrushchev Pushes De-Stalinization

LONDON, Oct. 19 (UP)—Soviet Communist Party leader Nikita Khrushchev is relentlessly pushing his de-Stalinization campaign in Russia and its satellites despite opposition within the Kremlin, communist diplomats said today.

They frankly admitted the existence of "differences" in the Kremlin leadership, but said the "overwhelming majority of the Moscow Presidium is solidly behind the party leader.

Khrushchev is going straight ahead with the "thaw" he boldly initiated at the 20th Communist Party Congress in Moscow last February, the communist diplomats said.

"The majority is for Khrushchev," one diplomat said. When asked how large a majority that included, he replied, "you in the West would call it an overwhelming majority."

Altho none of the spokesmen would say so, chief opposition to the Khrushchev line was understood to come from former Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov, who was one of Stalin's closest collaborators.

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1955 Communist Loans Placed at $600 Million

A-21

By the Associated Press

Foreign aid Director John Hollister reports that Communist countries granted nearly $600 million in economic credits to other countries during 1955.

He called it part of a trade offensive which is still moving ahead on a "substantial and increasing scale."

Mr. Hollister termed this emphasis on foreign loans the "most dramatic aspect" of Communist bloc diplomacy, especially in the less developed nations throughout the world.

At the same time, he said Russia and its Asiatic and European allies succeeded in stepping up trade by 24 per cent during 1955.

Mr. Hollister set forth his views in an East-West trade report sent to Congress, the eighth since his agency began surveying this problem.

He said the Communist economic drive masks a Kremlin-directed desire to bring all countries under its firm control.

"The ultimate aim remains the same—to bring the entire world under Communist domination and control," he said. "An intensified trade offensive, reinforced by vigorous diplomacy and propaganda, was the principal feature of this 1955 campaign in the less developed areas."

He said Communist countries, relying heavily on participation in international trade fairs, sometimes paid premium prices for surplus commodities other nations had difficulty in selling on Western markets.

Mr. Hollister identified the chief countries which benefited from Communist credits as Yugoslavia, Egypt, Afghanistan and India. Repayment terms set interest rates as low as 2 to 2½ per cent, providing for long repayment periods, and often with local currency or goods.

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New U. S. Magazine Will Go on Sale in Russia This Month

By the Associated Press

Reciprocal arrangements finally have been worked out for distributing an American magazine in Russia and a Soviet magazine in the United States.

Distribution will begin later this month, the State Department said yesterday.

The agreement with the Soviet Union came many weeks after it was originally expected by authorities here. Copies of the Russian language "Amerika Illustrated" were ready to go on the newsstands in Moscow and other Soviet cities last July.

The delay was reported due to an argument between United States officials in Moscow and Soviet officials over the price of distribution by a Soviet agency. The agency will distribute 45,000 copies of "Amerika Illustrated" to newsstands and 5,000 by mail to subscribers. In addition, the embassy has 2,000 copies for distribution as it sees fit.

The Soviet Embassy here may distribute 45,000 copies of the English language "U. S. S. R." through the American News Co. to newsstands, 5,000 copies to subscribers by mail and 2,000 copies as it desires.

"Amerika Illustrated" will sell for 5 rubles, which at the official rate of exchange is $1.25. Officials here said this is the price level of Soviet magazines of comparable quality.

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~~125,000,000~~ Enslaved Since '39

Sino-Soviet Empire Is History's Biggest: USIA

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By PAUL SOUTHWICK

WASHINGTON, Oct. 7 (UP).—Soviet Russia combined with Red China is "the most extensive colonial empire in all history," the U.S. Information Agency said Sunday.

"The only major unlimited imperialistic power today is the Soviet Union," the agency said in a comprehensive report on past Communist expansion.

THE REPORT LINKED Communist parties in 85 countries and areas with the imperialistic aims of Russia and Red China, and said that 138,000,000 people outside of the U.S.S.R. and China have been enslaved since 1939.

The 50,000-word report is the first part of a detailed country-by-country account of how 16 countries and areas fell under the flags of Russia and China in the past 16 years.

"Current emphasis of Communist propaganda on 'anti-colonialism' has obscured the fact that the most extensive colonial empire in all history is that of the USSR today, supplemented by that of Communist China," the agency said. "But the territorial holdings of these two centers of worldwide communism by no means represent the limits of their intended expansion."

The report said Soviet Russia has annexed or brought under its domination 125,000,000 people in more than 640,000 square miles of Eastern Europe, East Central Asia and the Far East. Communist China has taken over more than 13,000,000 people in North Vietnam and Tibet, covering more than 500,000 square miles.

* * *

RESOURCES OF border states "have been ruthlessly exploited in the interests of the Soviet Union," the agency reported.

"The postwar expansion of the Soviet colonial empire was facilitated in large part by Communist nationals of other countries, trained and disciplined in Moscow and in some cases enjoying Soviet citizenship," the agency said.

The agency said the Sino-Soviet expansion now is in "full swing" throughout Africa and the Middle East, "with emphasis on ~~trade and~~ arms deals and conciliatory diplomatic tactics."

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These Days . . . . . By George Sokolsky

Egypt and Russia

It is impossible to understand Nasser's program unless Mao Tze-Tung's program, Nehru's program and the revolt of the Moors in North Africa are simultaneously considered, because what is happening in Egypt is only a phase of the world-wide revolution initiated by Lenin and Trotzky. This revolution has already passed through several phases and there is much unfinished business.

Sokolsky

One of these phases is the revolt of the dark-skinned peoples against the white peoples. If a Hindu, for instance, were told that Soviet Russia is the most colonial nation on earth, the Hindu is likely to reject the idea. He probably adopts the attitude that colonialism means the subjection of the dark-skinned peoples to the white-skinned countries. And it is this formula that Soviet Russia has succeeded in establishing in Asia and Africa to the peril of all Western countries and the peace of the world.

It is a devastating formula because, as things stand today, it could mean a retreat from civilization. Way back in 1863, Jules Michelet, the French historian, writing about Kosciuszko, said:

"We must simply consider Russia as a whole, as a barbarous force, a lawless world, a world hostile to law; one which does not advance, but retracts and reverts to ancient barbarism, a world which accepts modern civilization only in order to bring disintegration into the Western world and to kill the law itself."

AND SOMEHOW this judgment fits today as it was unquestionably true prior to the Bolshevik revolution. The Russians, from the start of their history, moved in a different direction from Western Europe. The West was Roman; Russia was Byzantian. The West was oriented toward freedom; Russia continued the concept of autocracy. While those nations which derive their civilization from Greece and Rome developed steadily and increasingly in the direction of a greater liberty for the individual, wherever the influences were Byzantian or Oriental, the direction was always toward power for those who controlled the state and the subjection of the people to those in power.

When to these historical differences are added the racial distinction of pigmentation, the relationships become complex and difficult of solution. The nations that produced Avicenna and Averroes will not regard themselves as Maimonides and Thomas Aquinas.

HERE IS A conflict that for centuries was limited to academic discussion; now it is the foremost problem of our century.

It is the color problem which is disturbing Asia and Africa and therefore Europe and the United States. Granted that Soviet Russia stepped into that situation and aggravated it, the fact is that the disease was festering and the Russians knew what to do to make it explosive. Nasser of Egypt stands as the dark-skinned man telling the white-skinned one to come and fight him and he knows that no one dares start a fight because that would mean the hydrogen bomb and the end to everything.

Even had the wisest men foreseen this—and there were many who did foresee this, not the least of whom was Rudyard Kipling — there would still be no answer. It is one of those crucial historic situations, like the rise of the bourgeoisie in the French Revolution and the proletariat after World War I which works itself out over the centuries. The hope now is that whatever else it brings, it will not bring more war.

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NEW SOVIET RULERS: "CRIMINALS"

Has the time come when a real peace can be worked out with the Communist world? Can drastic cuts now safely be made in defense?

In an exclusive article for *U.S. News & World Report*, you get the views of a man who faced the Communists across a negotiating table for nearly a year.

Lieut. Gen. William K. Harrison, Jr., formerly the top Allied negotiator in Korea, sees new risks involved in any step toward peace, any military cut.

Communists, warns General Harrison, are criminals by definition, and he lists 13 lessons he learned about dealing with them.

Lieut. Gen. William K. Harrison, Jr.

by Lieut. Gen. William K. Harrison, Jr.

Formerly Chief Allied Negotiator at the Korean Armistice Talks

The American people are now faced with the necessity of making a very momentous decision, one which will surely dominate their relations with the Communist world. If we decide wrongly, it may well result in such deterioration of our military forces and position that the destruction of the United States will occur at some future date, possibly in the not-too-distant future. If we decide correctly, then our future has the greatest chance of being reasonably secure.

It is possible that some who read this opening paragraph will jump to the conclusion that I am merely beating the drums for more and more dollars for expanding our military forces, without regard to the effect of such expansion on our own economy and on the fears of other nations. Nothing could be farther from my motive.

Having served in the United States Army for about 43 years, including three wars, I can vouch for the fact that I and the other experienced professional officers of the Army are sufficiently well aware of the suffering, destruction and cost of war to be about the last people in the country to suggest that war is an advantageous or desirable way of settling international disputes. I have no doubt that officers of the Air Force and the Navy share this view. Yet, sometimes, in spite of the good intentions of our Government and people, war becomes unavoidable, as experience shows.

When war comes, the professionally trained military leaders are the men who must provide the organizational, strategic and tactical competence which will utilize our military resources to the best advantages in achieving the objectives of the political Government and the people.

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It is inevitable and essential that, being so responsible, we seek to win if we have to fight. In order to deter attack against us, and in order to win if we must fight, we obviously must do what we can to see that the United States possesses the best fighting forces in sufficient quantity and state of readiness to insure effective national security against attack.

In writing this article, that is my purpose.

But the subject of the article is not the matter of size and composition of our armed forces. Rather, it goes to the root of the matter. It is an attempt to clarify the basic reason for our current need for military preparedness, in order that the American people will appraise the situation realistically, rather than emotionally or wishfully.

The decision which we must make is a simple choice. Are we going to govern our own policies and actions by the belief or hope that the current rulers of Communist Russia, its satellites and allies, are men who can be trusted, who are peaceable, who will seek honorable agreements and will keep them? Or must we be governed by the conviction that those rulers are not trustworthy, are treacherous, are willing to use military power aggressively to gain their political and economic objectives, and will be guided by expediency rather than by moral principle?

These rulers dictate the foreign policy of the Communist world. Whether the military and economic power of those countries will be used for aggression or not depends on their decision. It is humanly impossible for other governments or organizations to control them.

A simple explanation should make this fact clear, showing why it is humanly impossible to prevent war if the ruler wills to launch an attack and is obeyed by his people. It is impossible to prevent some men from being criminals and from using criminal methods, of which war of aggression is one such method. It is impossible to prevent some men of criminal will, such as Hitler or Stalin, from becoming the heads of the state. Once a criminal is the ruler of the country, with full power to act, then there is no known way of preventing him from launching a war. He might be deterred by fear of excessive loss or defeat, he might be appeased, or he might be fought, but the ultimate decision to initiate the war is his.

It is, therefore, obvious that the moral character of the rulers of the U.S.S.R. and their Communist allies is the fundamental influence which will govern the future use of Soviet might. Will that use be peaceable? Or will it be war of aggression if and when a favorable opportunity occurs?

The choice we must make is an unavoidable necessity merely by virtue of the fact that, whether we like it or not, we do and must coexist in the same world with the U.S.S.R. and its Communist supporters; and surely we seek real peace among nations. There appear to be only two alternatives to coexistence: We might seek to eliminate the U.S.S.R., which is simply unthinkable to the American mind; or they might try to destroy us, which effort is what we want to prevent, or defeat, if we cannot prevent it.

The choice facing us is not only unavoidable, but it is of immediate and critical importance because of three factors which exist at this time, two old and one new.

The first factor is that of Soviet capabilities, augmented by those of the rest of the Communist world. The U.S.S.R. is the only world power whose current and potential economic and military strength are sufficiently great to be a real menace to our own security in the foreseeable future, whether that strength is used alone or in combination with other countries.

. . . U. S. power is "real deterrent against Soviet aggression"

In view of the wide public discussion over the past few years, it is unnecessary to discuss in detail the constantly increasing Soviet capability to attack the United States directly with atomic weapons of devastating power, to operate against shipping and coastal areas with numerous modern submarines, and to launch Communist armies, the most numerous in the world, against land areas in Europe, the Near and Middle East, and in other parts of Asia which are vital or important to the non-Communist world.

Short of military aggression, the Communist economic power and subversive capabilities can be used aggressively to weaken or destroy the political, economic and military strength of other countries and the ties which hold them together in their common defense. Because of its own menacing strength, the U.S.S.R. can profit by military, economic or subversive aggression carried out by its satellites or allies who gain strength, safety, daring and provocation by the fact that the U.S.S.R. looms clearly in support of them. Even the most naive person should realize that the great strength of the U.S.S.R. can be used against us and that, if it is so used, it will be the greatest threat that could occur to our national life and to other non-Communist countries.

Russia's Threat to the West

The second factor is that, certainly until the present moment, the U.S.S.R. and its allied governments have been actively and aggressively hostile to the United States and to the rest of the non-Communist world. By war carried on by satellites and allies and by actions short of war, the U.S.S.R. has carried out its policy of imperialist expansion and conquest, coercion, subversion and revolution. The cruel attacks on Korea and Indo-China, coupled with subversive activities in numerous areas, are convincing evidence of the reality of Soviet hostility and menace. Communist philosophy itself lays down the dictum that Communist countries must seek to destroy or conquer non-Communist or capitalistic governments. Stalin is quoted:

"The victory of socialism in one country is not a self-sufficient task. The revolution which has been victorious in one country must regard itself not as a self-sufficient entity, but as an aid, a means for hastening the victory of the proletariat in all countries. For the victory of the revolution in [Russia] . . . is the beginning of, and the groundwork for, the *world* revolution." ["What is Communism?" edited by Richard M. Ketchum, E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc., New York, page 27.]

Stalin's predecessor said:

"As long as capitalism and socialism remain, we cannot live in peace. In the end, one or the other will triumph—a funeral requiem will be sung either over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism. This is a respite in war." ["Lenin, a Biography," by David Shub, Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, N. Y., page 391.]

The urgency of the Soviet threat has been so plainly visible to the American people and the rest of the non-Communist world that we have, for the moment, abandoned our traditional indifference to the danger of war and the need for military preparedness. We are spending a large part of the national income on the provision and maintenance of powerful armaments and for research into more effective means of waging war. Additional sums are expended for the military

Lieut. Gen. William Kelly Harrison, Jr., has gained firsthand knowledge of the Communists on two war fronts and across the negotiating table.

A West Pointer, General Harrison fought in Europe in World War II, commanding a division that shared in the early occupation of Czechoslovakia with the Red Army.

In Korea, General Harrison saw action against the Chinese Communists as deputy commander of the U. S. Eighth Army. Then he became a member, later chief, of the armistice delegation of the United Nations Command, which arranged the Korean truce.

and economic strengthening of non-Communist countries threatened by Soviet imperialism.

I am convinced that, under the purpose and providence of God, the strength of our active military forces, backed up by our economic power, has been the real deterrent against Soviet aggression. Apart from that power, the Soviets could have conquered Europe, the Near and Middle East, Korea and other places, against little effective opposition.

Now, suddenly, a new, a third factor arises to confuse us. The current dictators of U.S.S.R., Stalin's successors, now violently denounce and vilify him and all his works. They have laid every crime, weakness, failure or defeat to his charge. They proclaim a new hope of peaceful coexistence with the rest of the world. On the surface, this appears to many to be a radical change from Stalin's course, and certainly the world will be a much better place to live in if the change is real.

But does it actually represent a reversal of the imperialistic expansion of Soviet Communist empire, a willingness to live at peace, to live and let live? Or does it mean that Soviet ultimate objectives of Communist world rule remain the same, but that preliminary steps are to be eased in order to delude us into hopefully allowing our strength to be reduced to relative ineffectiveness? In view of the free world's fears and military preparations resulting from Stalin's tough policies and threats, this purpose and procedure are entirely logical as a tactical maneuver.

Or does the change mean that, without altering their ulti-

. . . "Criminality of Red rulers is proudly proclaimed"

mate aims, the rulers of U.S.S.R. seek, for domestic reasons, to reduce the international tensions in order to allow them to attend to internal economic and political pressures in Russia? If this is so, there may be a real lessening of international tension—but no change in ultimate probability of Soviet aggression, should favorable opportunity offer.

Or, finally, is this new Soviet face merely a propaganda mask intended to lure us into a disastrous condition of wishful thinking and relaxation of our security measures?

I don't know the answers to these questions. Probably, plausible arguments can be advanced in support of all of them. But of one thing we can be absolutely certain: that is that the manner in which the rulers of Soviet Russia consider and adopt long or short-range national objectives and political, economic and military courses of action will be dominated by the moral character of the rulers concerned.

World Has "No Reason to Fear U. S."

The United States affords a good illustration of this principle. In spite of its power, the United States respects the sovereign and human rights of other countries, whether they are large or small. Those countries have no reason to fear American aggression, and this is acknowledged practically everywhere. The reason for this confidence is that the American people and their Government reject the idea that nations may act as common criminals, gangsters, racketeers, murderers. We should not forget that military aggression is highway robbery and murder on the grand scale.

Yet it must be recognized that if we had an authoritarian government, U. S. strength might be used for aggression, and probably would be, if our rulers were criminally minded. Therefore, I repeat, as emphatically as I can, the fact that the employment of Communist power will be governed primarily by the moral character of Soviet rulers, within limits which they consider practicable and expedient.

The present rulers of Russia, who have so rudely destroyed the reputation of Stalin, are the very men who served him so effectively and who survived the bloody purges which eliminated all who might appear to be threats to Stalin's despotism. While he lived, these men participated in the criminal vileness of his reign. They were part and parcel of his domestic tyranny and international subversion and aggression. Now that he is safely out of the way, they unanimously and universally admit publicly what the rest of us knew of him all the time: that he was an inhuman gangster and murderer on the grand scale.

Why have they done this? There are any number of plausible reasons, separately and in combination. I don't pretend to know the full answer. But of one thing I am sure. It is humanly impossible that all of these rulers of Soviet Russia, its satellites and allies, have at the same time ceased to be the common criminals that they must have been, and have suddenly become honorable men, abhorring the crimes of their late master and themselves, and are now ready to live honorably in world society.

Human nature does not act that way. Exceptionally, individual criminals may reform, but never so many at one time. It is, therefore, absolutely certain that this denunciation of Stalin and all his works is not a change in moral character and purposes. The criminal face of Stalin has been covered with a mask of friendliness.

Probably some persons will dislike my use of the word "criminal" in describing the current rulers of Communist Russia. It may be objected that such language is insulting and will increase the difficulty of reaching any reasonable coexistence with them. It is certainly not my purpose to be rude or to render more difficult an already dangerous situation.

Yet the very dangers of our international relations are so great that the really important thing is for the American people to know realistically the men who have, and will have, such an important role in shaping our destiny. In spite of their exalted office and the outward appearance and external amenities that go with that role, there is nothing to indicate either that the rulers of Soviet Russia can be trusted or that their deliberate, purposeful animosity to the United States has changed one iota. We might as well face that fact right now.

The criminality of Communist rulers, judged by our civilized standards of conduct, is not only acknowledged by their own ideological dogmas, but it is proudly proclaimed and defended. I doubt if "defended" is the right word. There is nothing defensive about the aggressive manner in which their "Communist morals" are trumpeted forth to the world. To support my contention I go to Russian sources of Communist doctrine, Lenin and Stalin. I chose them rather than the ideological fathers of Communism, Marx and Engels, because the former were the rulers of the Russian Soviet state and put "Communist morals" into practice.

The Communist political objective is the seizure and retention of absolute power within the country. ["Stalin's Kampf," edited by M. R. Werner; Howell, Soskin & Company, 1940, pages 42-50.] To accomplish this purpose, any means or methods are to be employed—regardless of how cruel, destructive, fanatical or treacherous they may be. According to Lenin:

> "A Communist must be prepared to make every sacrifice and, if necessary, even resort to all sorts of schemes and strategems, employ illegitimate methods, conceal the truth, in order to get into the trade unions, stay there and conduct the revolutionary work within. . . ." ["Lenin, a Biography," by David Shub, Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, N. Y., page 396.]

Stalin Thought Morality "Bourgeois"

Stalin's now publicly admitted own moral depravity was quite consistent with Lenin's ideas. As stated by M. R. Werner:

> "In reading Stalin's words, it should be remembered that one of the first principles of Bolshevism, as laid down by Lenin and carried out by Stalin, is that the end justifies the means. Therefore, lying, distortion of an enemy's words and misrepresentation of his deeds are not, in good Bolshevist circles, considered immoral, for morality itself is regarded as a bourgeois concept necessarily outlawed by the revolutionary outburst of October, 1917." ["Stalin's Kampf," foreword, page XIII.]

According to Lenin, the Communists have a morality or system of ethics of their own, but it bears no relation to anything that we recognize as morality. He makes this quite clear:

> "Is there such a thing as Communist ethics? Is there such a thing as Communist morality? Of course there is. Often it is made to appear that we have no ethics of our own, and very often the *bourgeoisie* accuse us Communists of repudiating

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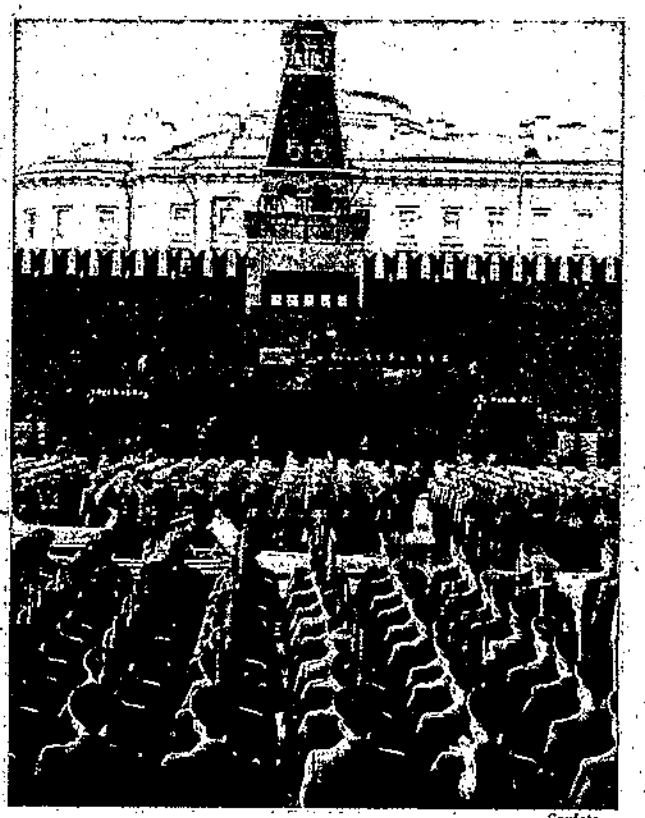
. . . "We must not forget that we are dealing with gangsters"

all ethics. This is a method of shuffling concepts, of throwing dust in the eyes of the workers and peasants.

"In what sense do we repudiate ethics and morality?

"In the sense that they were preached by the *bourgeoisie* who declared that ethics were God's commandments. We, of course, say that we do not believe in God, and that we know perfectly well that the clergy, the landlords, and the *bourgeoisie* spoke in the name of God in order to pursue their own exploiters' interests. Or instead of deducing these ethics from the commandments of God, they deduced them from idealistic or semi-idealistic phrases, which were always very similar to God's commandments.



—Sovfoto

ON REVIEW: RUSSIA'S MILITARY MIGHT
. . . "aggressively hostile to the United States"

"We repudiate all such morality that is taken outside of human class concepts. We say that this is deception, a fraud, which clogs the brains of the workers and peasants in the interest of the landlords and capitalists.

"We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interest of the class struggle of the proletariat. Our morality is derived from the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat.

"And what is this class struggle? It is overthrowing the Czar, overthrowing the capitalists, destroying the capitalist class. . . . We subordinate our Communist morality to this task. We say: 'Morality is that which serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite all the toilers around the proletariat, which is creating a new Communist society.'" [Lenin, a Biography," by David Shub, page 396.]

It has not been my intention to imply that Communist rulers are the only international criminals. We know that, humanly speaking, there is evil in the best men and some good qualities in the worst men. To what extent men are governed by the evil in their character is a matter of relative degree. In the case of the Communists, however, actions and methods which are universally recognized as evil are justified by their atheistic materialism. Crime is thus philosophically justified and advocated as appropriate policy and procedure.

That such justification of moral evil is not limited to Communists does not make the situation any less dangerous. Therefore, we must expect Communist rulers to use against us any dishonest, treacherous or cruel methods which may seem expedient to them. We must also expect that their ultimate objectives will not be conducive to our own security or welfare. We know that they have the military and economic power to be our greatest risk.

It is to be fervently desired that the Russian people themselves, few of whom are real Communists, will someday provide themselves with rulers sufficiently decent and honorable to permit other nations to accept Russia as a peaceable member of the family of nations. But that day has not arrived, even though recent events may provide a glimmer of hope that conditions will ultimately change for the better, possibly beginning in satellite countries.

Will Red Aims Change?

We must wait to see. Until the character of the Soviet leaders changes, or their capability to endanger the free world diminishes materially, we must not relax our guard or forget that we are dealing with gangsters. We must maintain the same kind of safeguards that we would use against any criminal.

Having had some personal and unpleasant experiences with Communists at Panmunjom, Korea, I learned something of their character and methods. To be sure, there are many who know more about the Communist countries and their rulers than I do, but I learned enough to discover the kind of men with whom our country must deal. My contacts were with Chinese and Korean Communists, not with Russians. Nevertheless, they undoubtedly got their methods, and probably their instructions, from the Soviet fountainhead of international treachery and aggression.

I spent a total of nearly 12 months as a participant in armistice negotiations with Communists at Panmunjom, Korea. From 23 January to the latter part of May, 1952, I served as a member of the United Nations Delegation under the skillful leadership of Vice Adm. C. Turner Joy, USN. During that period, I was present at all meetings of the full delegation, and was head of the subdelegation negotiations for Item 3 of the Agenda. This item, optimistically, was supposed to assure the faithful execution of the Armistice Agreement.

At the time of Admiral Joy's departure, during the latter part of May, the terms of the armistice had been agreed by the delegations, except as to the meaning of paragraphs relating to the exchange of prisoners of war and procedures for that exchange. The final demarcation line had also to be settled.

As head of the delegation, I participated in negotiations from the end of May, 1952, to the first part of October following, when meetings were suspended by the United Nations Command because of the futility of the current efforts to negotiate. I resumed meetings with the Communists in

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. . . "Be cold-blooded" in negotiating with Communists

April, 1958, and continued until the signing of the Armistice Agreement on 27 July 1953.

Admiral Joy has well described the negotiations during his participation in his book, "How Communists Negotiate." Much of what occurred during my period as head of the delegation has been described in the press. It is not my purpose to carry on the story or to discuss the issues at stake or our policies. What I do hope to accomplish is to show the kind of men Communists are, the way they negotiate, and the worthlessness of any agreement they make but later choose to ignore or violate.

From these, we can learn certain lessons to guide our own future actions. To ignore lessons of history is the height of folly, but a course to which we seem to be peculiarly addicted. To ignore this particular lesson may be disastrous sooner than we think.

The lessons I learned about negotiations and agreement with Communists are summarized briefly below. Even though few persons may have to deal with Russian or other Communists, my experience may at least contribute something to the sympathetic understanding which we accord to those who must do so as our representatives. Here are my observations:

1. Never negotiate with Communists unless it is essential. Communists never enter negotiations with the idea of reaching a fair compromise, but of gaining their own ends by fair means or foul, whichever appears to them to be the most suitable.

2. Do not expect normal discussion or bargaining at any conference. Communist negotiators cannot make any significant, on-the-spot decisions.

3. Communists often try to get agreement in principle and then fight interminably over details, their argument being based on their own interpretation of the principle. When it suits them, their interpretations are the direct opposite of the meaning of the agreed words.

To Reds, Concession Is "Weakness"

4. Do not expect that the offer of a concession will result in a corresponding action by the Communists. They are prone to take such offers as indications of weakness and to press their advantage.

5. Communists use insults, aggressive tone and language, sneers and courtesy interchangeably to suit the purpose of the moment. It is essential to leave one's emotions completely outside the conference room and to avoid absolutely any personal feeling or involvement. This should not be difficult, when one remembers the kind of people Communists are. To become irritated, angry, or to reply in kind to insults and accusations merely plays the Communist game. The best answer to continued insults or false propaganda is to get up and walk out. If the Communists want to negotiate, this action should be successful. If it is necessary to squelch the Communists in the meeting, it is very effective to be exceedingly rude—politely.

6. Communists will frequently introduce all sorts of extraneous matters—false accusations for propaganda purposes—using the meeting as a forum. Efforts to negotiate under such conditions are useless. When the meetings have degenerated to this point, it is better to recess them.

7. The tendency of Americans is to be friendly, trustful and optimistic. These characteristics are not common to the Communists, who either suspect a trap or see a weakness to be exploited. Ordinarily, the effect of the consequence of optimism is serious disappointment. The proper attitude is to be neither optimistic nor pessimistic, but to be cold-blooded, completely objective, and press toward the goal.

8. Never hurry or appear to be in a hurry. The Communists will either suspect a trap or will press advantage to gain additional concessions.

9. Do not expect concrete answers to questions. Communists rarely give them and, when they do, the answer is usually ambiguous.

10. Do not expect Communist agreement because such agreement would be reasonable. Do not expect an agreement until it actually happens. Violent and abusive language in support of the Communist position must not be considered as final. Communists will maintain their position in aggressive language until the very moment of agreement. At the end of the most violent statement in a succession of violent statements, they will end with a proposal which is substantially similar to the agreement sought.

"No Real Friendship Possible"

11. No real friendship or camaraderie is possible with real Communists. If they felt that way, they would be purged. If they appear to feel that way, it is a tactical position only. If a satisfactory agreement cannot be reached in a reasonable time and when the issues are perfectly clear and defined, there is no value in continuing negotiating. The meeting should be recessed. If the Communists want to reach agreement, they will find a way of resuming the meetings and making progress. If they do not want to do that, there is no purpose in meeting.

12. Negotiations with the Communists are not a business operation but a military operation; therefore, the pace and success of the negotiations will depend on the degree of pressure and power which can be brought to bear on the Communists. In an armistice negotiation, there is only one good method, which is to win the fight before starting the negotiations. Furthermore, during the negotiations, the military pressure must in no way be released, since to do otherwise gives the Communists a chance to recoup and permits them to use the negotiations as a military delaying action.

13. Finally, anyone who must negotiate with Communists should never for an instant forget that a real Communist is completely unprincipled, without any feelings of kindness or sympathy, and is not to be trusted in any degree. Any agreement which he makes is never worth any more, at any time, than its tactical value to the Communists at that time.

The criminal nature of Communist character and method, demonstrated in Korea during and after the armistice negotiations, is merely a reflection of Russian Communist characteristics, and should surprise no one who is even casually acquainted with Communist doctrine and the history of the Stalin era.

We should not forget that what they did in Korea would be repeated in Russia or other Communist-controlled areas. Next time, the danger will be multiplied by the preparations for atomic attacks against us. Let us hope we never get caught again in such a futile, legalistic, impractical scheme—one in which we are helpless to assure results.

If the consequences of that failure in the armistice negotiations to insist on effective means—such as aerial reconnaissance and photography—to protect ourselves during the armistice will save us from similar mistakes in the future, the unhappy lesson of the Korean Armistice is worth all the cost, and a lot more besides.

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. . . If U. S. cuts military power, "we will be inviting attack"

Does this precaution mean that we cannot coexist? That we cannot reduce tensions? Or that we cannot reduce armaments? Not necessarily. But it does mean that, while we earnestly seek to further the cause of peace, every step that we take to improve relations with Communist countries and to decrease burdens and fears is a dangerous risk to our own security. Each step, therefore, must be such that we do not subject ourselves to undue risk, and that we maintain a state of military readiness which at any stage of disarmament will deter Soviet aggression and give us adequate hope of victory if we must fight.

Because we are dealing with criminals, each step in mutual disarmament must be based on real assurance of actual performance by the Communists of their agreement. No step should be taken by us without a clear, mutual agreement in definite terms, and this necessary assurance. The latter can be had only if we ourselves can satisfactorily check Communist performance, allowing to them a comparable right.

We must not leave the supervision of Communist performance to pseudoneutral satellites or to neutrals or others who can be subjected to Communist pressures and whose primary interests are their own affairs, not our security and freedom. There is too much at stake for that.

The successive steps in disarmament must be restricted in scope, so that nonperformance of any step by the Communists will not result in serious risk to ourselves, who will be carrying out our part of the agreement faithfully. Then, if there is nonperformance by the Communists, we must have the political courage and the toughness to proclaim the fact publicly, to discontinue our own reduction of forces, and to prepare for defense until the Communists show their good faith—by concrete action—to resume reduction as agreed.

Where the Kremlin Has Advantage

In all of this process, we should not overlook a very definite military handicap under which we inevitably must labor. Being the aggressor by its very nature, the Soviet Government can select the time, place and various other circumstances of any war it might launch. It can thus vary its tactics to threaten, to relax, to build up, to reduce forces temporarily, in the full assurance that little or no risk in involved.

On the other hand, the United States and its allies, having no intention of starting a war, must be always prepared to meet an attack. We cannot enjoy the privilege of being careless, dilatory and unready in the expectation that we can then be ready when we are suddenly attacked.

Above all, and at the root of our own problems, we must avoid the wishful thinking to which we are so much addicted. If our own military history is a good indication of American attitudes, then one can predict, with a considerable probability of being correct, that our people will grab at almost any excuse, any friendly smile or gesture, any deceptive propaganda and promises, to turn their minds from the unpleasant realities of coexistence with criminal Soviet rulers to the more desirable and pleasurable things of a less expensive, less inconvenient, less frightening, more politics-and-business-as-usual form of life. The false sense of security which we court may well result in our own destruction.

That I am not unduly alarmed is witnessed by the statements appearing in the papers, statements made by responsible and honorable men who very properly are seeking some reasonable way of lessening international tensions and burdens. The trend toward wishful thinking is only beginning—a small beginning but, like the snowball rolling downhill, it can gather both size and momentum. I have seen how this predisposition to wishful thinking can endanger our security and—if it is carried out in the future, in atomic war—it can result in our destruction.

Historically, until after the beginning of the Korean war, we have refused to face the threat of war until we have found ourselves actually engaged in combat. The utter unreadiness of the United States for World War I is common knowledge. Fortunately, the resistance of the British and French gave us time to prepare after we entered the war and to participate decisively.

From 1939 to 1942, I was in the War Plans Division of the General Staff. There I experienced the frustration of witnessing the course of events which, in my opinion, were clearly taking us into World War II and, at the same time, seeing the futility of our efforts to prepare effectively for the kind of war which would eventuate.

As I remember my efforts in 1940-41 to prepare a logical justification for several additional Army divisions to defend United States soil—when I was sure that those divisions and many more would have to be used overseas—I find it difficult to understand the wishful thinking of the American people of that day in their failure to evaluate the meaning of events, or even to give them serious consideration.

At the beginning of the recent Korean war, the absence of mental, emotional and military readiness was so obvious as to need no comment from me.

That neither of the world wars ended in disaster was not the result of our intelligent, self-interested foresight but, rather, to factors for which we can take no credit, plus the belated magnitude and quality of our military effort. The war in Korea was fought under conditions and national political and military policies which will be controversial for a long time to come. But one thing is certain: We were not ready.

The great danger, at the moment, is not the immediate threat of war. If maintained in readiness, our current military power—in comparison with that of the Communist countries—reduces but does not eliminate that danger. This very strength points to the real danger facing us. It is the probability that the American people will succumb to the temptation to revert to our traditional habit of indulging in utterly unwarranted wishful thinking and complacency.

Because we urgently seek peace, because we want the Communists to change their character and their purpose, are we going now to believe that their fair words can be accepted as fair deeds? Are we going to assume that these criminals are now honorable men just because they say so and make a few unimportant placating gestures?

How U. S. Could Be Destroyed

If we persuade ourselves into this folly, then all we achieve is to facilitate our own destruction by atomic weapons at some future date.

The first step in this debacle is to start weakening the only thing that we have done to date which has avoided a major war: the build-up of our relatively high military strength and readiness. Weaken those, and we will be inviting a devastating attack against our own country.

This is not only a matter of world peace, but of our own self-preservation. If we fail in this, we alone will be to blame. The Soviet propaganda will have achieved its purpose.

The opinions or assertions contained herein are the private views of the writer, and are not to be construed as official, or reflecting the views of the Department of the Army.

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Nease
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

The Russian to Watch

By Vladimir Shabinsky, with Ellsworth Raymond

Amidst the ruthless crew commanding the Kremlin stands the handsome, debonair foreign minister, Mr. Shepilov—a rising power who is as dangerous as his bloodiest comrades.

Just after V-E day in May, 1945, a Red Army major general unexpectedly arrived at the Soviet special-reparations office in Berlin where I worked. Our girl receptionist looked at him and gasped, "Oh!" The general was tall, dark and handsome, with thick, wavy hair. He looked like a boxer—six feet tall, weighing about 200 pounds; all muscle, no fat. A broad band of war medals stretched across his barrel chest. The Oriental slant of his lively dark eyes betrayed a slight trace of Mongolian blood.

One of our colonels rushed up to the general and said timidly, "Comrade Shepilov, are you honoring us with a visit?" Then the colonel whispered to an adjutant, "Quick! Tell the boss that Shepilov is here."

At least twenty assistant cabinet ministers and other high communist officials were waiting in that anteroom to see my boss, Saburov, today one of Russia's collective leaders. But the adjutant returned in a second to escort Shepilov into the inner sanctum. The handsome general smiled.

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Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Mirror
N. Y. Daily News
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The Russian to Watch

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at a pretty office secretary, then strolled nonchalantly out of the room.

"Who is he?" asked the somewhat entranced girl.

A colonel laughed and said, "Haven't you heard about Shepilov? He is Nikita Krushchev's right-hand man."

This was my first glimpse of the dynamic character who is now Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R. That evening, at an office card party, all my Soviet colleagues were gossiping about him: "Shepilov is a great operator, a master of intrigue. But he's such an original thinker that we call him Dmitri the Progressive." . . . "When that handsome Cossack was a youth, he broke the hearts of many girls." . . . "If he had not won the protection of a powerful patroness, Dmitri might still be in police work or might have perished in the 1937 purge."

From their conversation, I learned that Shepilov is a lone wolf as an operator. He prefers to live and work in seclusion and to keep his private life a mystery. He rarely has held an administrative job. Dmitri, a scholarly professor of political economy, first achieved fame by writing brilliant articles and books. Despite his youth, he soon became an "idea man" for the Kremlin inner circle—it was said that he spouted ideas like a geyser.

In our special dining room for high officials in Berlin, Shepilov fascinated me by his gastronomic feats. After consuming a small mountain of beefsteaks and boiled potatoes, he emptied a huge bowl of fresh cucumbers and tomatoes, and then topped off his meal with an enormous slice of watermelon for dessert. But I was surprised to discover that Dmitri is a very moderate drinker. He seemed almost unique among our Berlin staff, most of whom drank vodka even at breakfast.

When at work in our office, Shepilov never wasted words, speaking quickly, sharply, and sometimes rudely. But at our parties, he relaxed like a playful bear. Despite his huge bulk, he is a superb dancer. He has little appreciation for classical music, preferring movies and the legitimate theater to ballet and the opera. But he loves to sing Russian and Ukrainian folk songs in a booming baritone voice.

Shepilov has a sharp, sarcastic sense of humor. He was amused at how communist propaganda described the Soviet conquest of East Europe as "lending a hand of brotherly help" to Letts, Rumanians and Poles. He remarked, "Suppose Anthony Eden asks when we will finish lending a helping hand? My answer is: Only when capitalism is finished!"

Our office asked Shepilov if we should loot West Berlin before transferring it to America, Britain and France. Dmitri replied, "Berlin is a miniature world, where communism must compete with capitalism. In order to win, we must leave as little as possible in West Berlin for our allies." We obeyed him literally, removing factories, trolley tracks, sewer pipes and even toilet seats. Any equipment that couldn't be moved was destroyed.

When looting satellite East Germany, Shepilov showed more restraint. He organized the shipment of tens of thousands of German tractors, horses, cows and plows to Russia's war-devastated collective farms. But he warned, "Don't take everything you find in German barns. Leave enough machinery and livestock so the East Zone of Germany can feed itself."

About this time I attended a huge meeting of the Soviet special-reparations committee in Moscow. No fewer than three Politburo members and dozens of cabinet ministers were present, greedily seeking German machinery for Russian factories. A Soviet publisher demanded that every printing press and paper factory in East Germany be shipped into the U.S.S.R.

Shepilov stood up boldly and protested, "Take half, but leave half in Germany to spread communist propaganda among the German people. With its skilled printers and fine paper, Germany can also publish propaganda for Rumania, Bulgaria and other people's democracies where printing facilities are poor."

The committee approved. Today East Germany prints communist propaganda for all East Europe. The Leipzig press even produces de luxe editions of Russian books for readers in the U.S.S.R. itself.

Shepilov also tried to save the huge Meissen china factory from deportation to Russia. Without skilled German workers, he said, the old machinery would be mere scrap iron. Malenkov disagreed and sent the machines to a small Soviet city, where unskilled labor ruined them. A

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Wash. News
Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Mirror
N. Y. Daily News
Daily Worker
The Worker
New Leader

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Dmitri

year later, Russia painfully rebuilt the Meissen plant in Germany.

Shepilov is the youngest of the post-Stalin male collective leaders. He was born of Russian Cossack parentage on November 4, 1905, in the South Central Asian city of Ashkhabad. He claims that his father was a farm laborer, but he is very reluctant to reveal any of the facts about his family.

Dmitri spent his childhood and youth in South Russia. He was a lad of twelve when the Bolshevik Revolution plunged this region into civil war. For three terrible years, Red and White Russians, non-Russian rebels and just plain bandits fought battles in his home town. Frightened by the violence and bloodshed, the boy sought salvation in the promises of communism. While still a teen-ager, he became an agent of the Soviet secret police. In those turbulent days there were many youthful Komsomol detectives.

Agent Dmitri possessed an unusual combination of natural talents. He was a Cossack Don Juan, a brilliant high-school student and a star soccer player. These early successes made him ambitious to seek a career in the Soviet capital. When nineteen years old, his impressed superiors in the secret police sent him to Moscow to attend law college.

After graudating, young Shepilov was a researcher in the State Institute for Study of Crime and the Criminal, a division of the Russian police ministry. At the tender age of twenty-five he published his first book—the sensational Alcoholism and Crime.

Soviet censorship, very touchy on the subject, rarely admits that drunkenness is a U.S.S.R. national problem. But Shepilov wrote that Soviet liquor consumption was increasing, and so were vicious alcoholic crimes. Offering cold figures, he proved that Russians prefer potent vodka to the less intoxicating beer and wine. He boldly concluded that Russians are not social drinkers, but drink simply to get plastered.

Then he revealed that most Soviet alcoholic crimes are committed by young workers and peasants who are married and have children. He pictured many of their crimes as a public slander against the Soviet regime. Shepilov blames this unpatriotic behavior on poverty and wretched housing. He recommended that alcoholic criminals be punished lightly because he held that they were mere victims of a bad environment. Instead, just about this time, Stalin increased the prison sentences for drunken criminals. For a time it was thought that Shepilov was in trouble. But he survived.

Behind every successful man there usually is a designing and intensely loyal woman. Shepilov's guardian angel is not his pretty wife, who has borne him a tall, dark-haired daughter. According to Kremlin gossip, young Dmitri's first love in Moscow was a younger woman, Yekaterina Furtseva, the only woman to rise into the post-Stalin collective leadership. In the early 1930's she persuaded Shepilov to leave the police and pursue a more intellectual career as party agricultural propagandist. She then introduced him to her boss, a fast-rising Moscow party leader named Nikita Khrushchev. All three have remained close friends ever since.

Young Shepilov began his agricultural career by forcing unwilling peasants to join collective farms. Then he wrote more than fifty articles and pamphlets complaining that socialized agriculture produced poorly. But, being a fanatic communist, he managed at the same time to praise collectivization. He denounced the peasants for their love of private property, and recommended stronger police control over collective farms.

At the start of Stalin's great purge of the 1930's, when most Soviet officials lived in fear of imprisonment or death, Khrushchev and Furtseva gave thirty-year-old Shepilov a chance for fast promotion. The Lenin Military-Political Academy, which under normal conditions trained army political commissars, opened special courses in leadership for promising young communists. Dmitri was permitted to enroll. From police espionage files, he learned the uncensored truth about conditions in Russia. He was taught how to produce a purge and then assume his victim's job.

Today Shepilov blames Stalin for harming Soviet agriculture by excessive purges. Shepilov was at least an accomplice. In 1937, at the age of thirty-two, he wrote a brutal newspaper article demanding that all the old directors of the Agricultural Ministry be dismissed. Soon afterward, he personally purged the agronomists he had attacked.

Such maneuvers served to improve his own fortunes. By the start of the Soviet-German war, Shepilov was a high agricultural official in Communist Party headquarters, a professor of economics and a "correspondent member" of the erudite U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Because he speaks fluent Ukrainian, Dmitri quickly wangled an appointment as political commissar on the Ukrainian front. According to Moscow gossip, his motive was to rejoin old friend Khrushchev, the political commander of the whole Ukrainian theater of war. Soon Dmitri became the ghost writer for Khrushchev's wartime speeches.

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Shepilov's first major contribution to the war effort was a popular Soviet play named Front. A Ukrainian communist playwright wrote the dialogue, based on Dmitri's original plot. Russian theater audiences often wept during the sad climax—the dismissal of an old Soviet general who is brave, loyal, but hopelessly incompetent in modern mechanized war. The angry veteran warns, "You can't fight without me!"

A high political commissar retorts, "Don't try to frighten us. We have no irreplaceable people!"

This is significant, because Shepilov tolerates Old Bolsheviks, but does not admire them. Now that he's a U.S.S.R. collective leader, some of the Kremlin's elder statesmen may be quietly eased out of power.

Profiting from the war, Dmitri received four military decorations, was political commander of three Ukrainian fronts and rose to the rank of major general. His wartime propaganda tactics were diabolical and cruel. In 1943 a Red Army captain of Ukrainian race was suddenly transferred from Leningrad to the Ukrainian front. His new regiment was driving the Germans out of his home town. As soon as the *Wehrmacht* withdrew, the captain raced to the house where his parents, wife and children had lived two years under Nazi occupation.

All that he found was corpses, horribly mutilated. Like magic, Soviet reporters, news photographers and newsreel cameramen appeared on the ghastly scene. The regiment organized an impressive military funeral. All Red Army newspapers published pictures and news about the frightful atrocity. Along the entire front Soviet soldiers fought like madmen to punish the accursed Germans.

After the war, an MVD colonel stationed in Berlin told me, "The Gestapo committed many atrocities in Russia, but did not kill the family of this Ukrainian captain. Soviet police agents sneaked into the city and murdered them just before the Red Army arrived. This provocation was planned and approved by the front political commander, Dmitri Shepilov."

When the Red Army invaded and conquered East Europe, Commissar Shepilov helped with the process of turning several Danubian countries into satellites. This new exciting work fascinated him. After the war, he joined the U.S.S.R. special-reparations committee to gain more experience in foreign affairs. Just before Shepilov arrived at the committee's Berlin branch, I myself had arrived in the same office, transferred there from the headquarters of the Red Army Engineers.

When Shepilov first visited Berlin, he amazed us by his encyclopedic knowledge of agriculture in Europe and even America. He admired the huge crops of German private farms, but refused to credit this abundance to the hard work of private enterprise. Stubbornly, he insisted that U.S.S.R. collectives would be equally productive when they had as much machinery as German estates. Yet Shepilov admitted that collective farmers in Russia work much more enthusiastically on their private gardens than in communal fields. He described how the Soviet peasantry stole collective land to enlarge their homesteads during the war, when rural-police control was lax. According to his solemn prediction, all Soviet private gardens would eventually be abolished.

Early in 1947 Dmitri returned to Berlin in an even more important post. He had just been promoted to communist propaganda chief of all satellite East Europe. At a closed conference in the Berlin branch of the Soviet Information Bureau, he asked embarrassing questions about the true political beliefs of the German people. Then Shepilov quietly explained a program for fooling the East Germans:

For several years, peasants must be assured there would be no collectivization. Small storekeepers were to be told to conduct business as usual. Promises of job security and full employment would be made to industrial workers. The government was not to be described as communist at first, but as an anti-Fascist coalition of democratic parties. The idea was to get East Germans to think: "This regime is not so bad." Thus, while the general population was lulled into inaction, Communist Party members and sympathizers would take over the police, army, courts, trade unions and all other instruments of power. Certainly, by reason of the Soviet military victory, communists were in control from the outset. But this method of infiltration was designed to eliminate all resistance in the end.

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After several years, when communism was thoroughly in control, the peasants would be forced into collective farms, small storekeepers would be taxed out of business and industrial workers would suffer worse exploitation than ever before.

Shepilov may not have invented this program, but he executed it brilliantly. He fooled not only East Germany but all satellite East Europe. Today the same soothing falsehoods help communism consolidate power in Southeast Asia.

Profiting from a minor purge in 1948, forty-three-year-old Shepilov became chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of U.S.S.R. Communist Party headquarters. For a year he was ideological czar of the whole Soviet empire. But he made the mistake of praising a new book by Politburo member Voznesensky, whom Stalin mistrusted and soon executed. Only intervention by Furtseva and Khrushchev saved Shepilov from slave-labor camp in that crisis. In 1949 he was demoted to a mere party lecturer on capitalist economics.

After this narrow escape, Shepilov for a time seemed to lose his former originality and drive. His writings loudly parroted the Stalinist line, condemning Western socialists as traitors to communism, and labeling Tito a "Balkan bandit," murderer and spy—today Dmitri seeks the friendship of the "Balkan bandit." Almost hysterically, Shepilov tried to prove the United States has 20,000,000 illiterates and 14,000,000 unemployed. He was very proud of a crack he made when he concluded that American prosperity seemed "not the blush of youth, but syphilitic spots on the cheeks."

At the 1952 Communist Party Congress, Shepilov's Stalinist crusading seemed to pay off to an extent. He was elected to the party central committee and appointed chief editor of Russia's largest newspaper, Pravda. Still, he played it safe. Even after Stalin's death, during Malenkov's two-year reign, Shepilov preferred to remain in the background. But he kept busy editing Pravda, lecturing on agriculture, and co-authoring a dull textbook on Marxist political economy.

By late 1954, Shepilov accompanied Bulganin, Furtseva and Khrushchev on a slow trip to Red China. Far from the inquisitive Kremlin, they plotted to overthrow Stalin's rotund successor. As soon as Shepilov returned, his Pravda suddenly condemned Malenkov's emphasis on consumer goods, which all other Soviet newspapers still praised. Premier Malenkov resigned not long afterward.

Shepilov immediately became the Soviet foreign minister in all but name. As chairman of a hitherto obscure foreign-affairs commission of the Supreme Soviet, he recommended that Russia break its military alliances with Britain and France. The Soviet Foreign Ministry quickly obeyed.

Shepilov, not Molotov, accompanied Khrushchev on the famous reconciliation trip to Belgrade. When Tito asked, somewhat sharply, why Dmitri was there, Khrushchev muttered vaguely, "For ideological work."

In July, 1955, while smiling Soviet leaders talked peace at the Geneva "summit" conference, Shepilov visited Cairo and sabotaged peace in the Middle East by agreeing to ship communist arms to Egypt. Soon the Egyptian Government received quantities of artillery, MIG jet fighters, Ilyushin jet bombers, Soviet destroyers and submarines. Subsequently, day by day, the threat of war in the Middle East increased, accompanied by greater tensions all over the world.

Dmitri was well rewarded for this stroke. In February, 1956, he was promoted into the Kremlin collective leadership. By June, he formally became Russian Foreign Minister, replacing Old Bolshevik Molotov, who resigned "at his own request."

New York haberdasheries had better be ready for Shepilov's visit to the United Nations this fall. He would hardly bypass this opportunity to acquire fine American clothes—Dmitri is a fancy dresser, in a colorful Bohemian style. He prefers exotic combinations—a dark pur-

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pie suit with silver cravat, or a white suit, dark shirt and bright tie.

Sedate Molotov once entered a Manhattan men's shop and announced that he wanted to buy several suits of clothes. All the clerks rushed around trying to please him. Unfortunately, the manager mentioned that one suit was made of coal and wood, and explained the process in some detail. Molotov was fascinated by the chemistry, bought only this suit, said he no longer had time to have it fitted, and hurriedly left.

Shepilov will probably be a far less technological shopper. But colorful, handsome Shepilov is a more dangerous opponent of the free world than tough old Molotov ever was. Dmitri is young, bold, very resourceful, and eager to set the world on fire. Unfortunately for Israel, he is known to be anti-Semitic. After Stalin's death, the derogatory term "Talmudist" disappeared from the Soviet press until 1956, when Shepilov's speeches revived it.

Shepilov is inventive and frequently shifts tactics. On his second trip to Cairo, he probably persuaded Egypt to nationalize the Suez Canal. In recent pronouncements, he stated his basic strategy very bluntly:

Despite "peaceful co-existence," propaganda war against the West will never cease. All colonies except the Soviet satellites will be urged to revolt. The old communist line of racial equality is taking a new twist: Why, the communists will continue asking, does a colored laborer in Africa earn one twentieth the salary of a white American worker? Sporadic plans for disarmament will be set afloat as trial balloons—for Shepilov believes that armament is the "narcotic" keeping capitalism prosperous.

All simply, Shepilov's master plan is the economic strangulation of the United States. The Soviet orbit, which already controls one third of the world's industry and population, has launched a trade war tougher than American business ever has encountered. Shepilov's main targets are Asia, Africa and Latin America—our overseas customers, who in return sell us tin, rubber, copper, wool and other vital raw materials. Soviet salesmen hope eventually to capture these markets by underselling us steadily and relentlessly.

Shepilov's ace in the hole is the fact that communism pays its oppressed workers slave wages. With cheap labor, the U.S.S.R. can underprice American industry, whose workers are the best paid in the world. Shepilov knows that American business must operate at a profit. But if the Soviet loses money to gain a new foreign market—well, the long-suffering Russian people simply absorb the loss. Argentina is already buying inferior communist automobiles, because it pays for them in wool and hides, not in scarce dollars. For twenty-eight years the Soviet people were forced to sacrifice, so that their masters could build a huge war industry. Now they are driven to further privations, so that Moscow can carry on a program of economic strangulation against the free world.

This is why the massive Red Army is being streamlined for the atomic age. Hundreds of thousands of demobilized Soviet soldiers are remobilized into factories to produce more goods for strategic export. Temporarily, the Soviet sincerely seeks peaceful co-existence with the United States. A premature Soviet-American war could ruin Shepilov's monstrous long-range plan.

If this evil sales campaign eventually succeeds, Shepilov predicts an American depression far worse than our economic disaster of the 1930's. Many American factories, he reasons, will shut down for lack of export markets and imported raw materials. His hope is that American unemployed workers may turn to communism for their salvation. Even if they don't, an impoverished United States couldn't afford the financial burden of heavy armament, Shepilov figures.

While poverty and communist propaganda undermine American military power, the Soviet's huge armament production will never slacken, as Shepilov sees it. Perhaps the mere threat of communist force will then subdue the enfeebled, isolated U.S.A. If Americans try to resist, better-armed Russia will simply crush them by force—so Shepilov reasons.

Of course, Shepilov's economic war can still fail. Even he admits that Soviet machines are inferior, communist labor productivity remains low and the Soviet is handicapped by internal friction. Russia's treasury may go bankrupt pouring endless subsidies into unprofitable foreign trade. Unpredictable shifts in Kremlin collective leadership could liquidate both Shepilov and his imperialist plan. American free enterprise is not easily defeated, no matter what the type of competition.

But America's future is threatened. We must watch Professor Shepilov and his shifting tactics with the greatest vigilance. We must never forget that his goal is—and always will be—our perdition.

THE END

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About the Authors

Vladimir Shabinsky, one of the best informed of the former Soviet Russian officials who have chosen freedom in the United States, served in the offices of three of today's Kremlin collective leaders, Malenkov, Saburov and Kaganovich. Mr. Shabinsky fled from the Russian headquarters in Berlin in 1947 and sought refuge in the American Zone of Germany. Today he is active as an editor and writer for the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism, which broadcasts regularly to the peoples of Russia. Mr. Shabinsky's collaborator, Ellsworth Raymond, served as economic analyst in the United States Embassy in Moscow for years and is one of our country's noted Russian experts. Mr. Raymond, currently of the faculty of New York University, has contributed regularly to this magazine.

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The many faces of dauntless Dmitri: At a parade in Cairo, he became by turns (clockwise from above) a suspicious Muscovite, bored sophisticate, Soviet strong man, alert leader, jolly good fellow and naïve bumpkin.

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Communist Party

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N. Y. TIMES

SOVIET SI[illegible] TO LEF[illegible]

Uses Suez Crisis to Step Up Requests to Socialists to Cooperate With Moscow

THE DIGEST

By WELLES HANGEN

Special to The New York Times.

MOSCOW, Sept. 17—The Soviet Union is using the Suez crisis to step up its appeals to European Socialist parties to cooperate with the Communists. New overtures have been made in recent days to the British Labor party as well as French and West German Socialists to join Moscow in opposing forcible intervention in the canal controversy.

At the same time the Moscow decision to support reunification of the Italian Socialist parties at the expense of Italian communism is being studied here as a possible guide to future Soviet policy toward European socialism.

Pravda, Soviet Communist party newspaper, again congratulated British Socialist trade union leaders today on their opposition to the use of force in the Suez crisis.

The paper appealed for a Socialist "peace front" on the Suez issue in a long lead editorial denouncing the "colonial brigandage" of the Western Big Three.

The Suez crisis has brought the first favorable mention of British Labor party leaders in the Soviet press since the tempestuous April meeting in London at which Hugh Gaitskell, Labor party leader, sought to present to Nikita S. Khrushchev, Soviet Communist party leader, and Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin a list of Social Democrats imprisoned in Soviet bloc countries.

The Suez crisis has also brought renewed Soviet gestures toward West German Socialists, who, as Pravda noted, also oppose a military solution of the canal problem.

The Soviet propaganda machine has made frequent appeals to German Social Democrats to uphold the cause of the outlawed West German Communist party.

Soviet commentators are tireless in pointing to the divergence between the British and French Socialists positions on Suez. Their chagrin at the harsh line adopted by the Socialist regime of Premier Guy Mollet is particularly acu[illegible] because it spells the failure [illegible]ow's campaign for [illegible]ent with French Socia[illegible]

In recent [illegible] Soviet Union has [illegible] proposed merger of [illegible] Italian Soci[illegible] though the [illegible] party [illegible] weakened [illegible]

High So[illegible] proved th[illegible] neutrality [illegible] Togliatti [illegible] leader to [illegible] between [illegible] Pietro Nenni, leader [illegible] Left-wing Socialists, and Giuseppe Saragat, Right-wing leader and Deputy Premier in the present Italian Government.

Studying these moves, Western observers believe Moscow may now prefer to work directly through sympathetic elements in European Socialist parties instead of striving for popular-front coalitions on the pre-war and early postwar model.

Political alignments differ markedly throughout Western Europe, but Soviet acquiescence in seeing Italian communism devalued cannot help but set an important precedent, according to the view here.

Moscow's stand was made clear to the Italian Communist party delegation en route to China here last week by Mikhail A. Suslov and B. N. Ponomarev, two leading Soviet authorities on relations with foreign Communist parties.

They confirmed the impression created here when Pravda published Thursday a report of a speech given two days earlier by Signor Togliatti. In this address, the Italian Communist leader promised his party would not oppose the reconciliation of Socialist factions.

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F.B.I. CHIEF SCORES SOVIET 'NEW LOOK'

Hoover Tells House Group the Present Moscow Line Is Leninism in Action

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 15—The director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation calls the current peacelike tactics of Soviet Russia "a new look hash" of which American Communists are slaves.

J. Edgar Hoover so expressed himself in answering a call from the House Committee on un-American Activities for the views of key persons throughout this country and abroad for a realistic appraisal of the new Moscow line, as it is represented by the Soviet Union.

The new line, Mr. Hoover stated, is as ruthless and power-grabbing as that of Stalin. To call it the line of Lenin, he added, was only to prove up his conclusions.

"In simple terms," Mr. Hoover reported, "the alleged change in the party line—the so-called new look—is Leninism in action.

"Lenin taught that the truth must be concealed and that flexibility, subterfuges, zigzags, compromises, concessions and retreats are essential to the advancement of communism. Lenin was a complete realist. He said plainly the Communist leaders who are unable to tack, to maneuver and compromise in order to avoid disadvantageous battle were good for nothing."

Mr. Hoover asked this question:

"With the end of the brutal Stalin era in Russia, and a return to the 'guidance of the wise injunctions of Lenin' can we expect Communist leaders to adhere to fixed principles and to a civilized code of morality?"

Mr. Hoover cited the pronouncements of Lenin and of the present leaders of the Soviet Union in their discussions of the degrading of Stalin and the choosing of a new course. They all added up to the same, he contended.

"Those Communists who today look to Lenin for guidance * * *," he said, "found that he left them clear-cut instructions. He recommends that country deliberately be set against country to stir hostility. The practical task of Communist policy, Lenin says, is to take advantage of differences and * * * to incite one against the other.

"On the basis of long experience, from close and intimate knowledge of Communist activity within the United States, I have not the faintest doubt but that in every trouble spot on the face of the globe, Lenin's injunctures are being followed meticulously."

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CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. Times
DATED 9/16/56
FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

RE: SOVIET "NEW LOOK" SPEECH BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

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[illegible] and 270 reported in the revolt—but Vatican Correspondent Gil Carpio, on parole, is holed in Rome and of Poznań's last hospitals.

The workers had made their point, the Poznań revolt died, and a calendar to stack with the Berlin rising of June 1953 (where only a few dozen died) and the 1954 rioting in the Czech Ghost Camp at Vorkuta. The result was one more proof of the repressed feelings of millions of hungry people in the satellite states. Visitors who left Poznań by car were conducted for an hour and a half through a heavy division of troops and tanks drawn up around Poznań. Russian units several hundred miles away had been alerted for action in case the revolt spread. Ramblings of discontent were being heard from Stettin and the neighboring Baltic states.

Polish Communists, already shaken by ideological and leadership changes in the party, had a hard time coping with the obvious message of the Poznań workers. Premier Cyrankiewicz acknowledged the justice of their grievances ("To a large extent caused by errors and the improper application of regulations in force"). The decision had "already" been taken before the strike, he said, to give the locomotive workers a 15% pay raise. He was at work on "a plan of action" for the gradual "raising of the standard of living of the working masses."

This kind of talk was necessary to disperse the crowds, but plainly the regime [illegible] they searched for ringleaders and deal unmercifully with them. Once the fair closed and the foreign visitors departed, a dark night would settle down on Poznań.

Alexis de Tocqueville, writing of the anxious days before the French Revolution, said: "The evils which are endured with patience so long as they are inevitable seem intolerable as soon as a hope can be entertained of escaping from them." It was an observation that exactly fitted the circumstances of Poznań, Vorkuta and East Berlin.

The same situation, tragic for its victims, would undoubtedly rise again to plague the Kremlin's leaders, who, feeling the need to relax the oppression, hope to escape the vengeance.

THE KREMLIN

The Heart of the Matter

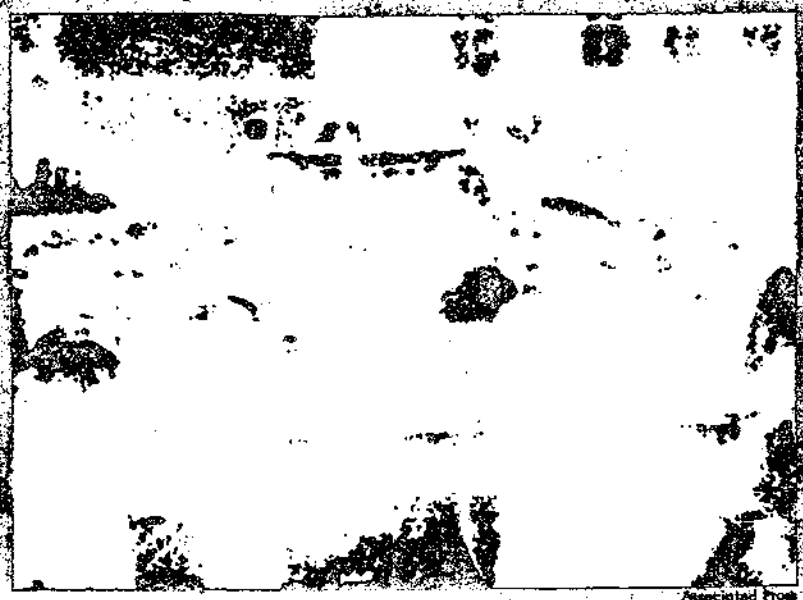
Voice: *How did you stand it? Why didn't you kill him?*

Khrushchev: *What could we do? There was a reign of terror. You just had to look at him the wrong way and you lost your head.*

This exchange, which took place during Nikita Khrushchev's historic speech to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party last February, was deliberately leaked to Western newsmen in Moscow a fortnight later. As a statement of official responsibility during the Stalinist terror, it got to the heart of the matter. But only last week was the Kremlin ready to let the Russian people in on the secret—and then only on part of it.

Khrushchev's speech has not yet been published in Russia. Abroad, the Communist faithful have had to face distorted and disillusioned followers familiar with the text of Khrushchev's terrible indictment of Stalin as released by the U.S. State Department. They have had to say that Khrushchev's excuse for complicity in the crimes of Stalin—his own cowardice—is not good enough (Time, July 2).

In the New York *Daily Worker*, U.S. Communist Leader Eugene Dennis (long an industrious Stalin bootlicker) put the accusation more mildly than the French and Italian Communists: "Why did these things happen? Were they inevitable? Are they inherent in socialism, in Communist philosophy?" And of the current leadership he inquired: "Did some of them try to bring about changes before the last three years? Could the past evils have been checked earlier? How big and serious are the changes now under way?"



Associated Press

POLISH SOLDIERS WITH TANK
The rattle of machine guns was the answer.

On the Wall. Last week Moscow's *Pravda* startled its readers by reprinting Dennis' article. It added a footnote explaining that Dennis was commenting on "material which the U.S. State Department has published in the press, calling it Comrade Khrushchev's report to the 20th Congress." Spread through three pages of *Pravda*, pasted on wall newspapers, it was the first official public acknowledgment in Russia of the existence of the speech and the juicy issues it raised. In this backhanded way, though not yet in possession of Khrushchev's chilling facts and figures, Russians could in passing learn much from Dennis ("Nothing can justify the use of tortures and rigged trials, large-scale deportations, provocative and chauvinist actions as in the case of Yugoslavia, the persecution of Jewish doctors.

Only Communist Party members in Russia had been given an inkling of all this earlier. At odd and dangerous moments couriers from the Central Committee have appeared with a copy of the speech. Short excerpts have been read, which members have been warned not to write down, and the courier has then returned with the precious document. Suddenly, from an initial sense of shock, party members have been brought to a state of high hope and expectancy for the future. Just what the Central Committee evidently thought that the time had come to extend its propaganda drive to take in non-party Russians, and had chosen this oblique way to do it.

In the Future. The questions raised by Dennis were undoubtedly those that would also occur to Russians. Perhaps the Central Committee felt that it could safely risk the questions because it had an answer. Was there a time coming when it would say, in effect: "Acting with extreme party vigilance, we did, in fact, remove Stalin"? Next week the Supreme Soviet will meet and undoubtedly more will be heard then. Presumably to prepare their people for what is to come, Russian papers last week for the first time published Lenin's famous suppressed political testament (known to the outside world since 1926) which warned against Stalin as "rude and capricious."

And so the heirs of Stalin continued their systematic task of tarring Stalin's memory, hoping thereby to justify future allegiance to themselves by showing how determined they were to change all that. Yet nagging questions would remain. If they participated in all of Stalin's crimes when he was alive only out of fear, why did they stand around his bier after he was dead, praising him as the "Great Leader and Continuer of Lenin"?

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Congress Told Of Red Strategy

By Vincent J. Burke
United Press

The leader of a European underground movement said yesterday that anti-Communists behind the Iron Curtain consider East-West diplomatic conferences "a betrayal of their fight for freedom."

Tillich

Ernst Tillich, director of West Berlin's "Fighting Group Against Inhumanity," told the House Committee on Un-American Activities that some of the Free World's "best allies" live behind the Iron Curtain. He said the United States should do all it can to help them.

Tillich, testifying in German through an interpreter, was the first of a series of foreign witnesses the Committee will hear to "obtain information on international Communist strategy and tactics." He will testify again today.

Committee Chairman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) described Tillich's group as "the most effective resistance organization functioning behind the Soviet Iron Curtain." He said it conducts "a daily war against the Communist police state."

The "fighting group" distributes newspapers and pamphlets in Soviet-controlled East Germany from its headquarters in West Berlin. Some independent newspapers in free Berlin have described it as an espionage and sabotage group.

Tillich, who had an appeal for funds distributed while he was testifying, said his group does not intend to set up "an espionage or sabotage" organization but tries to promote "passive resistance" among oppressed peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

He said the Soviets have put a price on his head, made several attempts to kidnap members of his staff, and tried to steal documents from his headquarters. He said the East German government repeatedly asked West German officials to "suppress" his group.

"Present Soviet strategy is a flanking maneuver around the West to get at its colonies and the underdeveloped areas of the world," hee said. "Through this they hope to isolate us morally and spiritually and divide us from our allies within a very short time."

To help combat this maneuver, he said, the Free World must "come to the aid of people behind the Iron Curtain who are dedicated to the idea of freedom." He did not say, nor was he asked, what form such aid should take.

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Wash. Post and Times Herald
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Mirror
N. Y. Daily News
Daily Worker
The Worker
New Leader

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ENCLOSURE

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ENCLOSURE

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CRIMES

Nikita S. Khrushchev recently gave to the world a catalogue of Stalin's crimes.

Here, for the first time, you get a catalogue of Khrushchev's crimes. Documented, too, are the crimes of Bulganin, Voroshilov, Molotov, Malenkov, Mikoyan and the rest of the present Kremlin hierarchy.

The report, "Soviet Crimes and Khrushchev's Confessions," was prepared by the Public Affairs Committee of Freedom House, New York, based on a study by Chester S. Williams.

Khrushchev is charged with a prominent part in the purges of 1937 and in many more of "Stalin's crimes." Bulganin's role in the NKVD, Russia's secret-police organization, is [illegible] named as director of the roundup of Polish prisoners that preceded the Katyn massacre.

Malenkov is revealed as the No. 1 "informer" of the Stalin purges. Molotov and Mikoyan are named as the chief architects of Stalin's pro-Hitler policy in 1939.

Tracing the zigzags of Communist tactics since 1917, the authors find no fundamental change in Russia today. Though Stalin is in disfavor, his dream of world dictatorship is still the Kremlin's dream, the authors believe.

New crimes, committed after Stalin's death, are catalogued. They include the far-reaching purges that followed Beria's death; the shooting of rioters at Poznan, Poland; the new, 1956 purge of Russia's peasants.

The Public Affairs Committee of Freedom House, which prepared this report, includes these members: Whitney North Seymour, chairman of the board; Herbert Bayard Swope, chairman of the executive committee; Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, president; Leo Cherne, Father George B. Ford, Rex Stout, Mrs. Henry Gale, George Field, Norman Cousins, Mrs. Kermit Roosevelt and William L. White.

Freedom House was established in New York in 1941 "to advance the goals of a free society and oppose all forms of totalitarianism."

Wendell L. Willkie was a founding member of the board of directors and, upon his death, Freedom House established the Willkie Memorial Building as its headquarters. Robert P. Patterson, former Secretary of War, was president of Freedom House at the time of his death in 1952.

(The booklet, "Soviet Crimes and Khrushchev's Confessions," based on a study prepared by Chester S. Williams, is being published by the Public Affairs Committee of Freedom House, New York, on Sept. 11, 1956. *U. S. News & World Report* has obtained first serial rights prior to book publication. Copyright is held by Freedom House. The entire booklet is released for publication in afternoon papers of Tuesday, Sept. 4, 1956, and for use on radio and television at the same time, provided credit is given and quoted material carries the copyright line.)

The text follows:

INTRODUCTION

Terrifying crimes against humanity have been commited by the Soviet Union as a result of the decisions and commands of its leaders. Some of these crimes have been formally admitted by Nikita S. Khrushchev (First Secretary of the Soviet Union's Communist Party) in a speech before the Twentieth Party Congress in Moscow, February 24-25, in which he indicted Stalin as a paranoiac tyrant.

Two aspects deserve particular study. The admissions have not indicated the extent to which the present rulers of the Soviet Union were accomplices in many of the offenses. Nor has it been admitted that these events go back to the very origins of the Bolshevik State and are an integral part of that society, its conception, its leadership, and its direction.

The concessions do not reveal more than a fraction of the criminal acts which have occurred. These events are so numerous, so continuous, that a total catalogue of them is all but impossible.

The following Freedom House report of this 38-year criminal record of Bolshevism will, we hope, contribute to a better understanding of the content, character, and duration of the Soviet Union's crimes against humanity.

WHAT THE RECORD SHOWS

The new rulers of Russia have not thus far departed from orthodox Bolshevik strategy. They have merely repeated some of the tactics Stalin used after the death of Lenin.

Strategy of Zig-Zag

Lenin said: "we must be able . . . to resort to all sorts of stratagems, maneuvers, illegal methods, evasions and subterfuges . . . to make necessary practical compromises, to 'tack,' to make agreements, zig-zags, retreats . . ."

The terms "tack" and "zig-zag" give an accurate picture of the Soviet ship of state being piloted by skilled totalitarians toward the goal of world enslavement. The Soviet dictators have actually tacked back and forth across the prevailing wind of freedom many times. They have alternated between periods of radical repression and periods of relaxation. And with each shift a new batch of scapegoats has been liquidated.

Stalin Pattern

When Stalin lay powerless in his coffin, but before they decided to make him a scapegoat, all his accomplices praised him:

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. . . "In 1924 Stalin got rid of Lenin's closest collaborator, Leon Trotsky, just as today's clique has disposed of Beria. They served as scapegoats to deflect popular hatred"

"Farewell, beloved friend!" mourned Malenkov publicly.

"Today we feel a terrible grief," said Molotov.

"His whole life, sunlit by great ideas, is for us a living, exalting example."

The communique issued by the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers said, "The immortal name of Stalin will live forever in the hearts of the Soviet people and all progressive mankind."

Now they denounce him. And in denouncing Stalin, Khrushchev is merely following the Stalin pattern. As the record shows, Stalin himself provided the pattern for making the risky transition from one tyrant to another. In 1924 he got rid of Lenin's closest collaborator, Leon Trotsky, just as today's clique has disposed of Beria. They served as scapegoats to deflect popular hatred.

Stalin down-graded Lenin, but he did not find it necessary to destroy Lenin's memory. Lenin, sick during his last two years, had ruled a much shorter time and had not been driven by his philosophy through so many cycles of liquidations and terror.

Concessions were made by Stalin's ruling group, 1924-1928, to reassure the peasants, the workers, the managerial class, the intelligentsia, the armed forces and the outside world. Restrained terror was used primarily against the critics of the concessions—the "left Trotskyite deviationists." Then as now, the Communist Parties around the world engaged in a short period of questioning and quickly hailed the new Moscow line in a chorus. The pattern has remained essentially the same.

"Cult of the Individual"

One-man rule under Communism is inevitable.

One-party rule is achieved by suppressing the rights of the majority and liquidating the leaders of the opposition parties. Members of the party who disagree on basic questions divide into factions. One faction suppresses the rights of the others and eliminates their leaders. Finally, among the small ruling circle, disagreements force the strongest individual to suppress his weaker opponents.

This becomes inevitable because decisions on how to maneuver toward the unpopular goal of totalitarian regimentation always risk mutiny. The self-confident leader who believes his line is right cannot long tolerate colleagues whose contrary lines may lead to disaster.

Khrushchev does not seek to abolish the "cult of the individual," but instead to shift it temporarily from Stalin back to Lenin. Typical of his own contribution to the cult is this attack:

"By lifting their hand against Comrade Stalin," he said in a 1937 speech, "they lifted it against all of us, against the working class, against the toilers . . . against all the best that humanity possesses; for Stalin is hope, he is expectation, he is the beacon which guides all advanced and progressive mankind. Stalin is our banner! Stalin is our will! Stalin is our victory!"

This is the same man who said in 1956: "The cult of the individual acquired such monstrous size chiefly because Stalin himself, using all conceivable methods, supported the glorification of his own person."

Nature of the Crimes

The crimes exposed and condemned by Khrushchev fall into one main category; they were acts that sapped the strength of the Communist movement. These included:

—unnecessary annihilation of opponents already defeated;

—Sovfoto

LENIN PREACHING REVOLUTION—AS SEEN BY A RUSSIAN ARTIST

Said Lenin: "We must be able . . . to resort to all sorts of stratagems . . . illegal methods, evasions and subterfuges"

. . . "Khrushchev's slashing speech has not yet been published in Russia. The elite has not dared to trust the people with the detailed indictments"

—wiping out loyal members of the Party elite;
—purging the officer corps, which weakened the military arm;
—failing to prepare for defense; bungling war strategy;
—terrorizing the managerial class, which stultified initiative;
—venting personal vengeance; committing pathological acts.

On the other hand, Khrushchev ignored almost all crimes against the people.

By open approval or silence he and his associates continue to support the main features of the Stalin line:

—one-party dictatorship under the direction of self-appointed leaders;
—repression of all opposition or organized protest;
—"class justice," which means controlled courts, secret trials and executions, mass verdicts on forced labor;
—centralized direction of industry, agriculture and trade through appointed bureaucrats;
—dictated concentration on heavy industry and war production regardless of the shortage of consumer goods;
—Party-directed unions aimed at speed-up and control without rights to bargain collectively or strike;
—conversion of farmers into wage-workers and city-dwellers under centralized control;
—imposition of conformity on culture, science, and thought;
—strict restrictions on religion coupled with antireligious propaganda.

Khrushchev's Confessions

The indictment drawn against Stalin is a confession of guilt, for the present Soviet rulers were deeply involved in the acts they blame on Stalin. They were his principal supporters and the chief beneficiaries during his long reign. In any civilized court of law the principal accomplices share the guilt of their acknowledged leader.

Khrushchev and his associates have admitted that they knew about these acts, but now insist that the responsibility was exclusively Stalin's. Yet, at the Nuremberg trials of Hitler's accomplices, the Soviet prosecutor, General Rudenko, argued that even those who were not directly involved were still responsible for Hitler's crimes.

[Editor's Note: *In his closing arguments at the Nuremberg trials, General Rudenko said: "As crimes result from a single criminal plan, common to the whole society, the accomplices who have not personally committed these separate criminal actions and were not practically informed of them bear the responsibility for them.*

[*". . . Very often the head of a criminal band usurps the unlimited power over the other members of the band, even the very right of life and death. However, it seems that it never occurred to any lawyer in the world to deny the existence of a criminal society only because its accomplices were not alike and one of them had power over the others.*

[*"It is at any rate strange to deny the existence of the conspiracy in the present case on account of the indisputable fact that great personal power was concentrated in the hands of the ringleader, Hitler."*]

Khrushchev's slashing speech has not yet been published in Russia. The elite has not dared to trust the people with the detailed indictments.

"We cannot let this matter get out of the party," Khrushchev insisted, "especially not to the press. It is for this reason that we are considering it here at a closed Congress session. We should know the limits . . ."

The confessions were a calculated risk, and it is still a moot question as to whether they can keep the anti-Stalin campaign within the prescribed limits.

A CHRONOLOGICAL CATALOGUE OF CRIMES

This chronology puts the crimes Khrushchev concedes [emphasized by italics] into a setting of the many vicious acts he ignores or approves. It presents a significant fraction of the 38-year criminal record. It shows how the Communist system has relied from the beginning on big lies, suppression, persecution and mass murder.

I. Under Lenin—1917-1924

1917

November 7—Lenin and his small Bolshevik minority shrewdly took advantage of wartime chaos to wrest power from the leaders of Russia's first democratic government. With Kronstadt sailors, Lettish soldiers and Red Guards, Lenin took control of Petrograd three weeks before the free elections for a Constituent Assembly.*

Two days later the Bolsheviks alone formed a Council of People's Commissars with Lenin as Chairman.

*This took place the night of Oct. 24 by the Gregorian Calendar, and is thus called the "October Revolution."

On November 17, two of Lenin's collaborators—Alexei Rykov, Commissar for the Interior, and Leo Kamenev, chairman of the All-Russian Soviet Executive—resigned, charging that Lenin was plotting a "purely Bolshevik government by means of political terror."

Election returns from the Nov. 25-Dec. 9 voting gave the Bolsheviks only 25 percent of the 36 million votes cast. One opposing party—the Social Revolutionaries—won a clear majority of 58 percent. But by this time it was split into Right and Left wings, and the Left minority had joined a coalition government with the Bolsheviks with 7 of 18 posts. This lasted only four months while Lenin gathered the power to go it alone.

December 6—The members of the electoral commission were arrested.

December 11—The Constitutional Democrats (Kadets) were outlawed.

"Members of the governing body of the Party of the Kadets," read the decree, "are to be arrested as *enemies of the people* . . ." This decree was signed by Lenin, Trotsky,

. . . In 1918: "Lenin's imported sharpshooters from Latvia fired into masses of unarmed workers and students . . . . killing and wounding more than a hundred"

Stalin and others. This was the first use of the phrase and the concept, "enemies of the people," despite Khrushchev's claim that it was Stalin's invention in the 1930s.

I. N. Steinberg, later Commissar for Justice, led a fight against the ratification of this decree. He argued, "If an individual Kadet should be accused of conspiracy against the people, let him personally be brought to trial, at which time we should have to provide proof and he should have the right to defense."

"I maintained," wrote Steinberg, "we could not place an entire group—unspecified anonymous groups of people—outside the pale of human law." But Lenin was upheld by his supporters from the factories and garrisons 150 to 98.

Steinberg made this prediction: "Withdraw legal protection from the liberals today, and the same is likely to happen to other political groups tomorrow. It is easy to start the terror, but impossible to stop it."

Within a few months a Bolshevik decree read, "All Right Revolutionaries, known to local Soviets, are to be arrested at once. . . . No hesitations, no doubts in the application of mass terror." Steinberg and his Left Social Revolutionaries soon went to prison and many were executed.

1918

January 2—Felix Dzerzhinsky was appointed head of the Cheka—the dread secret police later known as the GPU, NKVD and now MVD.

"Do not think," he said, "I am on the lookout for forms of revolutionary justice. We have no need of justice now. Now we have need of a battle to the death."

January 18—Lenin's imported sharpshooters from Latvia fired into masses of unarmed workers and students converging on the Tauride Palace to cheer the opening of the Constituent Assembly, killing and wounding more than a hundred.

Wrote Gorki the next day: "Yesterday the streets of Petrograd and Moscow resounded with shouts of 'Long Live the Constituent Assembly.' For giving vent to these sentiments, the peaceful paraders were shot down by the 'People's Government.'"

Khrushchev in his speech claimed that "Lenin taught that the Party's strength depends upon its indissoluble unity with the masses, on the fact that behind the Party follow the people—workers, peasants and intelligentsia."

Lenin had no faith in popular elections. "Only scoundrels and imbeciles can think that the proletariat must first win a majority in elections conducted under the bourgeois yoke."

The Constituent Assembly was closed up after one day, marking the end of parliamentary government.

Lenin put the principle for one-party rule bluntly: "Classes are led by parties and parties are led by individuals who are called leaders. This is the ABC. What is necessary is *individual rule*, the recognition of the *dictatorial powers of one man*. All phrases about equal rights are nonsense."

(Here is the real "cult of the individual.")

January 19—Two distinguished Ministers in Kerensky's imprisoned cabinet were murdered in their hospital beds by guards posted by a Bolshevik Commissar of Militia.

There was no charge against them. They were imprisoned simply as top leaders in the Liberal camp which opposed the October overthrow. Kokoshkin was a renowned professor of constitutional law, and Shingarev, a physician and a recognized authority on peasant problems.

This was only a sample of the rising Red terror which provoked civil war.

March 16—At Lenin's insistence, the Bolsheviks signed the *Treaty of Brest-Litovsk*—a peace of capitulation to Imperial Germany, releasing the Kaiser's forces in the East to be hurled against the Western democracies.

Against the wishes of a high proportion of his Bolshevik comrades and the opposition of all the parties of the revolution from Left to Right, Lenin demanded capitulation to save his regime. This was the forerunner of the Nazi-Soviet Pact.

It ended the coalition with the Left Social Revolutionaries who then became victims of the one-party dictatorship along with all the other parties that had won 75 percent of the votes a few months before.

September 20—Stalin wrote in his own hand across a resolution: "We'll dig the canal after we have drowned the Constitutional Democrats in the Volga and the Don." Kliment Voroshilov—today's Chairman of the Supreme Presidium—added his signature.

November—A democratic regime in Siberia was crushed between Trotsky's Red Army and Admiral Kolchak's White Army.

1920

January 20—Dzerzhinsky, the Secret Police head, speeded up executions of political prisoners on the eve of Lenin's decree abolishing the death penalty.

Khrushchev repeated Lenin's excuses for the Red terror and quoted him: "But as soon as we attained a decisive victory, even before the end of the war, immediately after taking Rostov, we gave up the death penalty and thus proved that we intend to execute our own program in the manner that we promised."

This attempted deception is exposed by the record: that Lenin wanted to impress the democracies during pending negotiations; that executions were never stopped; that the death penalty was officially reinstated less than four months later.

1921

February—The Red Army invaded Stalin's native Georgia, deposed a democratic government and imposed a Bolshevik regime by force.

Georgia had gained its independence in 1918. The Communist attack violated the USSR's own treaty with independent Georgia, signed only nine months before.

March 20—Lenin sent Trotsky and General Tukhachevsky with 60,000 picked troops to suppress the protesting sailors, soldiers and workers of Kronstadt.

From the start, the regime had treated their demands for an end of Bolshevik persecutions, for free elections, freedom of speech, press and trade unions, etc., as mutiny.*

When their petition was called a plot engineered by Czarist and foreign agents and they were threatened with military assault, they raised the banner of rebellion "against the three-year-old autocracy of the Communist Commissars."

On the question, "What Are We Fighting For?" they wrote: "Instead of giving the people liberty, (the Commu-

*They were asking these rights only for workers and peasants.

In 1922, "Leading people of the old Russian society—bourgeoisie, intelligentsia, military, clergy, and aristocracy—were systematically executed and exiled"

nists) have instilled in them the constant dread of the Cheka Worst and the most criminal of all is the spiritual plot of the Communists they have laid their hands on the inner world of the laborer compelling everyone to think according to their dogma

For ten days they fought from the forts and street by street often winning over the Red regiments finally facing troops from Central Asia Some 18 000 were killed and the thousands taken prisoner were executed This was only the most spectacular of many suppressions of protesting workers and peasants at the time Khrushchev in 1956 defended ruthless terror and admitted that Lenin demanded uncompromising dealings with the enemies of the revolution and the working class

The Kronstadt massacre gives the lie to Khrushchev s claim that Lenin used such methods only against the actual class enemies

In the face of widespread strikes and peasant revolts Lenin sounded a retreat to satisfy the demands of the peasants They were allowed to bring their produce to market grain seizures were stopped private production and trade were permitted

The New Economic Policy (NEP) headed off a dangerous uprising But to his colleagues who urged freer discussion within the Party and relaxation of political tensions Lenin replied Terror cannot be dispensed with notwithstanding the hypocrites and phrasemongers

1922

June 8—Twelve leaders of the Right Social Revolutionary Party were brought to trial They refused to repent in order to win release and were sentenced to death But their executions were held up to be used as a penalty in case of new uprisings

When these Social Democrats protested against the expulsion of their lawyers from the trial Judge Yuri Paitakov told them that the Soviet court laughs at the hypocritical assertions of bourgeois countries that courts must stand above classes and render verdicts of some sort of supernatural impartiality

During this period leading people of the old Russian society—bourgeoisie intelligentsia military clergy and aristocracy—were systematically executed and exiled

While the ailing Lenin relaxed the Bolshevik grip on agriculture and small business under NEP tight control was held over big industry The economy strangled by war Communism took a new breath of life Many thought it was a new look introducing a real and permanent liberalization

But the forced retreat from Communism was explained by Lenin to the faithful as a necessary *one step back in order to take two steps forward*

Lenin was not to live long enough to gird Bolshevik power for the new onslaughts against the Russian people He was tormented the last two years of his life by the fear that factional conflicts would destroy the regime

II Under Collective Leadership—1924-1928

Lenin died January 21 1924 Stalin like his pupils who took over the levers of power in 1953 eulogized the dead dictator vowed to carry on Lenin s mission and paid lip service to a collective leadership

The NEP truce between the dictatorship and the Russian people gave the country a breathing spell while Stalin maneuvered himself into supreme power Though the GPU [secret police] kept busy liquidating isolated opponents of the regime and spying in preparation for the coming crackdown the terror was mild compared to the earlier fury

Stalin s shrewd attack on Trotsky for radicalism attracted the support of moderates such as Premier Rykov and trade union head Tomsky as well as of workers and peasants who wanted a growing exchange of consumer goods and food in a free NEP market He accused Trotsky of trying to plunge Russia into civil war with his mad schemes to collectivize 25 million peasants and forced industrialization and of courting international war by beating the drums for world revolution

Trotsky he claimed was "too fond of terror Many jumped to the conclusion that Stalin opposed such terror" as Trotsky had directed against the sailors and workers in Kronstadt just as some now assume that Khrushchev s attack on the terror operated by Beria for Stalin gives assurance that it won t happen again

1925

Spring—A writer named Pilnyak was arrested and disappeared—a small case of socialist illegality * of considerable significance

Pilnyak had written a piece entitled *Story of the Unextinguished Moon The Assassination of a Commandant* which appeared in *Krasnaya Nov* a Moscow literary review It gave substance to the rumor that Stalin had ordered Mikhail Frunze the War Commissar who took over from Trotsky, to undergo an unnecessary operation from which he died All copies of the issue were confiscated

Frunze s death opened up a top job for one of Stalin s closest collaborators Kliment E Voroshilov who is now Chairman of the Supreme Presidium—a colleague of Khrushchev in today s collective leadership Stalin found that Frunze knew too much about the rebellion in Stalin s native Georgia which he had drowned in blood the previous August

1925-1928

The persecution and liquidation of the *Nepmen* the private shopkeepers artisans small manufacturers and professional people increased—in spite of the fact they were within the law Stripped of their savings and possessions thousands were shipped in cattle cars to die early deaths at forced labor in Siberian timber camps and Central Asia At the same time the intelligentsia—writers artists scientists—were persecuted as class enemies

Hundreds of thousands of men women and children were put outside the pale—deprived of legal status jobs hospital care living space or rations under controlled prices The children suffered by merely being born into the wrong families

1928

May—A first major trial with pre arranged false confessions was staged by the GPU—the so called Shakhty case

Fifty three engineers and technicians from the Shakhty coal region stood before microphones to confess wild plots with former mine owners outside Russia to wreck the industry Hundreds of others simply disappeared At this stage the GPU

* Khrushchev s phrase for many crimes

"Stalin ordered almost 6 million kulaks (farmers) to be deported to Siberia and exterminated Khrushchev classified this catastrophe as 'socialist construction'"

hadn t achieved the proficiency later developed to ensure that the victims would stick to the script Some made denials

Many other public show trials followed in campaigns against wreckers

One purpose of the show trials was to shift blame publicly for the breakdowns in production from the centralized bureaucracy to the technicians of the pre Bolshevik era Another was to scare managements into increasing output Actually production fell further as the ranks of the competent were decimated

III Under Stalin's Rule—1928-1939

By 1928 Stalin had beaten the left Trotsky opposition He then adopted Trotsky s program of forced industrialization collectivization and world conspiracy ended the NEP truce and began his wars to enslave the peasants and workers

The worst excesses were followed by new looks of moderation For example Stalin s Constitution of 1936 full of liberal phrases was heralded as ushering in a new day

1929

July—The House of the Mother of God and the Chapel of the Iberian Virgin at the entrance to the Red Square were ordered demolished

This was one of the spectacular assaults on religion in a campaign that began in January 1928

During the first Communist decade a large proportion of the clergy of all faiths was wiped out along with other enemies of the regime Churches were confiscated schools taken over the religious press shut down and all religious teaching of the young prohibited

Now as the war against the peasants gained momentum the attacks on the Church multiplied *The League of Militant Atheists* headed by Stalin s friend Yaroslavsky waged the battle for men s minds with unlimited funds from the Kremlin

The persecutions of all religions in Russia and later in the satellites constitute a catalogue of thousands of crimes ignored by Khrushchev

December 29—Stalin issued the slogan liquidation of the kulaks as a class which began the battle to force collectivization resulting in a man made famine and more than 10 million deaths

Only 2 percent of the peasants had voluntarily joined collectives when Stalin ordered almost 6 million kulaks (farmers) to be deported to Siberia and exterminated

By 1932 almost 80 percent of Russia s land was brought under Stalin s feudal system In the process over half of the livestock was destroyed in spite of the death penalty imposed upon peasants who killed their livestock for food rather than hand it over to the state

Khrushchev classified this catastrophe which he and others of today s collective leadership helped to perpetrate as socialist construction

1930

The secret police (GPU) established the *Main Administration for Corrective Labor Camps* (GULAG) thus converting the 1918 penal colonies for the socially dangerous elements into systematic slave labor projects which eventually controlled 20 percent of the Soviet male labor force

This crime against tens of millions, thoroughly exposed and documented before the United Nations got only a grudging admission from Khrushchev— *some innocent people suffered* But he does not admit the crime of the system

The planning commissions were instructed to incorporate the work performed by those deprived of liberty into the planned economy of the Five Year Plan The GPU—NKVD—MVD in turn became contractors of forced labor arresting millions for petty offenses to make up their quotas

June—Stalin betrayed the German people into the hands of Hitler by laying down the line that the 'right road for Communists was 'waging an irreconcilable struggle against Social Democracy

The main task said *Pravda* Nov. 6 1931 'is to expose the manuevers of the Social Democracy its attempts to deceive the masses with slogans of freedom democracy socialism Only by conducting a battle of extermination against the Social Democracy can one fight fascism

The German Communists following Stalin s line refused to unite their 5 million voters with Catholic workers and Social Democrats against Hitler s bid for power Instead they helped strengthen the Nazis and weaken the democrats

Khrushchev and his associates argued publicly for that line and do not repent as they call for a united front with Social Democrats today

1933

Collective bargaining was abolished in the Soviet Union

Step by step the unions were taken over by the Party and used to whip labor into line in support of the speed up

Khrushchev s group has parroted the Stalin line that it is silly for labor to bargain with its own government—with itself—and criminal for it to strike

March—At a trumped up Moscow trial of British engineers for sabotage prosecutor Vishinsky blamed them for the failure of the first Five Year Plan to improve conditions of the people

1934

June 8—Stalin introduced a new law spelling out reprisals against the relatives of any man in the military service who fled abroad At the same time the NKVD issued a decree making relatives of defecting officers hostages subject to deportation or death

December 1—*S M Kirov czar of the Leningrad region was shot by a young Communist under mysterious circumstances suggesting NKVD complicity That very night a decree was issued on Stalin s initiative without the consent of the Political Bureau according to Khrushchev ordering that preparation of cases against those accused of connections with terroristic acts be conducted hastily and that death sentences be carried out immediately without review*

The murderer had made a previously unsuccessful attempt was arrested but released and his gun returned to him He could not have reached Kirov if the complex path to his office had not been cleared NKVD men accused of laxness were given light sentences and good jobs during their exile in Siberia

The murderer and 13 persons charged as accomplices were executed without a trial on December 29th—so their story was never heard

The first announcement charged White Guardists with engineering the murder and 104 were executed Two weeks

"Khrushchev and members of today's ruling circle agreed with Stalin, supported his acts publicly They climbed over the corpses of Stalin's victims to the top posts"

later the crime was laid at the door of the Zinovievite Trotskyite opposition

On this strange murder Stalin hung his purges for years to come In Khrushchev's words mass repressions and brutal acts of violation of Socialist legality began He should know for he was that year elevated to the post of First Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the Party Bulganin from his strategic post in the NKVD knew the inside of the frame ups

1935

April 7—The death penalty for children was decreed—a handy instrument to be used in extorting confessions from fathers

At the same time pictures of Stalin posing with little children were widely circulated to build him up as a loving father

July 25 August 20—Georgi Dimitrov the Bulgarian Communist leader called upon the Comintern Congress in Moscow to infiltrate the democratic organizations of the West to get into the heart of the enemy with the help of the Trojan horse The stated aim was to prepare the toilers for the forthcoming great battles of the second round of the proletariat revolution

Under the new line the Communists dropped their attacks on the Social Democrats and the reformist unions soft pedaled anti capitalist slogans that would annoy liberals and the middle classes and shut off the invectives against Anglo French imperialism The Soviet Union joined the League of Nations and signed pacts with France and Czechoslovakia

Many interpreted Stalin's friendly overtures as proof that he had renounced the world revolution and was ready to cooperate honestly to restrain Hitler

1936

August 19—*The first big purge trial opened in Moscow with 16 former Bolshevik leaders—some of Lenin's closest comrades—prepared to confess intrigues with exiled Trotsky and foreign agents to murder Stalin overthrow the regime and restore capitalism They also implicated themselves in plotting the murder of Kirov in 1934 although they were in prison at the time*

This sensational public exhibition of fabricated confessions began waves of purge trials secret executions deportations to labor camps and wholesale extermination of Party leaders They constitute the heart of the condemnation levelled by Khrushchev against Stalin

It was at this time that the practice of mass repression through the government apparatus was born Khrushchev confesses first against the enemies of Leninism long since politically defeated by the Party and subsequently against many honest Communists the only proof of guilt was the confession of the accused himself acquired through physical pressures against the accused

Stalin originated the concept enemy of the people this term made possible the most cruel repression violating all norms of revolutionary legality against anyone who in any way disagreed with Stalin (The phrase was first used by Lenin)

Khrushchev and members of today's ruling circle agreed with Stalin supported his acts publicly They carried out the dictator's orders and climbed over the corpses of Stalin's victims to the top posts in his final Politburo Georgi Malenkov rose to the right hand of the boss by supplying much of the information from his card index mind and the Party records for the great purges

1937

May—Stalin's agents who went with Soviet arms to Republican Spain used their Communist forces and weapons to battle the workers in the streets of Barcelona This street fighting was a prelude to stabbing Republican Spain in the back while Franco with Hitler's help took over

When Stalin moved in to help Spain's small Communist Party had only 15 deputies of 473 in the Parliament

Pravda announced the purge of anti Stalinist elements in Spain and threatened openly that it will be conducted with the same energy with which it was conducted in the U S S R

Antonov Ovseenko a leading strategist of the October Revolution who failed as the Soviet Consul General in Barcelona to take over the strong anti Communist Catalan organizations was lured back to Moscow with the promise of the Commissar of Justice post He was immediately tried and shot for criminal weakness and suspicious associations

January—*Another batch of top old Bolsheviks including Radek and Piatakov were paraded by Prosecutor Vishinsky before show trials to confess and go to their deaths Actually Stalin promised to save them according to Khrushchev*

Thousands of lesser lights their friends and their friends friends were extinguished after each publicized purge

Khrushchev admitted that the mass repressions had a negative influence on the moral political conditions of the Party contributed to the spreading of unhealthy suspicion and sowed distrust among Communists

At this time Khrushchev was being hailed in the Soviet press as Stalin's fighting companion in arms and frequently quoted on the purges For example the January 31 issue of *Pravda* reported on a huge Moscow rally of more than 200 000 toilers to support the death sentence for Piatakov Radek and others The meeting began with a speech delivered by Comrade Khrushchev who was met with stormy applause

Here is a sample of Khrushchev's speech We are gathered here in Red Square to make our proletarian words resound words full of approval of the sentence passed by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court on the *enemies of the people* the traitors to the Motherland the betrayers of the cause of the toilers the spies the diversionists the agents of Fascism

June 11—*Marshal Tukhachevsky the actual head of the Red Army and nine generals were arrested charged with spying for a foreign state and preparing for the defeat of the Soviet forces They were executed the next day*

Voroshilov People's Commissar for Defense and today's Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium made the report to the Politburo on the alleged conspiracy

Khrushchev condemned this beginning of a mass purge of the Red Army Very grievous consequences followed Stalin's annihilation of many military commanders and political workers during 1937 1941 because of his suspiciousness and through slanderous accusations

During these years Khrushchev lamented repressions were instituted against certain parts of the military cadres beginning literally at the company and battalion commander

"Stalin cleared Hitler's path to World War II by the Nazi-Soviet Pact signed by Molotov and Ribbentrop A secret protocol divided Poland"

level and extending to the higher military centers the cadre of leaders who had gained military experience in Spain and the Far East were almost completely liquidated

Khrushchev did not inform the Twentieth Congress that Voroshilov based his report on false documents supplied by Nazi agents to I Z Mekhlis—trusted coworker of Malenkov in Stalin s personal secretariat—who had flown to Berlin in May to pick them up

Stalin s purge of the officer corps of the Red Army wiped out 5 of 9 marshals 13 of 19 army commanders 57 of 85 corps commanders 110 of 195 division commanders and 220 of 406 regimental commanders The Navy and Air Force commanders were liquidated too—some 30 000 officers it is estimated

1938

January—*The Central Committee plenum (contrary to Khrushchev s claim that it had brought some measure of improvement) lauded the NKVD chief Yezhov for the purge This was followed by the worst wave of purges in the catalogue*

Khrushchev s distortion may have been dictated by the fact that this plenum elected him a candidate member of the Politburo

March—*The last of Lenin s Old Guard were featured in a newly staged trial Nicholas Bukharin—drafter of the 1936 Constitution—and Ex Premier Alexei Rykov pled guilty to the charge that they had been traitors from the beginning Other defendants were former Party Secretary Krestinsky ex GPU chief Yagoda and two Kremlin doctors*

Yezhov out did himself fabricating confessions for this trial but nevertheless he was purged in a succeeding trial to be replaced by Beria

He charged Rykov and Bukharin with plotting Lenin s death and conspiring with British Japanese and German agents for 20 years

Yagoda was convicted of conspiring with the Kremlin doctors to poison high officials and killing some including Maxim Gorki

History was then rewritten for the Party textbooks to prove that all in Lenin s Politburo were plotting with foreign powers—except Stalin

Phrases from Khrushchev s speech add to the endless crimes of the pre war purges that struck down over 1 800 000 Party members and candidates plus 8 million more—stripping them of positions jobs and friend erasing them to labor camps and many before firing squads

It was determined Khrushchev admits that of 139 members and candidates of the Party s Central Committee who were elected at the 17th Congress 98 persons i e 70 percent were arrested and shot (mostly in 1937 1938)

Many thousands of honest and innocent Communists he laments ignoring the millions outside the Party have died as a result of this monstrous falsification of such cases In the same manner were fabricated the cases against eminent Party and State workers—Kossior Chubar Postyshev and others

The injustice done to Kossior and Postyshev top leaders of the Ukrainian Party did not inhibit Khrushchev from accepting the post of First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party in the Ukraine in 1938 which he held until 1947 That he should be trusted by Stalin to clean up the mess left by Kossior and Postyshev was high praise

March 3 12—**One of the boldest trials featured the fabricated confessions of two of Stalin's agents in the disastrous 1929 1932 campaign for collectivization to prove that this catastrophe was a deliberate plot of the opposition**

Khrushchev doesn t mention this one Michael Chernov People s Commissar for Agriculture and Vasily Sharangovich Secretary of the Central Committee in the White Russian Republic, who were hated for carrying out Stalin s forcible collectivization testified that they acted on orders from Bukharin and Rykov with the aim of arousing the peasants against Stalin s Government

Up to this time Stalin had denounced reports of the famine in the foreign press as lies and slanders Now his own officials took the blame for the suffering falsely confessing that they led wrecking crews to destroy food stores cattle and whole villages

December 20—**Workbooks were introduced to control and discipline all workers and a few days later a decree tightened rules and increased penalties for the slightest infractions**

The 1940 law made labor subject to the Criminal Code chained workers to their jobs, and made absenteeism and lateness a criminal offense

Thus did Stalin carry out Lenin s threat that the Soviets will introduce the workbook for the rich and gradually for the whole population

IV Under Stalin's Rule—1939-194[illegible]

The totalitarian system controls every human activity fits it into a rigid pattern Writers and artists always considered as advanced cadres for the propagation of the official line were particularly regimented

1939

June—**The great actor and director Meyerhold disappeared the day after he protested Stalin s campaign to regiment the arts in support of his own crude tastes** "In your effort to eradicate formalism you have destroyed art Meyerhold said His wife was murdered later

Stalin found the word formalism a useful weapon for whipping the creative artists into line He required them to spread the cult of his infallible genius He wanted villains to be pure black heroes spotless white and the Communist line crystal clear And his aim was to seal off the hinterland on the cultural front from any foreign influence

During the war the artists and writers got a new lease of life but Stalin renewed the attack with double vigor as soon as victory was in sight

August 23—**Stalin cleared Hitler s path to World War II by the Nazi Soviet Pact signed by Molotov and Ribbentrop A secret protocol divided Poland between Germany and the Soviet Union and defined certain spheres of influence in the Baltic and Southeastern Europe**

Since the previous June Mikoyan (member of today collective leadership) had been busily negotiating trade agreements with the Nazis His job was to supply Hitler war machine with vast quantities of food and raw materials

While Molotov and Ribbentrop were getting together on the Pact Stalin was dragging his feet in discussions with the British and French Military Missions seeking Soviet cooperation for collective security

In 1940: "Malenkov gave personal attention to plans for the systematic depopulation of the Baltic States and colonization by reliable Russians"

September 17—Stalin stabbed Poland in the back He told the German Ambassador in the presence of Molotov and Voroshilov that the Red Army would move into Poland at 6 A M Future military matters would be handled directly by Voroshilov with General Kostring

Molotov informed the German Ambassador that the Soviet Union would justify its action to the world by claiming that the Soviet Government considered its agreements with the nonexistent Polish State void and was obligated to intervene to protect its Ukrainian and White Russian brothers in peaceful work

Ten days later Polish resistance was over In the Stalin draft of a joint communique which appeared on the 28th he expressed the purpose of the Nazi Soviet forces in Marxian Leninist terms to help the Polish People reconstruct the conditions of its political existence"

Fall—Of the 200 000 Polish prisoners taken by the Red Army under the direction of Voroshilov some 10 000 of the officer corps were executed and buried in mass graves in the Katyn forest near Smolensk Russia

When the Polish Government in Exile requested an impartial investigation of the site and situation by the International Red Cross Moscow characterized the request as direct assistance to the enemy in the fabrication of a foul lie

September—Soviet invading forces arrested the Polish labor leaders Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter and imprisoned them in Russia

In July 1941 they were charged with supporting the fascists and sentenced to death In September 1941 they were freed and encouraged to form an international Jewish anti Hitler committee By December they had disappeared Finally Ambassador Litvinov admitted to the head of the AF of L that they had been executed as Nazi agents

Fall and Winter—Stalin s agents gathered up a million and a half Poles and deported them in cattle cars to Central Asia and Siberia

November 29—Stalin launched a war of liberation against Finland after that little country had refused to grant Molotov s territorial demands

In order to dress up the invasion as a defense of a "peoples government" Molotov in the presence of Stalin and Voroshilov signed a treaty with the puppet government head Communist Kuusinen

After the tiny Finnish forces stood off the massive Red Army for three bitter winter months the Kremlin broke through their Mannerheim Line

In the face of world opinion and fearing to risk outside intervention if Stalin followed up his victory the Soviet Government quietly dropped the Kuusinen peoples government and concluded a peace with the legitimate Finnish Government The Soviets got the Karelian Isthmus and a naval base

1940

June—The Baltic States—Latvia Estonia and Lithuania—which had been forced to give the U S S R military bases were compelled to elect Communist governments These regimes forthwith requested the incorporation of their countries into the Soviet Union

Vishinsky prosecutor for the purges was sent to Latvia to supervise the election [It should not be forgotten that he was the trusted spokesman for the new collective leadership at the United Nations after Stalin s death—playing a new role of friendly sociability]

Stalin violated 32 treaties made with the Baltic States when he took them over

Malenkov gave personal attention to plans for the systematic depopulation of the Baltic States and colonization by reliable Russians Igor Bogolepov who was assigned to this task and later escaped to the West called it one of history s most ghastly examples of genocide"

Yet in 1942 when the Soviet Union was fighting for its life Stalin piously claimed We are waging a just war for our country and our freedom It is not our aim to seize foreign lands or to subjugate foreign people We want to free our Ukrainian Moldavian Byelorussian Lithuanian Latvian Estonian and Karelian brothers from the outrage and violence to which they are being subject by the German Fascist scoundrels

In 1944 when the Red Army "liberated the Baltic States Malenkov s plan for depopulation was revived In one year of the terror 137 000 people from the little Baltic States were deported to Siberia Britain documented this at the U N in support of its charge of genocide

V Under Stalin's Rule—1941-1945

During the spring of 1941 while Hitler was preparing his attack against Russia Mikoyan was redoubling deliveries of grain and strategic materials to Germany Communists all over the world following the Stalin line were concentrating their fire on the war mongers—Churchill and Roosevelt

Khrushchev devoted a major part of his long tirade to Stalin s failure to prepare Russia for defense and his bungling of military strategy

1941

March-June 21—*Stalin according to Khrushchev ignored the many warnings of the impending Nazi attack and failed to mobilize the defenses*

"Despite these particular warnings" Khrushchev said "the necessary steps were not taken to prepare the country " He complains that *Malenkov* turned down his appeal for arms to equip his volunteers in the Ukraine

When the Fascist armies had actually invaded Soviet territory and military operations began Moscow issued the order that German fire was not to be returned Khrushchev reported

June November—*Stalin according to Khrushchev was responsible for the crushing defeats that brought the Wehrmacht to the gates of Moscow*

He had weakened the army by the purges said Khrushchev and then imposed orders which did not take into consideration the real situation which led to disastrous losses Khrushchev cited his own appeal to Stalin through Malenkov to cancel an operation at Kharkov Stalin refused and consequently we lost hundreds of thousands of our soldiers This is Stalin s military genius this is what it cost us

But Khrushchev did not admit that the main reason for the collapse at the front was the mass welcoming of the Germans as liberators from Bolshevism and mass surrenders of the Red Army Over 2 million prisoners were taken by the Wehrmacht in the first four months And the worst defections

"After the Nazi invasion, the Stalin regime operated a reign of terror Khrushchev in the War Council of Kiev directed much of this terror"

took place in the Ukraine where Stalin had sent Khrushchev to tighten his rule

After Stalin had brought the nation to disaster he was urged to resume his leadership

Said Khrushchev After the first severe disaster and defeats at the front Stalin thought that this was the end In one of his speeches in those days he said All that Lenin created we have lost forever

After this Stalin for a long time actually did not direct the military operations and ceased to do anything whatever He returned to active leadership only when some members of the Political Bureau visited him and told him that it was necessary to take certain steps immediately

In the very next sentence Khrushchev charged Therefore the threatening danger which hung over our Fatherland in the first period of the war was largely due to the faulty methods of directing the nation and the Party by Stalin himself

Fall—The Stalin regime liquidated the Volga German Autonomous Republic

Half a million men women and children including Communists were rounded up carted off in cattle cars beyond the Urals and dumped there to fend for themselves Many died on the way

Fall—After the Nazi invasion the Stalin regime operated a reign of terror killed off prominent political prisoners and dealt out death sentences through hundreds of secret tribunals to those suspected of discontent—the disorganizers of the rear as Stalin called them The scorched earth or naked soil policy was deliberately used to wipe out unreliable Russian populations

Cities were set ablaze and buildings blown up without warning People who tried to liberate prisoners before they perished were machine gunned Whole populations were doomed to death as in Kiev when the water supply was cut and food depots destroyed

Khrushchev in the War Council of Kiev directed much of this terror and Stalin sent him back in the wake of the retreating Nazi armies to finish the job in the antagonistic Ukraine

"The magnitude of the terror inside Russia cannot be overstated wrote Kravchenko in I Chose Freedom It amounted to a war within the war

1943-1944

As the Nazi forces were driven out mass deportations were organized to deport entire nationalities according to Khrushchev

He referred to the mass deportations from their native places of whole nations together with all Communists and Komsomols without any exception this deportation action was not dictated by any military consideration

He cited specifically the cases of the Karachai people of the Kalmyk Republic the Chechen Ingush Autonomous Republic and the Balkars He ignored the cases of the Volga German and Crimean Republics

The Ukrainians avoided meeting this fate he added only because there were too many of them and there was no place to deport them

Almost 2 million people were forcibly uprooted and resettled

August 1944—The Kremlin betrayed the uprising in Warsaw holding the Red Army outside until the Nazis crushed the patriotic Polish insurgents inside the capital

Soviet airstrips were closed to American aircraft to prevent the parachuting of weapons and supplies to the Warsaw fighters

This was designed to decimate the ranks of Polish patriots and prepare the way for Stalin s Communist controlled puppet regime Over 250 000 were killed, wounded and missing after the 63 day battle The Red Army entered Warsaw only after Stalin had made a treaty with the Committee for National Liberation headed by Communist Boleslaw Bierut in Moscow

1945

February—Stalin violated the pledge he made at Yalta to respect the rights of the Polish democratic parties, by concentrating the levers of power in Communist hands The pledge of free elections in Eastern Europe was a deliberate deception of the Western Allies

In all territories occupied by the Red Army Stalin plotted the imposition of Communist rule

Fall—The Red Army systematically dismantled the modern factories Japan had built in Manchuria and hauled off more than a billion dollars worth of fine machinery to Russia

Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov admitted this looting when he officially offered to count it as part of the Japanese reparations claimed by Moscow for its part in the Pacific war which began six days before Japan capitulated

Khrushchev in his speech castigated Stalin for the ineptness of his war leadership and gave credit to the great generals the fighting forces and the Russian people for the victory He made no mention of the vast Lend Lease supplies America sent Instead he boasted that with half of the industrial plant and food areas left to the Soviet in 1942 the nation was able to supply our armed forces with everything which was necessary to destroy the enemy

He ignored the terror deportations liquidations of the Volga German and Crimean Republics and the betrayals These crimes involved the present collective leaders directly

VI Under Stalin's Rule—1945-1953

Stalin and his co workers began the preparations for the cold war against the free world after victory at Stalingrad Plans were made to expand the Soviet empire and to renew the war against the Russian people—peasants workers and intelligentsia

1945-1946

The Kremlin backed Communist guerillas in a fight to take over Greece The Communist dominated border states including Yugoslavia supplied them This destructive warfare continued four years

Vishinsky Malik and all Communist spokesmen fought the propaganda battle in the U N at Lake Success

Greek Communists denounced the democratic elections of March 1946 under U N supervision and went on pillaging and destroying hundreds of towns and villages kidnapping and killing thousands including many hundreds of children

Under the Truman Doctrine the U S came to Greece s rescue in 1947

"The scientists of Russia were forced to bow to political dictation All of today's leaders joined in this attack"

In China Stalin turned over the arms and stores captured from the Japanese in Manchuria to the Communist leader Mao Tse tung to wage a civil war This helped in the Communist conquest of half a billion people

In supporting Mao Stalin violated his pledge to Nationalist China and to his wartime allies

It resulted in millions of deaths in civil war and more millions of arrests and executions in the Communist purges that followed

1947

January 19—The Communist clique in Poland operating under the guns of the Red Army took over control in a fraudulent election

Stalin had warned them that power must be won before the election They put most of the leaders of the majority Peasant Party and 100 000 members in jail wrecked the presses and confiscated the election literature

Communist Premier Osobka Morawski said The Government cannot and will not allow the election to be lost

August—The Communist minority in Hungary backed by the Red Army captured the election by terror

Soon after, the deputies of opposition parties were thrown out of the parliament and the Soviet pattern of repression was duplicated

In the war against religion Cardinal Mindszenty was prepared for a fabricated confession and imprisoned for life

The take-over was engineered by Matyas Rakosi (the Comintern leader who was forced upon the majority party as Vice Premier) and carried out by the Communist Minister of the Interior in control of the police Rakosi close friend of Stalin became the dictator His rule was so brutal and aroused such popular resistance that he was forced out in 1956 despite his acceptance of the anti Stalin campaign of today s rulers in Moscow

September—The Communists already in control of Bulgaria executed the popular leader of the Peasant Party Nikola Petkov cast out the opposition parties from parliament and suppressed their newspapers

With the help of the Red Army Georgi Dimitrov who had launched the popular front line in 1935 headed the government After he got rid of the democrats he started purging Communists such as the Party s General Secretary Traicho Kostov Dimitrov angered Stalin when he suggested a federation of Balkan countries to Tito He recanted and died in Moscow where he went for medical treatment.

1948

February—Communists in Czechoslovakia with the Red Army surrounding the country staged a coup d etat

Though they had never won more than a third of the votes they used their strategic posts in the democratic government to undermine the majority Then they suppressed the opposition and civil liberties They made it a crime to sell or possess a book by the founder President Thomas Masaryk

Khrushchev admitted Under Stalin s orders top Communist leaders were purged as Titoists and agents of American and British intelligence These trials were flavored with anti Semitism

March—The Communists in Rumania liquidated the last of the opposition parties

Khrushchev has enthusiastically approved all these acts except the Stalin dictated purges of Communists as Titoists He denounced Stalin s treatment of Tito who he said had behind him a state and a people who had gone through a severe school of fighting for liberty and independence " Stalin he added "demonstrated his suspicion and haughtiness not only in relation to individuals in the USSR but in relation to whole parties and nations "

June 24—The Soviet command in Berlin under the direction of Voroshilov began the blockade to force the American, British and French commands to turn over 2½ million West Berliners under threat of starvation

The Soviets could not tolerate an island of freedom in their zone of occupation in Germany The truth broadcast from Radio Rias complicated Communist rule They had trouble keeping their own army in Eastern Germany in line

This time the crime did not pay The West replied to the blockade by the Airlift that fed and supplied West Berlin It aroused the free world and exposed Communist pretensions So the blockade was ended May 10 1949.

Perhaps Khrushchev had this in mind when he said "The willfulness of Stalin showed itself not only in decisions concerning the internal life of the country but also in the international relations of the Soviet Union "

August 7—The Central Committee climaxed a long campaign against intellectuals and scientists by stamping Academician T D Lysenko s theories on genetics as Communist orthodoxy The leading scientists of Russia were forced to bow to political dictation They were turned out of their institutes and laboratories

A sweeping purge of the ranks of artists writers, and "workers on the cultural front had been pressed with growing violence since 1946 The aim was to isolate thinkers from Western thought behind an iron curtain Thousands accused themselves and others of infecting the Soviet Fatherland with "rotten Western ideas " Stalin was hailed as the genius in every branch of learning

All of today s leaders joined in this attack on everything from the Einstein theory to "formalism" in music Georgi Malenkov demanded a decisive struggle with various manifestations of kowtowing and obeisance to the bourgeois culture of the West "

Khrushchev admitted that history was rewritten to suit Stalin and the arts mobilized to deify him But he did not deplore the crime wave against the scientific educational and cultural professions

He acknowledged that history is again being rewritten—to the order of the collective leadership

October 24—The persecution of the Jews who massed before the Metropole Hotel to cheer the new Israeli Ambassador and those who sought visas to Israel, marked a new high in Stalin's anti Semitic campaign

The war on the cultural front and the attacks on "cosmopolitanism had been waged with anti Semitic weapons Leading Jewish writers were imprisoned or disappeared The aim was to cut communications with foreign co religionists of these rootless cosmopolites

During the great purges of 1936 38 Jewish cultural life was virtually snuffed out What happened to more than 2 million of the 5 million Russian Jews since 1941 is still a mystery

Khrushchev had nothing to say about anti Semitism When the head of the American Communist party raised the question *Pravda* deleted the reference from his article

The 23 million Moslems—the second largest religious group

"The trusted head of Stalin's personal secretariat . . disappeared as soon as Stalin was dead No explanations have been given"

in Russia—fared no better Concessions were made to them during the war but this did not win them to Stalinism So they were punished after the war several Moslem republics were liquidated all Turks on the Black Sea were deported 250 000 herded into Turkey Mecca pilgrimages were prohibited

1950

February 18—An attack on A A Andreyev head of agriculture in the Politburo signaled a new war on the peasants

Though Andreyev apologized for his errors he was thrown out of the Politburo and Nikita Khrushchev was appointed in his place to carry out his sweeping plan of consolidating the collectives

The Khrushchev plan for Agro cities called for wiping out more than a million villages and resettling the peasants in make shift barrack cities The aim was to tighten controls increase production and reduce private land plots By 1953 254 000 collective farms had been reduced to 97 000 supercollectives

When his scheme turned into a fiasco he repented But Stalin s confidence in Khrushchev is shown by the fact that he was elected to the Presidium (which took the place of the Politburo) and delivered a key speech at the Nineteenth Party Congress in 1952

In his 1956 anti Stalin speech Khrushchev gingerly called the ousting of Andreyev one of Stalin s most unbridled acts of willfulness

June 25—North Korean Communist forces under Soviet command invaded South Korea They were named aggressors by the U N Security Council

While Malik Gromyko and Vishinsky defended this aggression and accused the United States the Soviet Union continued to supply the North Korean and Chinese Communists in a war against the United Nations itself until danger of defeat loomed in 1953

Khrushchev ignored this war crime but on July 9 1956 Bulganin characterized it as a just struggle and claimed that the war was "imposed by imperialists

1951-1952

Winter—The big lie that the United States had launched germ warfare in North Korea was initiated by the Chinese Communists and used in a systematic propaganda campaign by the world Communist movement

The World Peace Council which had been organized by Moscow to camouflage the Korean aggression with a peace appeal took up the germ warfare charge It was a central theme of the Hate America campaign in Russia

Soviet spokesmen demanded condemnation of the U S at the U N but refused to allow an impartial committee of experts to investigate the germ warfare charges on the spot

November 1951 and March 1952—*Stalin organized a purge in his native Georgia on the basis of falsified documents according to Khrushchev Thousands of innocent people fell victim to wilfulness and lawlessness*

The purge was directed against conspirators accused of planning to pull Georgia out of the USSR and unite it with Turkey As was later proven Khrushchev said this was a slander directed against the Georgian party organization there was no nationalistic organization in Georgia

During this period when Stalin s persecution mania reached unbelievable dimension Khrushchev said he purged the top leaders of the Leningrad Party on the basis of fabrications prepared by Beria

Winter—*Stalin concocted a case against several dozen leading doctors—top specialists who treated him and the Kremlin leaders Accused of poisoning Zhdanov and planning to murder others, they were being prepared for a 'show trial when Stalin died Two of them were killed by the tortures*

Khrushchev reported We members of the Political Bureau received protocols with the doctors confessions of guilt Stalin told us You are blind like young kittens what will happen without me? The country will perish because you do not know how to recognize enemies

Khrushchev admitted that they doubted the doctors confessions because they had once treated us When the case was investigated after Stalin s death we found it to be fabricated from beginning to end

The crimes Khrushchev cited for the post war years were entirely directed against the good Communists of the Party bureaucracy He pleaded with the assembled bureaucrats at the Twentieth Congress to believe that Stalin was entirely to blame and that it couldn t happen again

VII Under the New Collective Leaders—1953-1956

The record shows that it has already happened again

Beria and Molotov were the most powerful contenders the dead dictator s power Beria was in a strong position charge of the vast MVD security system to eliminate competitors Molotov as first deputy Premier for Stalin controlled the Soviet governmental apparatus Bulganin also could make a strong bid from his position in the armed forces

Beria was in the position to make the most spectacular concession by simply releasing a goodly number of his millions of prisoners in labor camps—which he did He also out promised Malenkov in an obvious bid for the throne

Malenkov controlling the vast Party patronage and a favorite of Stalin was made Premier He at once applied his boss s 1924 technique by trying to placate the peasants with better prices more private land and livestock the workers with shorter hours and the promise of more food housing and consumer goods and the people generally by acting to reduce international tensions

1953

March—Alexander N Poskrebyshev the trusted head of Stalin s personal secretariat for many years who was a chief promoter of the Great Purges under Yezhov disappeared as soon as Stalin was dead No explanations have been given

June 17 18—Uprisings in East Berlin and elsewhere behind the Iron Curtain were quelled by the Red Army The Berlin toll was 569 killed 1 744 wounded

From the window in West Berlin the democracies could get a glimpse of what happened nearby But it was difficult to find out what was happening throughout the vast regions of Russia and in the slave labor camps in isolated areas prohibited to foreigners

The numbers of escapees grew by leaps and bounds They told stories of widespread unrest and brutal repressions

The old Stalin line was used to explain public demonstra

"Lavrenti Beria . . . was shot without a public trial This Khrushchev admitted with pride"

tions that the leaders were tools of foreign agents and were financed by imperialist governments

Dispatching tanks against unarmed masses and machine gunning them has been standard Communist practice since Lenin s repressions at Kronstadt

December 23—*Lavrenti Beria the man who headed the NKVD and later the MVD first Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and a member of the Central Committee Political Bureau was shot without a public trial This Khrushchev admitted with pride*

Khrushchev devoted pages in his speech to a recital of Beria s crimes against the Party—case after case of convictions he had planned with fabricated material and false confessions These are all believable and most of them had long since been exposed in the free world At the time these revelations were called slanderous lies by today s rulers and the Communist press everywhere

Khrushchev s charge that Beria was an agent of a foreign intelligence service in the absence of any proof which has never been offered must be taken as the standard Communist indictment used by Lenin Stalin and Beria

1953-1956

Half a dozen of Beria s chief aides were executed with him without trial and there followed a wide purge of his supporters in and out of the far flung MVD apparatus This continues secretly

1956

June 28—Red troops fired into crowds of 30 000 demonstrating for bread in Poznan Poland and a running battle continued for two days This crime was witnessed by many businessmen from the free world who happened to be attending a trade fair in Poznan The official toll was given as 50 dead 300 wounded Eyewitnesses estimated up to 600 dead

Western visitors reported witnessing soldiers killing women and children demonstrators defying tanks Polish soldiers being shot by officers for refusing to fire into the crowds

The demonstration was started by workers marching into the city from the Stalin steel plant They were joined by masses along the way shouting "bread" and "out with the Russians" waving Polish flags and trampling Red flags

Deputy Premier Jacob Berman resigned and Communist Party Secretary Boleslaw Bierut an old Stalinist was reported to have died

Two versions of the event were offered in the Communist press—sometimes in combination—(1) that the riots were engineered by foreign agents" and (2) that the Polish workers demonstrated on just complaints

Bulganin flew to Warsaw to support his independent Polish comrades and stressed the foreign agents story Other leaders visited other satellites where similar uprisings were reported or feared

June 27—An attack on the peasants was launched with a decree imposing confiscatory taxes and heavy fines on owners of livestock to deprive them of the few cows pigs sheep or goats they had

The new decree cancelled certain concessions Malenkov had made in 1953 The aim of the concessions was in part to encourage livestock breeding The decree had the effect of expropriating the increase It was a way of picking up a new supply of meat to placate the restive workers Stealing from peasant Paul to pay worker Peter is an old tactic

Communism s unending battle against the peasants created great food shortages but was never won In 1955 the Russian land gave the consumers less food per capita than before the 1914 war

July 12—The Soviet Union fabricated a protest to the U N against alleged flights of U S planes over USSR territory

This new Soviet charge was carefully investigated and then categorically denied by Secretary Dulles Gromyko aired the charge in the Disarmament Commission where he was opposing President Eisenhower s Open Skies peace plan He seemed hopeful that many would accept this propaganda without proof

A July 28th article in *Kommunist* stated It is necessary to remember firmly that we are for peaceful co existence of states with different social systems However we are against peaceful co existence of ideologies because it would mean ideological disarmament

This and other veiled threats look like a warning against mistaking the down grading of Stalin for an up grading of freedom

THE POSITION OF THE FREE WORLD

This report finds no basis for assuming that the Bolshevik pattern of government by terror or the ultimate goal of world Communist dictatorship are being abandoned or even significantly modified

The highlights of the Communist criminal record and the partial confessions offered as evidence of a new deal pose the question What position should free peoples and representative governments take toward today s rulers of the Soviet Empire?

Before suggesting some basic points it is important to recognize that the similarities of present and past Soviet lines are accompanied by significant differences in the social political situation Whether these circumstances will prevent a successful repetition of the Stalin pattern or eventually force a real change of direction is unpredictable Here are some new factors which should be taken into account

1 The outlook of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain is considerably changed since the war

—The zig zag course was managed earlier in a society hermetically sealed from the outside world Now millions of Russian soldiers have had glimpses of Western life Millions of unassimilated captive peoples can contrast Communist claims and performance with their past experience of freedom

—Soviet predictions that the democratic capitalist coun

"Free world policy should stick strictly to what actually happens, not go on assumptions that the present regime will change either for better or for worse"

tries would collapse in depression and launch a war against the Communist countries have not come true

2 Hundreds of thousands of escapees from the Soviet system in Russia and the satellites constitute a new force for freedom

—The new refugees unlike the old white Russians can inform the free world of real conditions under Communism and write their friends and relatives back home of conditions in the democracies

—The massive Soviet effort to lure the escapees back by promises and threats shows how seriously the rulers fear the refugee forces

3 The new managerial favored class and the officer corps which predominate in the Party show interest in stability and opposition to fanatics whose adventures could threaten their future

—Further economic advance requires more reliance on creative effort of technicians and skilled workers and less on masses of forced labor Khrushchev recognized acutely that due to the numerous arrests of Party Soviet and economic leaders many workers began to work uncertainly showed over cautiousness feared all which was new feared their own shadows and began to show less initiative in their work

—The conflicts of interests between the new upper and middle classes vs the masses lacking democratic machinery to compromise them pose new problems for the dictatorship

4 Seasoned leadership for guiding popular unrest toward a freer society is sadly lacking

—The purges and the mass terror have wiped out practically all the experienced leaders in both Russia and the satellites leaving any future revolts to leaders trained in totalitarian tactics

5 The colonial revolution poses complicated problems for the free world and opens opportunities for Communist expansion by disruption and deception

—The goodwill visits of Bulganin and Khrushchev around Asia and the Middle East show that they are prepared to exploit these opportunities Their skill as trouble makers and as organizers of the discontented cannot be discounted

—This factor presents a radical difference between the post war and pre war world situation

6 The atomic age is probably the most striking change in the conditions with which both the Soviet dictatorship and the free world must compete

—The atomic stalemate both limits Soviet strategy by the dangers inherent in a false move and affords protections for carefully confined trouble making

—The fear of mutual annihilation not only dictates caution everywhere but encourages neutralism in the struggle between the free and the slave worlds

This leads to the problem of formulating a free world position to restrain the Soviet autocrats and encourage the forces of freedom both inside and outside the Soviet empire Here are five recommendations

1 Develop a realistic public appraisal of Soviet policy based not upon wishful thinking but upon hard facts This involves analyzing what is actually done against a background of the history and philosophy of Bolshevism

—The most dangerous illusions can arise from interpreting a change in tactics as a change in purpose and direction

—Nothing has happened to justify cooperation with Communists in united fronts of any kind There is no basis for relaxing defense against Soviet directed infiltration and subversion

2 Base the policy of democratic governments on realities of Soviet deeds and free world aspirations

—This means no ideological disarmament" for the forces of freedom

—Free world policy should stick strictly to what actually happens not go on assumptions that the present regime will change either for better or worse In the light of the record the rulers cannot be given the benefit of the doubt

3 Champion the basic principle of Liberty under Law

—This calls for keeping in view specific criteria for testing Soviet claims and directions Some basic tests are

acceptance in practice of the Rule of Law—rights of fair trial for the accused independent judges and courts

freedom for parties unions and people s organizations to give expression to public opinion and differing interests in discussion and free elections

provisions for a free and independent press for free assembly and the right of petition

freedom not only of worship but of religious teaching

4 Create opportunities to inform the enslaved peoples of the Soviet Union and the satellite countries that we understand their plight and support them

—This requires avoidance of displays of approval and acceptance of the Communist rulers as if they honest representatives of their voiceless people

—We must rid ourselves of the concept of non interference as excluding the use of peaceful protest and persuasion to oppose tyrannical suppressions We can implement our intentions by offering emergency food distributions under United Nations auspices and by strengthening the intellectual and cultural impact of the emigre groups

5 Unite the free world through constructive cooperation not merely for common defense against Communist aggression but for the achievement of common aspirations

—This calls for giving positive creative leadership to the colonial revolution being cautious about demagogues and dictators who open their gates to the Communist Trojan horse

—It means making better use of the United Nations as an instrument for technical assistance to developing areas in the world body the pretensions of the Soviets can be effectively exposed and free world principles and programs advocated

—It means keeping the free world physically strong for as long as necessary at whatever cost Without a superior military establishment we are at the mercy of the Communist enemy

The choice before us is not between peaceful co existence on Soviet terms or non existence It is not between liberating the peoples under Communist dictatorship by force at the risk of mutual annihilation or leaving them to their fate by accepting Soviet claims

The precarious peace we have will be converted into the peace we want only with the end of totalitarianism This may come about in unforeseen ways But it can never happen unless the free world holds high the banner of freedom and actively seeks the liberation of all men [END]

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THE WEEK IN WORLD AFFAIRS

What Russians Like Dislike About Communism

By Otto Zaumer

Suppose some kind fate were to relieve the people of the Soviet Empire of their rulers, what kind of a setup would the people want?

The answer to this question is almost as important to us as it is to them.

On it depends the vital long-range planning not only in this country but also in our relations with most other nations—friends, foes and neutrals.

On the answer depends whether we see the world around us as it is or lull ourselves into an attitude of wishful thinking that could become devastating for the whole free world.

The simplest and best way to get that all-important answer would be to ask the people of the Communist Empire, in the Soviet Union itself and in the enslaved satellite countries.

This direct approach naturally is out. The secret police would not allow it.

So the second best is to ask those Soviet and Satellite citizens who have escaped the clutches of the secret police—the refugees.

Of course their feelings are not without bias.

They hate the Communist regime and often staked their lives to escape from it. So there is no doubt that they prefer a different world from that ruled by Marx, Lenin, Stalin and his more or less disenchanted disciples.

But even if one allows for some emotional exaggerations, it is highly instructive for us to listen to the refugees when they tell what they dislike in the Soviet Empire.

It is even more instructive to listen to them when they talk about what they like. After all they have given up their homes, their country, their families, their worldy possessions and in their escape have dramatically lived the prayer "give us liberty or give us death."

So anything the exiles still praise is mostly likely to have the approval of those who stayed behind in the Communist-ruled nations and would probably have to survive the Communist regime.

Three Harvard scholars have recently provided us with such a poll of these Soviet exiles and boiled down the answers into three chapters of a small but highly valuable book, "How the Soviet System Works" (Harvard University Press).

So here is what the three scholars, Drs. Raymond Bauer, Alex Inkeles and Clyde Kluckhohn have found.

An amazing number of intellectuals liked their work and work relations.

The most desirable jobs were those which paid most, even though they usually were the

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File Communist Party — Russia

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jobs which were politically most exposed and therefore dangerous in a dictatorship.

Pay appears to be the dominant factor in the shaping of their attitudes toward a job.

In other words 40 years of Communism in Russia and a decade of it in the other countries has not touched the time-honored, basically human incentive motif which the Communists claim is a major evil of Capitalism. It turns out to be a factor not even Communism can ignore. A fleeting glance at any Soviet newspaper will confirm this. And it is obvious that this incentive principle will survive the House that Lenin built. This is one of the most heartening bits of information not even the secret police can suppress.

But here are some others that should make us pause.

"The features of the Soviet system that win approval," the three scholars write, "may be divided into three groups, welfare . . . state-ownership and control of basic economy (except agriculture) and general accomplishments of the Soviet system.

"There is little conflict or ambiguity in the approval which refugees show for the welfare features. This approval is freely and spontaneously offered and continues to be held under direct questioning."

There is quite general praise for the educational system even though there is sharp criticism of the intrusion of political influence into schools.

To this one may add that the formerly widespread illiteracy has been drastically reduced, the number of schools and pupils vastly increased and the educational level considerably raised despite the fact that the Communists do not inform but indoctrinate their people.

But this only few people can realize while they are still inside the jail Empire.

The public health system and medical insurance "are mentioned with approval even more often than the collective farm system is mentioned spontaneously with disapproval." This is most significant because the collective farm system is sincerely and heartily hated.

The younger generation particularly has a certain pride in the Red Army, in concern for youth and for the opportunities to make a career. They are also more radical on state ownership. But this might well change. After all, they have never seen any other system. Given an opportunity they might well think quite differently on the subject.

But it is perhaps well to bear in mind while looking ahead to the demise of the Soviet dictatorship that neither Russia nor the Satellites of that happy day will be the same as they were before the Communist suppressed freedom and civil liberties.

The chances are that wherever the hammer and sickle rules today, there will remain considerable state ownership of railroads, utilities and certain heavy industries —as there actually is in strictly anti-Communist European nations today—and the so-called welfare state too is most likely to survive by popular demand.

Like it or not, we should know what to expect.

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Communist Party - Russia

(BOOK)
MOSCOW--RUSSIA ANNOUNCED IT IS PREPARING TO REPUBLISH "10 DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD", A HISTORY OF THE SOVIET REVOLUTION SUPPRESSED BY JOSEF STALIN BECAUSE IT DID NOT MENTION HIS NAME.
THE BOOK WAS WRITTEN BY AMERICAN-BORN COMMUNIST JOHN REED, WHO DIED HERE TWO YEARS AFTER THE REVOLUTION.
AT THE SAME TIME, THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES ANNOUNCED THAT THREE PIONEERS OF SOVIET LAW PURGED BY STALIN IN THE MID-1930'S HAVE BEEN POSTHUMOUSLY "REHABILITATED."
THEY ARE N. V. AKRYLENKO, FIRST BOLSHEVIK JUSTICE COMMISSAR AND THE LATE ANDREI Y. VISHINSKY'S PREDECESSOR AS PUBLIC PROSECUTOR; O. B. PASHUKANIS, FORMER DIRECTOR OF THE LAW INSTITUTE, AND PROF. N. E. CHELIAPOV, NOT FURTHER IDENTIFIED.
THE ACADEMY SAID ALL THREE "WERE FALSELY ACCUSED OF SABOTAGE."
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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

File in Foreign Political Matters - Russia

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WARNS OF RED STRATEGY

A. W. Dulles Says New Plan of 'Parliamentary Conquest' Is Aimed at 3 Nations

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 1—Soviet peace smiles brought a warning today from Allen W. Dulles, director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Mr. Dulles said free people should watch and combat a new Kremlin strategy of "parliamentary conquest." The principal targets, he stated, are Italy, France, and Indonesia. He cited situations indicating important Soviet gains in these fields.

At the same time, Mr. Dulles deplored an apparent free-world indifference to a fact that the Russians could attain controls even with minority conquests in parliamentary bodies.

"Today * * * the danger of parliamentary compromises with the Communists, even in Europe," he stated, "is not to be ignored."

Mr. Dulles spoke frankly in an analysis of Soviet cold-war techniques that surprised many in Washington. The C. I. A. is perhaps the most hush-hush organization in the Government. Even Congressional investigating committees have not yet pried into its secrets where American security is involved.

However, Mr. Dulles responded to a request from the House Un-American Activities Committee to analyze current Communist tactics. Such a request had been made to more than 100 other prominent Government officials, military leaders, educators, journalists, labor officials, business executives and political scientists. Before the committee publishes the full findings it will call in experts on communism from Europe, the Far East and Africa. The panel is headed by Representative Francis E. Walter, Democrat of Pennsylvania.

Follow Lenin Pattern

The findings of the C. I. A. were made public this afternoon. Mr. Dulles had concentrated upon the dangers of the Soviet's "parliamentary" approach to conquest. This approach, he said, followed a pattern laid down by Lenin in the Nineteen Twenties.

Communist penetrations into free parliaments to date, he held, were far more serious than statistics would imply.

In no country, Mr. Dulles brought out, have Communists attained a majority in a parliamentary body. This fact, he contended, has created a complaisance that is highly dangerous.

"A few yea[illegible] ed, "I would [illegible] Communist [illegible] would have [illegible] ever again [illegible] among any fo[illegible] ties. Today, [illegible] danger of parliamentary compromises with the Communists, even in Europe, is not to be ignored."

Mr. Dulles then reported on the target spots he cited.

"In Asia," he stated, "this threat is even greater because it is generally less well understood. A recent Indonesian Government permitted Communist influence to reach far into the Ministry of Defense. More than in Europe the Communist parties have managed in many countries to acquire a dangerous degree of 'respectability' and of acceptance as just another political party."

In the "target countries," Mr. Dulles stated, the Soviet penetrations had become "serious."

143 in Office in Italy

"In the Italian Parliament of 590 members," he stated, "there are now 143 Communist members. To these must be added seventy-five Nenni fellow-traveling left-wing Socialists, or a total of 218 who consistently vote and act with the Communists. Together, in the last elections in 1953, their total popular vote was 9,500,000, or 35.6 per cent of the total.

"The French Chamber of Deputies presents another situation which the Kremlin may be studying. There are today about 150 Communist members in the Chamber out of a present total of about 600.

"In Indonesia, the Communist party received 6,000,000 votes, or 17 per cent of the total electorate in the elections of September 1955, and they have a representation of thirty-nine members, or fifteen per cent of the total of the Indonesian Assembly."

Despite these official minority representations, Mr. Dulles said, the Communists had "moved in."

Mr. Dulles referred to the recent smile-and-peace pronouncements of the Soviet leaders. He said:

"Translated into a little less flamboyant language this means that the Communists propose to infiltrate our free legislative systems, to take over our parliamentary Governments, and to use freedom which our system of government gives to destroy all vestiges of that system * * *.

"The Kremlin leaders have told us what they propose to do. It is up to the leaders of the free world, working together as allies and friends, to help to uncover and to frustrate this Communist design, which otherwise could threaten to wreck the free institutions of many countries and even endanger our own."

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N Y DAILY NEWS

AUG 19 1956

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SSIAN'S-EYE VIEW OF THE U.S.

Russian Marshal Ivan Konev made quite a repu- himself in World War II, is Soviet Deputy nister nowadays, and is believed to be closer to oss Nikita Khrushchev than any other Russian marshal.

From a source which has proved consistently reliable, we have received an analysis of Russia's military position with reference to the United States, which Konev is reported to have read recently before the Central Executive Committee of the All-Union Communist Party.

The document makes delightful reading for Americans, and would probably wipe out any war fever now existing in Russia if all Russians who read it could have a gander at it.

Konev started off by imagining a Red Army dash ward to Europe's Atlantic coast, which he said could xecuted in a matter of weeks, with the NATO ground unable to prevent it.

However, [illegible] of developments in at[illegible] War II, the effective[illegible]rk "has been reduced [illegible] years ago."

So [illegible] would allow the Red Army to move to the Atlantic, and would then throw in atomic bombers to chew up its communication and supply lines all the way back to Russia.

One gathers that Konev's advice would be firmly against a Red dash into Western Europe any time soon. He is also convinced that a NATO invasion of Russia would meet the same fate as those of Napoleon and Hitler, only faster. The end of either a Russian or a Western attack would be "a futile stalemate."

For our money, that's fair enough, since no sane American that we know of has any desire for a ground war with Russia.

When Marshal Konev gets around in this analysis to estimating the two nations' chances in—

AN ATOMIC WAR BY AIR

—his remarks are still more pleasant for our side.

Russia's stockpile of atom and hydrogen bombs, he believes, is substantially smaller than ours. He states it as a fact, without qualification, that the U.S. Strategic Air Command at this time is considerably stronger than its Russian opposite number.

Konev says that American bombers could pierce Russia from any direction. To set up a continuous radar warning network along all of Russia's and Red China's coast and inland frontiers would be a 15,000-kilometer (about 9,400 miles) job in the southern part of the Red Slave Empire and a 5,000 km. task in the Arctic.

Vulnerable in Arctic, but—

The only frontier the United States really has to worry about, says Konev, is Canada's and Alaska's northern edges—along which we are swiftly building a radar warning network which Konev says will be finished and working well before Russia has the air and atom-bomb power to risk attacking us.

An attack via our east or west coast, or both at once, would be suicidal, as Konev sees it, because those nasty Americans "have an efficient network of radar installations far from their home shores—all over Western Europe, in the Middle East, in Japan, on Formosa, in the Philippines. Their radar-equipped fleets roam thousands of kilometers from their home shores, the whole year round. Their carriers have hundreds of interceptors. Both in the east and west they are in a position to detect our bombers thousands of kilometers away."

Should Russia try an attack on us any time soon, Konev sees a nightmare of ruin for the Soviet empire.

American airbases are located at an average of 700 km. from Russia's frontiers, says the realistic marshal, while "at best, across the polar regions, our bomber bases are at least 6,000 km. from vital targets in the U. S."

He sums it all up with this: "The plain fact is that in a global air war with the U.S. we would be at a tremendous geographical disadvantage," and signs off with expressions of no-confidence in the expected intercontinental guided missile to do anything more than enable both nations to ruin each other in a push-button stalemate of blood and fire.

Let's on no account let down our guard, or abandon the bases which Konev so fears and hates. But let's refuse from here on to shiver when the Kremlin mobsters roar. Those could be roars of fear and frustration; nothing more.

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N. Y. TIMES

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[illegible]n Affairs

Th[illegible] [illegible]iants Is Over: I—Russia

By C. L. SULZBERGER

Some months after Stalin's death Charles de Gaulle, that curious, angular general whose name will dominate France's mid-century history, was asked by a friend about his personal political future. With singular absence of modesty he replied: "The age of giants is over. Giants can do nothing now. Churchill is the only survivor, and he can do nothing. I like Eisenhower. But he is not a giant. Roosevelt is dead. Stalin died—too late. This is the epoch of Malenkov, Fanfani and Quéuille."

With his odd genius for seeing the heart of the matter de Gaulle perhaps defined a moment in history. Even those successor statesmen whose names he linked in a euphonious phrase have already departed from the current scene. There are new Prime Ministers in the U. S. S. R., Italy and France. Churchill has retired. The sturdy ancient figures of Pope Pius and Adenauer are shrinking on the international horizon. New men, scrub oaks of the political forest, have emerged.

Product of Times

Times of stress tend, even in democracies, to produce leaders of exceptional power and, therefore, unusual stature. Emergency demands authority to deal with it. Revolution in Russia, depression in the United States, war in Britain and disaster in France confirmed the logic of this truism. But the times of most urgent stress have gone and with them the towering figures.

This is certainly true in the Soviet Union. Nobody observing the Moscow scene today is impressed by any magnitude of personality. The "cult of the individual" was necessarily doomed with Stalin's death. There is no longer any man of eminence around.

One does not, of course, say this with regret. Stalin was a frightening and wicked figure. But few foreigners who ever had a chance to know him failed to be impressed by a certain dominating quality in that devious, evil, little man with pock-marked face who managed to stamp himself so totally upon two hundred million people.

Comparisons Scoffed At

Bestowing no moral accolade, Churchill still feels the despot was a "great man." He scoffs at the thought of comparing Khrushchev and Bulganin with Stalin as historical personalities. Attlee observes: "The Communists always thought of their Kremlin as a Vatican. What the Pope said went. But Pope Stalin [illegible] gone today. [illegible] in their own right, [illegible] and Tito are bigger [illegible] Communist world [illegible] Russia."

[illegible] statesman remarks: [illegible] don't believe like a [illegible] talks off the cuff and too rashly. He is not an intellectual; Malenkov is. Khrushchev has a chip on his shoulder. Most people who met them both when they were in London disliked Khrushchev and liked Malenkov. Khrushchev doesn't seem like a big powerful chief to succeed Stalin."

And another English leader concludes: "Bulganin is a rather typical politician. He could be an average Prime Minister in any country. He is neither better nor worse than the norm. Khrushchev I could see as a militant trade union leader. I thought they were both rather old."

Ability Doubted

Aneurin Bevan [illegible] Khrushchev, "a forceful [illegible] I don't know if he has the capacity for deep reflection. I doubt if he can estimate the distant results of his present policy. I think Malenkov is much abler, deeper, more brilliant. He seems the man of the future."

French Socialists, visiting Moscow, found an incredible tendency among the Soviet bosses to tell outrageous lies. Khrushchev assured them he sought to stimulate agricultural production by developing private family plots on *kolkhozes*. But published Soviet facts demonstrate the opposite is true.

Khrushchev contended the unsuccessful *agrogorod* scheme to build huge farming towns was wrongly attributed to him. Actually it was his special project. Both Shepilov and Khrushchev pompously confided to the Frenchmen that no Soviet citizen opposed the Government; therefore there was no basis for more than one single party.

Unwanted Opposition

Shepilov said: "If you wished to organize a party different from ours, you wouldn't find anyone to join it." Khrushchev added: "You want us to form a second party? My children would say to me: 'Papa, have you lost your mind?'" He continued: "Our society is monolithic. To create an opposition would be to put a flea beneath the shirt."

Mikoyan, who as a youth hoped to be a priest, promised the French that despite its atheism the Communist party respected popular religious sentiments. Khrushchev joked: "Some Communists don't believe in God at party meetings but they do believe in God at home."

The men who succeeded Stalin are undoubtedly shrewd, but messy, disputative, narrow, by no means addicted to the truth. They are astonishingly ill-informed about the world. The trend they symbolize may yet accomplish immense things in Soviet history, for the Russian people are vigorous and talented. But these leaders in an age of mediocrity are hardly likely to be adjudged great themselves.

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Communist Party - Russia

Saturday Evening Post
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ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

Editorials

Let the Old Folks Earn All They Can!

Marion Folsom Secretary of Health Education and Welfare made a speech the other day in which he expressed his desire to help the old folks Activities in the interest of older persons will render the greatest service he said if they do not foster dependence but instead enlarge opportunities for individual effort and encourage self reliance initiative and creative endeavor

Secretary Folsom could do a great deal in this direction if he would help persuade Congress to repeal the provision that people drawing old age benefits between the ages of sixty five and seventy two lose these benefits if they earn more than $100 per month

A provision of this type was put into the law when it was first passed in the middle of the depression when Congress thought there were too many unemployed workers and it wanted to make people get out of the labor market and stay out That the law makers have an uneasy conscience about it is shown by the fact that the law was originally even more strict it has been softened from time to time both as to the amount you can receive without penalty and the age at which you can start unlimited earnings again

The average person receiving old age benefits gets only about $ 46 a year and doesn t have much from any other source either The Twentieth Century Fund has discovered that 36 per cent of the aged have no cash income at all 38 per cent have less than $1000 a year including O A B and only 11 per cent have from $1000 to $ 000 The restriction on earnings between the ages of sixty five and seventy two makes it even harder than it normally is for the elderly to get a job employers don t want to be bothered with special planning necessary to let you earn about ninety nine dollars a month Trade unions bitterly object to people working for less than the regular scale

The great majority of retired workers are earning either nothing or so little that for most of them the standard of living is low The experts in this subject are unanimous in saying that it is disastrous to health and morale for old people to sit around and do nothing especially when a large proportion of them are perfectly capable of a good day s work Many of them have special skills that are in high demand now a days when unemployment is low

To remove the present restriction would not materially increase the annual cost of old age benefits since at present only about 360 000 eligible persons over sixty five are known to be earning so much that their O A B is denied them. The action would remove a source of bitterness among the elderly who know that a man with an income from dividends rent or interest can earn all he likes without being deprived of his unearned income

Don t be Surprised if Khrushchevgrad Never Gets Named!

Not all of Nikita Khrushchev s long winded speech to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party U S S R was devoted to kicking Stalin s hat around Bolsheviks pride themselves on ruthless self criticism so an substantial 0 per cent of the oration was an admission that other members of the Central Committee including himself were also guilty ridden

What had they done Many of us said Comrade Khrushchev participated with [illegible] tion of assigning our name to various towns districts factories and [illegible] We must correct this

It was much as if [illegible] directorship having the blame for extensive embezzlements on [illegible] president had handsomely compensated [illegible] to taking [illegible] boys of penchant home and fired him from the office

No details are available But presumably if the [illegible] the Soviet Union a Khrushchev [illegible] Iron and Manacle Foundry there will may be its [illegible] change to Red Star [illegible] Giant Production will [illegible] on [illegible] a hatch Only the sign [illegible] different

Yet Comrade Khrushchev counsel caution [illegible] police He reminded [illegible] of what happened [illegible] Kossior Ukrainian [illegible] Politburo was liquidated in [illegible] The [illegible] was no reason to give vulgar publicity to this political adjustment But the Kiev broadcasting station which always signed off with This is Radio Kossior changed its signature and dropped Kossior s name Canny Ukrainians at once drew the correct conclusion that the great leader s number was up

Thus Khrushchev warned his party audience in closed session if today we begin to remove the signs every here and to change names people will think that these comrades in whose honor the given entire places *Who es* cities are named also met some bad fate and that they also have been arrested (Animation in the hall)

There was good reason for that hubbub among the hard core communists Anything can happen in the Soviet Union Out of 1966 delegates to the 17th Party Congress in 1934 1108 were arrested within three years on charges of counter revolutionary crime Of the 139 Central Committee members elected by that convention twenty two years ago nine were eight were shot in the purges of 193 and 38

Nobody in the party has paid up political insurance Recommended therefore to the comrades as a Marxist Leninist model is the shy self effacement so noticeable in Comrade Nikita Khrushchev Any local leader in his audience who had put his name on a toilet comfort station or a rural tractor center must have been busy trying to figure out how he could take it off gradually so people wouldn t notice the change

How "Liberal" Does a Television Station Owner Have to Be?

Suppose you are the head of a television station and you have to answer the kind of question which one such executive was lately faced with Involved in the matter were an unusual civil liberties organization that had prepared a series of telecasts an unusual businessman sponsoring them and unusual persons to appear in them

The programs were written by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) This organization is called a communist front by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, in its recent publication A Handbook for Americans Chairman of ECLC is Harvey O Connor now appealing a conviction of contempt of Congress for refusing to say whether he is a communist A leading financial angel of the group is its vice-chairman Corliss Lamont former head of the Friends of the Soviet Union

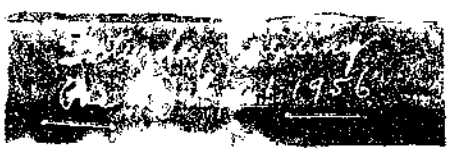
Ready to sponsor ECLC s programs was an electrical appliance store in Union Square New York named Standard Brand Distributors (No connection with a big food company of somewhat similar name) The owner of the appliance firm is Charles W Berg who has run many large advertisements in the Communist Party s Daily Worker

The telecasts were to be panel discussions of constitutional rights and Berg agreed to sponsor the first three programs and maybe more if they brought him enough business ECLC also tried to raise money by sending a memo to its members and sympathizers urging them to hold a TV get together on the night of the first program and invite some neighbors to attend to your home for coffee and After the program make an appeal for contributions Each of the programs costs upwards of $ 00 Call the station to say you liked the program

The station is WATV in Newark New Jersey which means that the telecast would be within reaching range of the New York metropolitan area The president of WATV Irving R Rosenhaus began having second thoughts Shortly before the date of the opening program he demanded a look at the script

On reading it he found that the star performer was to be a Fifth Amendment professor who had been identified under oath as a communist and who had been publicly called a perjurer by the president of his own college This professor was to engage in a discussion with his lawyer two Fifth Amendment teachers and three officers of ECLC

The president of WATV rejected the program The sponsor and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee sent flaming protests to the Federal Communications Commission Now the question is Should the United States Government force a television station to broadcast the ECLC type of truthful program That s something for citizens to think about



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Party Organ Says the Nation Was Unprepared for Nazis' Attack—'39 Pact Backed

By JACK RAYMOND
Special to The New York Times.

MOSCOW, July 28—The theoretical organ of the Soviet Communist party said today that Soviet forces were not prepared for Nazi aggression in World War II.

Adjudicating between two publications of the Ministry of Defense that introduced the dispute, Kommunist, the party organ, said that lack of training and mobilization permitted the enemy to achieve "decisive supremacy" in the main direction of attack.

At the same time, while attributing to Stalin "a certain error" in assessing the situation on the eve of the war, Kommunist defended the German-Soviet nonaggression pact of 1939. That pact, which was almost immediately followed by the Nazi invasion of Poland, often is defended here as Moscow's effort to gain time for the inevitable conflict with Hitler.

The main point of the defense of the pact offered in Kommunist is that the Western powers' negotiations with the Soviet Union were disrupted by reactionary forces, giving the Soviet Union no alternative but to accept a German proposal for a pact.

Other Stalin Questions

Other articles in Kommunist sought to straighten out other questions in connection with the campaign to downgrade Stalin.

The lead editorial warned against "compromising attitudes" toward opinions alien to Marxism. It took note of a tendency in some quarters to challenge the basic premises of the system, while, it said, all the present leaders intended to do was to erase certain aspects imposed by Stalin during his dictatorship.

Emphasizing the necessity of intolerance toward such alien views, Kommunist declared: "It is necessary to remember firmly that we are for peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. However, we are against peaceful coexistence of ideologies because it would mean ideological disarmament."

As for Stalin himself, there were errors and distortions regarding Stalin's military role in the party, said Kommunist. The major indictment of his military conduct came in an article discussing World War II. Kommunist said that "very contradictory estimations" of the first period of the war had crept into the Soviet press. The dispute between Krasnaya Zvezda, official newspaper of the Ministry of Defense, and Voyenny Vestnik, a Defense Ministry magazine specializing in tactical theories, was cited.

[illegible]ticisms of [illegible] Voyenny Ves[illegible] magazine [illegible] publicat[illegible] clans of Stalin [illegible] fault in militar[illegible] ing the Generalissimo [illegible] ing failed to heed the warnings of imminent German aggression. As a consequence, the article added, the Army was unprepared. Stalin had full and lone control at the time, it was noted.

This was followed by an article in Kraznaya Zvezda maintaining that the above explanation was "utterly wrong and harmful." Kraznaya Zvezda, a mass-circulation newspaper for military personnel, said that "practical measures to repulse aggression" had in fact been taken. The Central Committee of the party and the Government knew that "sooner or later" the Nazis would attack, Kraznaya Zvezda asserted.

The question involved more than just Stalin's reputation, it was noted here. It affected the explanation for the Soviet-German treaty, which always has been justified at least in part as a measure to gain time for Soviet preparations against the inevitable Nazi onslaught.

Moreover, it was not overlooked that both publications were published by the Defense Ministry, ultimate responsibility for which rested with Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov, the greatest Soviet military figure of World War II, who now is Defense Minister.

The article in Kommunist declared that Kraznaya Zvezda had "incorrectly criticized" its sister publication, "in which, in the main, the true characteristics of the first period of the war were given"—that is, a period of a lack of preparedness.

Why Did Russians Retreat?

The explanation that Soviet forces were not prepared, was called "incorrect and harmful," by the Army newspaper, but "the newspaper did not answer the question why Soviet troops had to retreat," Kommunist commented.

One reason given by Kommunist was that the Soviet Army did not have the experience of conducting a big modern war and was not mobilized, while the "German Fascist Army possessed that experience and was fully mobilized and concentrated on the borders of the Soviet Union."

Kommunist said Stalin had incorrectly assessed the available evidence that Germany was preparing to attack. It said he had rejected this evidence as an effort to provoke a German-Soviet conflict. It added that he "did everything alone."

Stalin's policy was based on a desire not to give the German leaders any pretext for ending the nonaggression pact, Kommunist said.

Discussing the signing of that treaty, Kommunist recalled that in the spring of 1939 Moscow negotiated with Britain and France on concluding a mutual assistance treaty. "These negotiations, as is known, were ruptured by reactionary forces of Britain and France, who were supported by monopolists of the United States," Kommunist declared.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

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