KHRUSHCHEV'S DENUNCIATION OF STALIN

Excerpts from the Historic Secret Speech

The most sensational event in recent Communist history was Nikita Khrushchev's three-hour secret address to the 20th Congress of the party in February. Ever since, Western intelligence agents have been trying by every means to get a copy of the text. The U.S. State Department at last succeeded. The text confirms the general outline leaked at the time, describing how passionately and sometimes weeping Khrushchev tore aside the curtain of Communist propaganda that has veiled the late Joseph Stalin's long reign of terror (Time, *March 26, et seq.*). *It also adds many fascinating details:*

LENIN'S WARNING TO STALIN

KHRUSHCHEV began his denunciation of Stalin by revealing two suppressed letters. One was written by Lenin's wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya, to Lev Kamenev, chief of the Politburo: "I beg of you to protect me from rude interference with my private life and from vile invectives and threats [by Stalin]." Lenin wrote direct to Stalin: "You permitted yourself a rude summons of my wife to the telephone and a rude reprimand of her . . . I have no intention to forget so easily that which is being done against me . . . I ask you therefore that you weigh carefully whether you are agreeable to retracting your words and apologizing or whether you prefer the severance of relations between us." (Says the transcript at this point: *Commotion in the hall.*)

Khrushchev went on: "Since Stalin could behave in this manner during Lenin's life . . . we can easily imagine how Stalin treated other people. These negative characteristics of his developed steadily and during the last years acquired an absolutely insufferable character."

ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE

"Stalin originated the concept 'enemy of the people.' This term automatically rendered it unnecessary that the ideological errors of a man or men engaged in a controversy be proved; this term made possible the usage of the most cruel repression, violating all norms of revolutionary legality, against anyone who in any way disagreed with Stalin, against those who were only suspected of hostile intent, against those who had bad reputations. This concept, 'enemy of the people,' actually eliminated the possibility of any kind of ideological fight or the making of one's views known on this or that issue, even those of a practical character. The formula 'enemy of the people' was specifically introduced for the purpose of physically annihilating [those] who opposed the party line."

BERIA'S FUNCTION

"When Stalin said that one or another should be arrested, it was necessary to accept on faith that he was an 'enemy of the people.' Meanwhile, Beria's gang, which ran the organs of state security, outdid itself in proving the guilt of the arrested and the truth of materials which it falsified. And what proofs were offered? The confessions of the arrested, and the investigative judges accepted these 'confessions.' And how is it possible that a person confesses to crimes which he has not committed? Only in one way—because of the application of physical methods of pressuring him, tortures, bringing him to a state of unconsciousness, deprivation of his judgment, taking away of his human dignity. In this manner 'confessions' were acquired."

THE STATISTICS OF TERROR

Khrushchev said that a party commission had made a study of the 1937-38 purge of the Central Committee: "It was determined that of the 139 members and candidates of the party's Central Committee who were elected at the 17th Congress, 98 persons (*i.e.*, 70%) were arrested and shot [*indignation in the hall*]. The same fate met . . . the majority of the delegates to the 17th Party Congress. Of the 1,966 delegates with voting or advisory rights, 1,108 persons were arrested . . ."

THE FAKED TRIALS

As an example of how Stalin's interrogators faked the evidence in the great conspiracy trials of 1937, Khrushchev recited the case of Party Member Rosenblum: "When Rosenblum was arrested, he was subjected to terrible torture during which he was ordered to confess false information concerning himself and other persons. He was then brought to the office of Zakovsky [chief interrogator], who offered him freedom on condition that he make before the court a false confession fabricated in 1937 by the NKVD concerning sabotage, espionage and diversion in a terroristic center in Leningrad. With unbelievable cynicism Zakovsky told about the vile mechanism for the crafty creation of fabricated anti-Soviet plots.' . . . 'You yourself [he told Rosenblum] will not need to invent anything. The NKVD will prepare for you a ready outline for every branch of the center, you will have to study it carefully and to remember all questions and answers which the court might ask . . . Your future will depend on how the trial goes and on its results. If you begin to lie and testify falsely, blame yourself. If you manage to endure it, you will save your head, and we will feed and clothe you at the government's cost until your death.'"

DAYS OF SUSPICION

"Stalin was a very distrustful man, sickly suspicious, we knew this from our work with him. He could look at a man and say: 'Why are your eyes so shifty today?' Or, 'why are you turning so much today and avoiding looking at me directly in the eyes?' The sickly suspicion created in him a general distrust even toward eminent party workers whom he had known for years. Everywhere and in everything he saw 'enemies,' 'two-facers' and 'spies.'"

THE RED ARMY PURGE

"Stalin's annihilation of many military commanders . . . beginning literally at the company and battalion commander level and extending to the higher military centers [brought] grievous consequences . . . Large scale repression undermined military discipline because for several years officers of all ranks and even soldiers in the party and *Komsomol* cells were taught to 'unmask' their superiors as hidden enemies . . . During this time the cadre of leaders who had gained military experience in Spain and in the Far East was almost completely wiped out . . ."

JEALOUSY OF ZHUKOV

"After the war Stalin began to tell all kinds of nonsense about Zhukov, among other things the following: 'You praised Zhukov, but he does not deserve it. It is said that before each operation at the front Zhukov used to behave as follows: he would take a handful of earth, smell it and say, "We can

break (to attack," or the opposite. "The planned operation cannot be carried out. . . . It is possible that Stalin himself invented these things for the purpose of minimizing the role and military talents of Marshal Zhukov."

WARTIME DEPORTATIONS

"Monstrous are the acts whose initiator was Stalin . . . 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 considerations. At the end of 1943 a decision was taken and executed to deport all the Karachai from the lands on which they lived. In the same period, the same lot befell the whole population of the Autonomous Kalmyk Republic. In March 1944 all the Chechen and Ingush peoples were deported and the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic was liquidated. In April 1944 all Balkars were deported to faraway places. The Ukrainians avoided meeting this fate only because there were too many of them and there was no place to which to deport them."

THE LATER STALIN

"After the war Stalin became even more capricious, irritable and brutal; in particular, his suspicion grew. His persecution mania reached unbelievable dimensions . . . . This unbelievable suspicion was cleverly taken advantage of by the abject *provocateur* and vile enemy Beria, who had murdered thousands of Communists and loyal Soviet people . . . The question arises . . . Why did we not do something earlier, during Stalin's life, in order to prevent the loss of innocent lives? It was because Stalin personally supervised [the purges], and the majority of the Politburo members did not at the time know all of the circumstances . . . and could not therefore intetvene."

STALIN THE IGNORANT

"All those who interested themselves even a little in the national situation saw the difficult situation in agriculture, but Stalin never even noted it. Did we tell Stalin about this? Yes, we told him, but he did not support us. Why? Because Stalin never traveled anywhere. He knew the country and agriculture only from films. Many films so pictured kolkhoz [collective] life that the tables were bending from the weight of turkeys and geese. Evidently Stalin thought that it was actually so. The last time he visited a village was in January 1928. How then could he have known the situation in the provinces?"

LITTLE FINGER & TITO

"I recall the first days when the conflict between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia began artificially to be blown up . . . I was invited to visit Stalin who, pointing to the copy of a letter lately sent to Tito, asked me, 'Have you read this?' Not waiting for my reply, he answered, 'I will shake my little finger—and there will be no more Tito. He will fall.' "

THE DOCTORS' PLOT

"Let us also recall the affair of the doctor-plotters. Actually there was no affair outside the declaration of the woman doctor Timashuk, who was probably influenced or ordered by someone—after all, she was an unofficial collaborator of the organs of state security—to write Stalin a letter in which she declared that doctors were applying supposedly improper methods of medical treatment. Such a letter was sufficient for Stalin to reach an immediate conclusion that there are doctor-plotters in the Soviet Union. He issued orders to arrest a group of eminent Soviet medical specialists. He personally issued advice on the conduct of the investigation. He said that the academician Vinogradov should be put in chains; another one should be beaten. Present at this Congress as a delegate is the former Minister of State Security Ignatiev. Stalin told him curtly, 'If you do not obtain confessions from the doctors, we will shorten you by a head.' Stalin personally called the investigative judge, gave him instructions, advised him on which investigative methods should be used; these methods were simple—beat, beat, and again beat. Shortly after the doctors were arrested, we members of the Politburo received protocols with the doctors' confessions of guilt. After distributing the protocols, 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.' "

LET VOROSHILOV SPEAK UP

Stalin commissioned and improved upon films, books and pictures glorifying himself. "Stalin loved to see the film *The Unforgettable Year of 1919*, in which he was shown on the steps of an armored train and where he was practically vanquishing the foe with his own saber. Let Kliment Voroshilov, our dear friend, find the necessary courage and write the truth about Stalin; after all, he knows how Stalin had fought."

"Because of his extreme suspicion, Stalin toyed also with the absurd and ridiculous suspicion that Voroshilov was an English agent [*Laughter*]. A special tapping device was installed in his home to listen to what was said there."

WHERE TO NEXT?

"Some comrades may ask us: Where were the members of the Politburo? Why did they not assert themselves? In the situation which then prevailed, I often talked with Nikolai Bulganin; once when we two were traveling in a car, he said: 'It has happened sometimes that a man goes to Stalin on his invitation as a friend. And when he sits with Stalin, he does not know where he will be sent next, home or to jail.' "

STALIN'S LAST DAYS

"It is not excluded 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. Stalin evidently had plans to finish off the old members of the Politburo.

"Comrades! In order not to repeat errors of the past, the Central Committee has declared itself resolutely against the cult of the individual . . . 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."

STALIN, THE WAR HERO

"During the whole war Stalin never visited any section of the front or any liberated city, except for one short ride on the Mozhaisk Highway during a stabilized situation at the front. To this incident were dedicated many literary works full of fantasies of all sorts and so many paintings."

GLOBAL PLANNING

"After the war began, the nervousness and hysteria which Stalin demonstrated, interfering with actual military operations, caused our army serious damage . . . When there developed an exceptionally serious situation for our army in 1942 in the Kharkov region . . . I telephoned Vasilevsky [Chief of Staff] and begged him: 'Alexander Mikhailovich, take a map and show Comrade Stalin the situation which has developed . . .' We should note that Stalin planned operations on a globe. Yes, comrades, he used to take the globe and trace the front on it . . . [But] Stalin didn't want to hear any more arguments on the matter. I telephoned to Stalin at his villa . . . but Stalin did not consider it convenient to raise the phone and stated that I should speak to him through Malenkov [then Stalin's secretary], although he was only a few steps from the telephone. After 'listening' in this manner to our plea, Stalin said, 'Let everything remain as it is!' And what was the result of this? The Germans surrounded our army concentrations and consequently we lost hundreds of thousands of our soldiers. This is Stalin's military 'genius'; this is what it costs us."

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THESE DAYS:

The Chief Enemy Of Communism

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

NOW that the Communists have lost their popularity, there are many, even among those who in the 1930's and 1940's were either pro-Communist or neutral about the entire subject, who set claim to astounding success in their opposition to Communism. There can, of course, be no monopoly of righteousness. We are being told by some that Socialists are the most competent opponents of Communism, hoping presumably that all will forget the period of the United Front, which Khrushchev is now trying to resurrect. Such organizations as the League Against War and Fascism and the League for Peace and Democracy included more Socialists than Communists. The League for Peace and Democracy developed a membership of about 4,000,000 at a time when the highest estimate for the Communist Party was a little over 100,000. It was a United Front group that conducted the Communist side of the Spanish Civil War and that brought Czechoslovakia into the Soviet fold.

"Pravda" differs with those who announce their own importance. It seems to regard John Foster Dulles as the "sworn enemy of Communism." In a long and bitter argument, attacking Dulles and the American State Department, "Pravda" not only denounces Dulles' fight on Communism but admits that it is achieving a measure of success. Let me quote "Pravda," the official organ of the Russian Communist Party:

Pravda's Blast

"The United States State Department, having abandoned diplomacy, has become the headquarters of a propaganda campaign launched by it around the personality cult. The aim of this campaign is to cast a shadow on the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to undermine the confidence of the working people in the first Socialist state in the world, the Soviet Union, and to introduce dissension and confusion within the ranks of the world's Communist and workers movement."

Of course, dissension and confusion were produced by Khrushchev's two speeches at the 20th Congress and by the speeches of Mikoyan and others, denouncing Stalin and admitting by implication that whatever anti-Communists anywhere in the world said against Stalin during the past 20 years, was only a hesitant approach to the horrible truth. If John Foster Dulles added much to the confusion among Communist and Socialist parties, most Americans will be proud of Dulles and not a little surprised that such praise of his efforts should first appear in "Pravda," for any indication of effectiveness in this fight is a measure of praise and a subject for congratulations. "Pravda" says:

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facts show that in this case we are dealing not with a conventional propaganda campaign, of which during the years of the cold war the United States State Department organized quite a few. It is an extensively elaborated new political plan on which the United States reactionary circles are staking much."

"Pravda" also says:

"The United States statesmen who pretend to the leadership of the entire capitalist world have seized on the past mistakes and shortcomings in connection with Stalin's cult in the U.S.S.R., which were condemned by the 20th CPSU Congress and have been rectified already by the CPSU Central Committee.

Red-busting Trips

One must rejoice over these compliments. Naturally we look forward to the breaking up of the enormous empire which Stalin had been building into a universal state. So, that is what John Foster Dulles has been doing on his trips around the world; he has apparently been Communist-busting. Surely, Americans will not hate him for that. Look at what "Pravda" says:

"Similar tactics are being suggested by the ideologists of imperialism also for use against the Communist Parties in capitalist countries. They are trying to undermine the international ties of the world's workers' movement. It is the same Dulles, this sworn enemy of Communism, who is ready to swear that he is not against Communist Parties as such, but merely against the fact that they are 'too closely' connected with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

Did Dulles ever say that he is not against Communist Parties? "Pravda" must be making that up. There may be folks in the State Department who think only in terms of external affairs. Such men may say that only Russia is wicked but that the American Communist Party is just a political party like the Democrats and more so than the A.D.A. But I hope that Dulles never said that.

FBI Head Tells Of Soviet Boast

WASHINGTON — FBI Director Edgar Hoover said Sunday Russian President Klement Voroshilov once boasted of engineering the slaughter of 11,000 Czarist officers and shipping their wives and daughters off to Red army brothels.

Hoover said Voroshilov's action proves present Soviet rulers are men of no character. He said it showed that in spite of the recent Russian campaign of smiles the Communist party continues to be one of the most subtle menace to the United States.

He was interviewed by Rep. Kenneth K. Keating (R-N.Y.) on a filmed show for six upstate New York TV stations.

Hoover also defended the FBI's use of secret informers, said the FBI currently has fewer than 90 wiretaps in operation and urged parents of kidnap victims to notify the FBI immediately.

Voroshilov is now titular head of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as president of the Supreme Soviet, the Russian parliamentary body. He was a marshal of the Red army in Kiev during the Russian revolution.

Hoover said Voroshilov made his boast to William C. Bullitt who headed a special U.S. mission to Moscow in 1919 and was the country's first ambassador to Russia from 1933 to 1936.

The FBI chief said Voroshilov told Bullitt that he urged 11,000 officers at Kiev to surrender and if they would surrender he would guarantee that they and their families would be allowed to return to their home.

Voroshilov then boasted that after they had surrendered he executed all 11,000 officers, all male children and put the wives and daughters into the brothels for the use of the Russian army, Hoover said.

"Now men of that kind have no character," he said. "They are ruthless men and I would certainly want to see acts of indication of peaceful coexistence rather than mere words."

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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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THESE DAYS:

Tito's Soviet Talk And the Real Facts

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

TITO, in a speech in Leningrad, delivered this June, said:

"...I was here in July, 1917, when the city was not yet called Leningrad. I saw then how backward your country was!...A terribly backward country! And when I had the opportunity to see it in 1917, I saw a valiant, revolutionary worker of Leningrad, which was then Petrograd; all this showed me, then a young man, that Russia's future would be a bright one. I saw the tremendous elan of the workers, I saw street fights here, in which I myself took part. These workers were full of determination to achieve their freedom and establish a new life. And so, in October the workers put an end to the past and embarked on a new road, the road of Socialist construction."

Tito apparently got into a street fight back in those days and was imprisoned in the St. Peter's and St. Paul's Fortress which had wonderful bells, about which Rachmaninoff wrote a prelude, and dank cells that gave its prisoners rheumatism.

I was in Petrograd at the time Tito was there and I must say that the workers were not in the July Revolution "full of determination to achieve their freedom." There were not many workers in that city then, the largest plant being the Putilov Iron Works which amounted to nothing. That July Revolution failed and it was not until the Russian soldiers began to desert from the front that Petrograd filled up with a huge mass of hungry, rebellious, undisciplined people who sold their arms, their uniforms, even their underwear for the last food that remained in the city. When all the dogs and cats were gone, when nothing remained to be bought but pressed caviar and champagne, the hunger became acute and Kerensky fell.

Explains Bolsheviks' Rise

The alternatives that faced the people then were that they would accept the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky or they would join the standards of those who favored restoring the old regime under General Kornilov. No one quite knew what Kornilov wanted. He gave the impression of favoring a constitutional monarchy. He also failed and the Bolsheviks, under Lenin and Trotsky, took over.

Tito can make pretty speeches now, but he must know that the October Revolution did not put an end to the past. The meaning of Khrushchev's speech is that under Stalin, the Russia of Ivan the Terrible, of Catherine the Great, of Alexander the First and Nicholas the Second continued. In a word, while Stalin ruled from the Kremlin, Czarism, wilful, whimsical, autocratic Czarism continued and undoubtedly one reason why Khrushchev was forced to make his amazing speech was that he and his associates felt that they had to denounce Stalin's Czarism to proclaim their own lack of it.

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Khrushchev must be a brilliant orator; he certainly possesses a keen sense of humor. In his speech to the Moscow Komsomol and young volunteers who are to go to Siberia to develop the Far East, as Horace Greeley tried to influence young men of his generation to go to the West of the United States, Khrushchev said:

Anti-Religious Propaganda

"But I should like to say a few words, not about arch-reactionaries but about those who are against capitalism but not for communism, about those who prefer to stand aloof just to see what will come out of this and who will have the upper hand. You know well that there are people who do not know whether to believe in God or otherwise. But at times such a man will turn aside and will cross himself just in case there really is a God (Animation, applause). And should there be a God this sign of the cross will possibly be taken on record in the place where the corresponding reckoning will be made."

This analogy, which seemed to be altogether acceptable to his audience, was used to bring out the ridiculous attitude of those who cannot choose between "the two systems"; that is, Communism and Capitalism. And of this, he said:

"And if we are sometimes told that this or that is not right with us, we reply to such persons: 'My dear man, do you know what Russia was before the Revolution and what it has become now?'..."

But he does not add that those great strides were made in the Stalin regime of dictatorial and hateful brutality.

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Communist Party - Russia

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THE RED CHALLENGE

Its Goal Is the Same: To Weaken America

By CROSBY S. NOYES

Anyone getting home from an extended spell abroad is called on to make a number of more or less strenuous mental flip-flops. But a reporter who has spent most of his time dabbling in the field of politics may find the adjustment almost beyond his mental agility.

A curious kind of self-hypnotic optimism seems to have settled over the United States. Our most responsible leaders are talking like confirmed disciples of Dr. Coue, endlessly repeating the comforting formula that every day in every way the world and everything in it is getting better and better.

The tendency to look at the world through rose-colored glasses applies most particularly to the question of our foreign relations. The Communist world, we are assured, is cracking up. The leaders of the Kremlin have lost their grip to such an extent that communism may no longer be an effective instrument in the cold war. The general impression is that the struggle is about over and that the free world, strong and united, can stand by to rake in the chips. Secretary of State Dulles last week set the millennium as no more than 10 years off.

Though not necessarily more accurate, the European perspective on this situation is at least strikingly different. In terms of its effect in the European area, the new look in Russian policy shapes up as anything but a symptom of weakness or a sign or retreat.

On the contrary, it has all the earmarks of a carefully calculated and positive decision by the new Russian leadership. As a pattern of action, everything that has been done makes sense. The spirit behind it is aggressive. The objective is familiar: To destroy United States prestige and power throughout the world—to bring what remains of free Asia, Africa and perhaps even part of Western Europe under increasing Communist influence and ultimate Communist control.

This article is the first of a series of five by Mr. Noyes, former European Correspondent of The Star, analyzing the Communist threat to the West in light of recent developments.

Began With "Peace Offensive"

It has been in the works for a long time. The abortive "peace offensive" which started soon after the death of Stalin in 1953 began the process of internal relaxation and reform within the Communist dominion. It came to an end in the Berlin riots of June 17, 1953, when the Red Army had to be called in to quell violent anti-Communist demonstrations throughout the eastern sector of the city.

Since then the Red leaders have bided their time and mended their fences. But there is no evidence to suggest that they ever abandoned the long-range idea of a return to a line of policy which promised them glittering dividends.

No one outside Russia—and for that matter, few people inside—can measure with assurance all the reasoning that lies behind the Russian new look which began to take firm shape at the Summit Conference at Geneva last year.

People's Attitude. Social and economic pressures inside Russia and the satellites may have played a part.

Leaders' Attitude. The new leaders themselves may feel that the kind of internecine warfare which characterized the Stalin era has lost its zest.

Military considerations. They may have become convinced that military expansion in an age of

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CHALLENGE

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nuclear weapons involves too great a risk.

Eisenhower's Salesmanship. President Eisenhower finally may have persuaded them at Geneva that the United States would never be the first to launch an aggressive war.

Concern Over Chinese. The Russians may be seeking closer ties with the West to counterbalance the awsome weight of 600 million Communist Chinese.

Confidence at Home. They may also feel that the Communist regimes at home and in the satellites are so firmly established that the upheavals of 1953 will not be repeated.

Olive Branch More Effective

Each of these factors could have helped to shape the decision. But perhaps the biggest reason of all is that the new Russian leaders understand what Stalin never understood: That in the struggle between two world systems, the olive branch is a more effective weapon than the big stick.

They believe, in short, that the Communist world can compete with the West on a political and economic plane. They are also convinced that in this competition, their side will win—first, because with a strictly controlled economy they can divert available resources wherever they will do most good—second, because communism shorn of the threat of military domination still makes an extraordinary appeal to many people outside the Communist area.

Having reached their decision, the Kremlin leaders have acted with impressive energy. The liberation of Austria last spring provided the first major diplomatic bombshell. Allied governments were caught so flatfooted by the move that there is still some question of what to do about the multi-million-dollar military installations which were under construction at the time.

Second Thoughts Arise

When Khrushchev and Bulganin showed up in Belgrade to pay their respects to Marshal Tito, there were plenty of observers on hand—including this reporter—to point out the irony in the situation and hail the flight

take risks it is a safe bet that they do it of their own will and with a deadly serious purpose.

No Sign of Breakdown

The hope that this process will place an unbearable burden on the internal structure of the Communist apparatus is a little far-fetched. The recent riots in Poland have been put down with a self-assurance which hardly suggests a tottering regime. Recent criticism of the Russian Party by Communists in France, Italy, Britain and the United States generally is believed to have been inspired, if not directly ordered, by the leaders of Moscow.

Another handy straw to clutch is the thought that the Russian leaders themselves will fall under the spell of their own liberality. Given time, some people think that Russian communism could evolve into a different sort of system, not actually benign, perhaps, but at least capable of permanent co-existence with Western capitalism. This apparently was in Secretary Dulles' mind at his Wednesday press conference.

Here again, however, the evidence is less than convincing. Whatever changes may take place in the face which communism presents to the outside world, certain essential features remain. The methods may evolve. But wherever the Communist dominate in the world, they do so as firmly today, if not as roughly, as before. No country which has ever fallen under Communist control has ever had another free second-guess.

In Successful Competition

At any rate, whatever real or imagined dangers may lie in their path, Russia is clearly moving ahead with a logical program which confronts the West with two facts deserving urgent recognition:

1. For the first time, communism as a system is in open and successful competition with democracy, fighting in areas and with weapons on which the West until now has had a monopoly.

2. This competition which is basically hostile to the interests of the free world, cannot be met successfully by diplomatic techniques and propaganda created during the opening phases of the cold war.

In an atmosphere of election-year optimism, these conclusions may strike an unpleasantly discordant note. But in the light of what is happening in the European area today, they also present a challenge which the United States cannot ignore much longer without courting disaster.

(Tomorrow—The Communist offensive in Europe.)

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Soviet Purge Puzzles U. S. Aides

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Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Nease
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

By Chalmers M. Roberts
Staff Reporter A-4

Official Washington was puzzled yesterday about the fate of the ousted Kremlin chieftains and divided over the meaning of the Soviet purge.

An editorial in the Soviet army newspaper, Red Star, which spoke of the "treacherous activities" of V. M. Molotov, Lazar Kaganovich, Georgi Malenkov, and Dmitri Shepilov, four of those tossed from the seats of power, was taken by some here to foreshadow a trial and possible executions. Others, however, doubted that Nikita Khrushchev, now rated Number One without question, would go that far.

Nor was there any agreement on the status of the military in the new Soviet shifts. One Soviet expert pointed out that not to have promoted Marshal Georgi Zhukov, the Defense Minister, to full membership on the ruling Presidium would have been a slap at the military, so jam-packed is the new Presidium with known Khrushchev followers.

Some thought the role of the military in the shift was more negative than positive. That is, that Zhukov and his fellow professional top brass had approved Khrushchev's purge of his rivals once assured their status would not be affected.

Proof in the Eating

Others thought the military might well have welcomed Khrushchev's purge of those who wanted to go back to "Stalinism" since "Stalinism" represented greater political and secret police control over the armed forces. One official viewed the Zhukov promotion as recognition of an immensely popular individual.

The State Department, in the absence of Secretary John Foster Dulles on vacation, put out a statement saying that what the shifts "will add up to remains to be seen. The proof of the pudding is in the eating." The Department pointed out that those ousted had been accused of obstructing such policies as the Austrian State Treaty of 1955.

"Taking the communique at face value," the Department commented, "the proof of the pudding will be to see whether or not the Soviet Union will now proceed with practical measures directed toward achieving just solutions to such important international problems as disarmament and German reunification and whether or not the Soviet Union will now conduct itself in the fo-

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eign field in such a way as to promote peace and stability in areas now afflicted by tensions. One such obvious area is the Middle East."

But this appeared to be far more an expression of hope than a judgment of what is likely. The experts privately pointed out that Khrushchev already has been the Soviet spokesman on disarmament. And they doubted any switch in the Kremlin's adamant stand on German reunification or in its intention to push its policies in the Middle East.

Experts See Pattern

Looking back at Soviet events beginning with the 20th Communist Party Congress in February, 1956, some of the experts saw this pattern:

Khrushchev attacked Stalin's terroristic "cult of personality" in order to (a) win wider adherence to the regime at home and to (b) end the Soviet Union's isolationism abroad by making peace with Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito, currying the favor of free but neutralist nations and in lowering cold war tensions with America and its allies.

Khrushchev's efforts to decentralize Soviet industry this spring was a logical followup in the effort to make the economic machine more efficient. It called for more local initiative among the Soviet people just as his foreign policy called for "different paths to socialism" or more local say-so by the various Communist governments in the Communist orbit from Poland to Red China.

Both of these policies, domestic and foreign, were opposed by most, if not all, of those now tossed out. There is clear evidence of Molotov's opposition to the effort to make up with Tito. That some or all of them opposed Khrushchev's domestic program can at least me inferred from the fact that no other top Soviet leader came out publicly for the economic decentralization plan and that what was put into effect was considerably short of what he had proposed.

Khrushchev's foreign policy at first seemed to succeed. Tito came close to rejoining the Soviet fold. But he later felt, and said publicly in effect, that he was being double-crossed by the "Stalinists" who were still powerful in Moscow. His judgment is now rated here as having been confirmed.

No Division on Revolt

But Khrushchev's promise to Tito to permit "different paths to socialism" almost got out of hand in Wladislaw Gomulka's Poland and clearly did in the Hungarian Revolution. The belief here is that there was no division in the Kremlin in ordering the bloody suppression in Hungary—but that there was plenty of later recrimination and "I told you so" remarks by Molotov and others.

Last December Soviet economic control was revamped with Mikhail Pervukhin in control—one of the men Khrushchev has now purged. If it is true, as Khrushchev has said, that disputes in the ruling Presidium were then resolved by a show of hands, Khrushchev may well then have been in the minority. Whether Zhukov's support (though Zhukov, as an alternative member, then had no formal vote) saved Khrushchev is one of the big mysteries as of today.

But Khrushchev, a dynamic man of 63, did not sit still. In February he seems to have gained the upper hand again. Later this spring he somehow jammed through at least a compromise economic decentralization plan.

In the foreign field, though, Khrushchev last year appeared to have had some second thoughts on the wisdom of permitting "different paths to socialism," the top Chinese Communist, Mao Tse-tung, later came forth with his similar "let 100 flowers bloom" dogma. And both the Poles and the Yugoslavs yesterday were rejoicing at Khrushchev's victory. Two top Yugoslavs, in fact are about to leave for the Soviet Union.

The United States, incidentally, was caught without an Ambassador in Moscow. The new envoy, Llewellyn Thompson, is still in Vienna but hopes to leave for Moscow in the near future, the State Department said yesterday.

6-19 (Rev. 9-7-56)

Khrushchev Victory . . . By Richard Lowenthal

Fiction of Collective Leadership in Soviet Is Killed

Richard Lowenthal is a well-known commentator on Soviet affairs for the London Observer Foreign News Service.

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LONDON — With a single blow, Nikita Khrushchev has destroyed the fiction of a collective leadership in the Soviet Union and has eliminated his principal opponents from the seats of power.

Moreover, Khrushchev has done so by exactly the same device which Stalin used in the early years of his rise to sole power — by appealing from a divided inner ring of leaders to the full Central Committee, packed with his own appointees, the provincial party secretaries. At the same time, he has based his action on the need to get away from the Stalinist tradition in foreign and economic policy.

Any interpretation of the latest turn in the fortunes of the Soviet State must take both sides of this paradox into account—the Stalinist power aspect and the anti-Stalinist policy aspect.

The first thing to bear in mind is that we have far more definite knowledge of the former than of the latter. We do not know what the alleged "antiparty" views of Georgi Malenkov, Viacheslav Molotov and Lazar Kaganovich really are, as we knew in 1925-28 the views of Leon Trotsky, Gregori Zinoviev or Nikolai Bukharin from their own writings.

We only know now what Khrushchev—less liberal in that respect than the Stalin of the Twenties—wants the Russian people to think about those views.

WHAT IS CERTAIN is that this was not an easy victory. Not three, but five of the 11 voting members of the party Presidium have had to be removed. All of them up to now had also held the rank of Deputy Minister Presidents in the Soviet government. Among them are both the only surviving close collaborator of Lenin (Molotov) and the man who took the first steps to relax the pressure on the Soviet people after the death of Stalin (Malenkov).

Of the three leaders who pledged themselves over Stalin's bier to maintain monolithic unity, Secret Police Chief Lavrenti. Beria was arrested as an enemy of the people within a few months. Molotov and Malenkov have now been removed from the leadership exactly four years later.

Even Khrushchev's bright young man, the party ideologist Dmitri Shepilov, had at the end gone over to their "antiparty" group; such an error in one so widely credited with an eye to the main chance indicates that the opposition appeared by no means hopeless.

The new inflated party Presidium of 15 members and eight candidates will be a very different body. The members of Khrushchev's Central Party Secretariat and his provincial subordinates have moved in in force—from Moscow, Leningrad, Gorki and Sverdlovsk; from the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Uzbekistan and Kazakstan.

In this company, even Marshal Georgi Zhukov, now promoted from candidacy to full membership, will have little chance to make himself felt.

There are, in fact, now only two men of real influence left in this once all-important body, apart from Khrushchev himself—Premier Nikolai Bulganin and Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan. These two men were Khrushchev's companions on his journey first to Peking and then to Belgrade, and have apparently supported his policies ever since. But what are these policies?

THERE IS NO evidence whatever to substantiate the official charge that Molotov, let alone Malenkov, had been opposed to the policy of peaceful co-existence with the West. That policy, after all, is not fundamentally new, it was practiced for considerable periods in Stalin's time, and its revival after Stalin's death was inaugurated precisely by the same Malenkov and Molotov.

But there is evidence that Molotov at least opposed from the start Khrushchev's reconciliation with Marshal Tito and his attempts to relax control in the satellites, and that after the Polish and Hungarian events of last autumn his criticism gained much wider support. Ever since then we may assume, Khrushchev has been under severe fire for having undermined Soviet authority and brought about the Hungarian catastrophe by his dangerous experiments, and perhaps also for having, however reluctantly, compromised with the Wladyslaw Gomulka "National Communist" regime in Poland.

To that extent Khrushchev's victory may mark the realistic recognition that a return to Stalinist total control of all the satellites, however desirable from a greater Russian viewpoint, is not now possible—a recognition probably greatly assisted by advice from Red China.

The other great issue in dispute, and the one that has probably done most to unite the different elements of the opposition, is Khrushchev's drastic reorganization of the machinery of Soviet economic planning.

At the Supreme Soviet session of last May, it was noticed that none of the Presidium members concerned with economic policy spoke in support of Khrushchev's scheme. Their silence is now shown to have been due to opposition—of all the economists in the party Presidium, only Mikoyan remains.

KHRUSHCHEV charges his critics, the great tycoons of Stalinist industrialization, with having opposed the modernization of the top-heavy machinery of bureaucratic planning which he seeks to bring about by breaking up the central economic ministries, and by delegation of greater economic powers to the national republics.

There is little doubt that a change in that direction was indeed overdue, but it also seems clear that Khrushchev's own scheme tends to transfer power to a dangerous degree from competent, if bureaucratic, technicians to less competent party bosses, and has been launched with quite insufficient preparation.

The truth appears to be that Khrushchev, in satellite as in economic policy, is driven on by a sense of urgency, and by his own ebullient overconfidence—to highly risky gambles, while some of his critics would like to cling to rigid Stalinist policies which have become untenable.

The Russian leaders are like men caught on breaking ice by a sudden thaw. Khrushchev is boldly hopping from floe to floe, hoping to reach dry ground in time. "You will drown yourself with all that mad jumping," his critics seem to call after him. "No, you will drown when your floe melts under you," he appears to call back.

The irony is that both may be right.

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Communist International

Crisis in Communism

A 1

What emerges from the current crisis in Moscow may or may not be good for the West. Only time will tell.

It is not necessary to await the verdict of history, however, to conclude from these events that Soviet communism has not cured the weaknesses inherent in it as a system of government. When Khrushchev denounced Stalinism at the Twentieth Party Congress, Amitore Fanfani, secretary of the Italian Christian Democratic Party, observed that that crisis in communism did not start then. He said it was due to "a crisis inborne in the system developed by Marx," and he pointed out that, "the Soviet experience from 1917 to 1957 is the case history of a long crisis of the Communist system over a period of 40 years."

The crisis, obviously, persists. The system has not been able to develop an apparatus in which there can be orderly and rational debate, a reasonable and peaceful selection of alternative courses. As its agricultural policy swings forth and back between collectivization and private marketing, its industrial policy from centralization to decentralization, its science from Mendel to Lysenko, individuals not nimble enough to hang to the pendulum must be sacrificed. Though revered as "comrades" and "heroes" yesterday, they must be denounced as "deviationists" and "dissenters" and traitors today.

This is a curiously emotional and immature predilection in a government that claims to be founded on Marxist "science." The system obviously is as yet unable to cope with the requirements of a modern, industrial society. Maybe it is evolving toward more rational methods. The denunciations, at least, are not as violent as those in previous crises; the blood-letting seems for the moment to have been eliminated. Still Khrushchev's coup is a curiously unlovely spectacle and a most revealing indication that there is in communism as applied in Russia some sort of inherent, built-in and apparently well-nigh ineradicable tendency to these periodic convulsions. The system has yet to invent devices that will permit it to change without crisis.

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Polish Report Links 4 in Anti-Khrushchev Plot

WARSAW, July 5(A)—V. M. Molotov and three other Soviet leaders confessed a plot to oust Nikita Khrushchev before they were purged, Warsaw circles said today.

These sources said their reported self-criticism climaxed a 35-hour debate in the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee.

While the debate raged, Party Boss Khrushchev is said to have sent representatives to Red China, Poland and the sensitive Soviet Republic of Georgia to explain what was going on.

The report had no official confirmation but Warsaw long has been known as a leaking point for secret Soviet moves.

The report gave this account:

The clash between Molotov and Khrushchev came into the open as soon as the Central Committee session began June 22 in Moscow.

Khrushchev proposed that the first point of the agenda should be the current situation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Molotov pressed a counter-proposal—that the Party consider the "international position of the Soviet Union in the light of attempted imperialist putsches in Poznan and Hungary, and to consider its relations with other so-called Marxist parties—those of Poland, Italy, Japan and the United States."

All four of these Communist Parties have disputed the orthodox view that the Hungarian uprising was the work of western agents.

Molotov referred to the bread-and-freedom uprising last summer at Poznan, Poland, and the anti-Soviet revolt in Hungary last fall.

Molotov immediately opposed by a young Communist official from the industrial city of Sverdlovsk, A. P. Kyrilenko. He was a political unknown until this session.

"There are people in our own party responsible for the recent outcry against the Soviet Union," Kyrilenko declared.

He meant the so-called conservatives were responsible for the Hungarian uprising and the wave of anti-Soviet feeling that followed.

Khrushchev, faced with Molotov's challenge, spoke for three hours June 23. He made these points:

• Molotov with the three other purged leaders, Georgi Malenkov, Lazar Kaganovich and Dmitri Shepilov, formed an anti-Party (anti-Khrushchev) group with headquarters in Moscow and with ramifications throughout the Soviet Union.

• Molotov, backed by Kaganovich and Shepilov, used the Soviet Foreign Ministry and embassies abroad as instruments for the execution of personal policy.

Khrushchev charged that Molotov thus snarled attempts at rapproachment with President Tito of Yugoslavia in 1954 before Khrushchev visited Belgrade in an attempt to patch up relations.

The Party Secretary said that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles "once claimed the USSR tried for months to torpedo the disarmament talks."

"Unfortunately," Khrushchev continued, "this imperialist statesman was practically right. Only it was not the Soviet Union which tried to torpedo the talks but Molotov, Kaganovich and Shepilov."

• Molotov especially disturbed relations with other

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Communist parties and split the Soviet bloc.

At this point, Khrushchev explained the significance of the visit to Poland June 22 of Anastas Mikoyan, one of his top confidants:

Mikoyan appeared in Warsaw to tell Wladislaw Gomulka, Polish Party Chief, that Molotov was on his way out.

This was in the form of an apology for a face-to-face row at a secret meeting between Gomulka and Soviet Party leaders in Moscow the weekend of May 26.

(This conflicted with versions previously printed in the West that Mikoyan apologized for a row between Khrushchev and Gomulka.)

Khrushchev's denunciation of Malenkov was based on Malenkov's opposition to the decentralization of Soviet industry and agriculture.

(Warsaw sources pointed out, however, that it was Malenkov who began the decentralization trend when he became Premier after Stalin's death.)

All four men spoke during the debate, but on June 28 all confessed they consciously or subconsciously held a desire to reinforce their positions in the Party and to take over power by anti-Party methods.

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Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

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"Communist International"

UP130
ADD 3 RUSSIA (UP81)
MEANTIME, SEN. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY KD-MINN.
MEANTIME, SEN. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY (D-MINN.), A MEMBER OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE,SAID IN A STATEMENT THAT "THE DIRECTION AND MOTIVATION" OF THE LATEST SOVIET SHAKEUP "WILL HAVE PROFOUND EFFECTS."
HE SAID "THE KREMLIN HAS NOW TAKEN ONE MORE STEP FORWARD IN DEVELOPING THE APPEAL OF THEIR NEW INTERNATIONAL APPROACH. THIS IS THEIR GREATEST MOVE SO FAR IN THEIR EFFORT TO BLOT OUT THE STAIN OF HUNGARY AND TO RESUME THEIR POST-STALINIST TACTICS OF SWEET REASONABLENESS."
HUMPHREY SAID, "FROM NOW ON WE WILL HAVE TO FACE A NEW EMPHASIS ON DIPLOMATIC SUBTLETY AND POLITICAL FLEXIBILITY."
FOR THAT REASON, HE SAID, "IT IS ABSOLUTELY IMPERATIVE THAT OUR OWN GOVERNMENT COLLECT ITS THOUGHTS AND GET ITS OWN VIEWS IN FOCUS. THE NEW SOVIET PURGE ADDS UP TO A NEW SOVIET CHALLENGE, ONE THAT MAKES OUR JOB TOUGHER, NOT EASIER. THE SOONER THE ADMINISTRATION UNDERSTANDS THIS, THE BETTER."
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Communist International

UP54
MOSCOW--A MASS MEETING OF WORKERS IN THE URALS MOUNTAIN CITY OF "MOLOTOV" PETITIONED THE SUPREME SOVIET TODAY TO RENAME THEIR TOWN.
THE PETITION ASKED THAT MOLOTOV BE GIVEN BACK ITS PRE-REVOLUTIONARY NAME OF PERM.
THIS WAS THE FIRST OF WHAT IS EXPECTED TO BE A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF MOVES TO DELETE THE NAMES OF RUSSIA'S DISCREDITED LEADERS FROM THE MAPS.
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ADD RUSSIA, MOSCOW
KAGANOVICH WAS BEING SINGLED OUT FOR PARTICULAR CRITICISM. A PARTY MEETING AT KIEV DENOUNCED HIM FOR LAZINESS, HIGH-HANDEDNESS AND IGNORANCE.
EXPULSION OF THE OUSTED LEADERS FROM PARTY MEMBERSHIP WAS A FOREGONE CONCLUSION.
ASIDE FROM SUCH EXTREME MEASURES AS ARREST AND TRIAL, THEY ALSO COULD BE BANISHED FROM THE MOSCOW AREA, DEPRIVED OF ALL OFFICIAL HONORS AND DECORATIONS AND EXPELLED FROM MEMBERSHIP IN PARLIAMENT.
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4 Deposed Russians Hit for 'Treachery'

Also Accused Of Endangering Red Defenses

MOSCOW, July 5 (AP).—The Soviet Army today accused the four deposed Kremlin leaders of treachery and of threatening to undermine the Soviet Union's defenses.

These grave charges appeared in Red Star, official newspaper of the Soviet Defense Ministry headed by Marshal Georgi Zhukov.

Satellites Demonstrate in Support of Purge. Page A-3
Peiping Radio Indorses Russian Shakeup. Page A-3

The campaign of denunciation against the four picked up momentum at meetings and rallies throughout the Soviet Union.

Lazar Kaganovich, one of the four leaders, was singled out for new and stronger accusations, which could foreshadow legal action against him.

The army and navy publicly announced their indorsement of Nikita Khrushchev in his ousting of Kaganovich, V. M. Molotov, Georgi Malenkov and Dmitri Shepilov from their high posts.

Accused of Undermining

Red Star declared the four were guilty of "fractional activity" aimed at "undermining the basis of the Soviet Union's defensive capacity, to shake the unity of the people and army, which would have been of benefit to the enemies of our state—the imperialists and aggressors."

The article also referred to "treacherous activities" by the four leaders.

(Moscow Radio, heard in London, announced tonight that Mikhail Pervukhin and Maxim Suburov have been relieved of their duties as deputy premiers.

(Pervukhin, an economic expert, was demoted to candidate membership in the Presidium in Wednesday's shakeup. Suburov, a top economic planner, was dropped entirely.)

The accusation against Kaganovich was made by Nikifor T. Kalchenko, Premier of the Ukrainian republic of the USSR.

Kalchenko said Kaganovich had made "grave and unfounded accusations" against the leaders of the Ukrainian republic. Kalchenko said this was done while Kaganovich was secretary of the central committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party under Stalin's reign.

Ukraine Damage Cited

"He leveled grave, unfounded accusations against many leading executives and representatives of the foremost Ukrainian intelligensia," Kalchenko said. "Had Kaganovich not been recalled from the Ukraine in good time he would have wreaked tremendous damage to the Ukrainian Communist Party and the Ukrainian people."

Kalchenko's accusations were made at a meeting of party propaganda workers in Kiev yesterday and published in Pravda and other papers today.

Marshal Zhukov, who vaulted into the membership of the policy making presidium in the Kremlin shakeup, told the Russian people the Soviet armed forces will rally solidly around the Communist Party.

In a speech which appears in all the papers, he said the Soviet army, navy and air force would "defend our state to their last breath."

Until the Kaganovich accusation was voiced Molotov had been the most bitterly accused of the four leaders.

But the big question in Mos-

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cow today was what was going to happen to the four.

Going to Czechoslovakia

Khrushchev and Premier Bulganin packed their bags for a trip to Czechoslovakia.

Meanwhile, Deputy Premier A. I. Mikoyan, the first top Soviet official to talk to Westerners since the announcement of the high level shakeup, said the changes were a victory for the forces of "peace, friendship and co-existence."

Western reaction to the downfall of Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich and Shepilov still was mixed, but generally a wait-and-see attitude continued to prevail.

While Mikoyan spoke with reporters yesterday at a Fourth of July reception at the American Embassy, it was announced that Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich had been fired from their government jobs. Shepilov, who held no government position, was not mentioned. It had earlier been announced that all four were ousted from their Communist Party posts although not from the party.

Reports from Polish sources in Warsaw that Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich had been placed under house arrest could not be confirmed in Moscow. The Polish accounts said Shepilov was still at liberty.

An official announcement said Khrushchev and Bulganin would leave Monday for their scheduled visit to Czechoslovakia. This was seen as an obvious move to show that everything in the Kremlin was under control.

Molotov, one of Stalin's last surviving Bolshevik comrades, had been a First Deputy Premier and Minister of State Control. Malenkov, Stalin's successor as Premier until Khrushchev bounced him, was a First Deputy Premier and Minister of Electric Power Stations. Kaganovich was a First Deputy Premier and recently had been referred to as Minister of Building Materials.

A Moscow radio broadcast said Alexei S. Pavlenko had been given Malenkov's power station post. Pavlenko was Malenkov's predecessor in the job and served as deputy minister while Malenkov headed the ministry.

"Stern Punishment" Mentioned

In announcing the ouster of the three officials from their government positions, a Moscow radio commentator declared history has shown that the "sternest possible punishment" is the correct way to deal with party deviationists.

Mikoyan summed up the sweeping shakeup with the statement that the ousted leaders "wanted to change our policy . . . we did no."

"We want peace, friendship and co-existence," he said. "There is no change in this policy."

Mikoyan reiterated the charges of deviationism and collusion that the party Central Committee already had brought against the deposed leaders, but did not offer much elaboration on the shakeup.

Mikoyan, Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko and Nikolai M. Shvernik, newly named member of the presidium, were the only Soviet officials at the American reception. Last year Bulganin, Khrushchev and several other members of the presidium attended.

The London Daily Express today quoted Jacob Malik, Soviet Ambassador to Britain, as saying the Soviet shakeup had been completed.

Express Columnist William Hickey said Malik told him at a dinner in London: "There will be no more changes, I can assure you. I was present in Moscow when the recently published changes were announced privately. I talked to Khrushchev about them and I know."

Polish newspapers splashed the news of the government ouster of the officials across their front pages and the government newspaper Zycie Warszawy declared that "events in Moscow fill us with optimism." It added that the ouster of the Kremlin officials "is an achievement extending in its importance far beyond the frontiers of the USSR."

Leaders of Communist East European nations were quick to indorse the dismissals.

The Moscow man-on-the-street generally was guarded in his comments, but some in the groups that clustered at street corners to read news bulletins expressed the Russian equivalent of "they had it coming to them."

Moscow radio last night had some criticism for Western press accounts of the firings.

"No matter how much certain Western propagandists may like to represent the exposure of the antiparty group as a rift in the party," said the broadcast, "they will not succeed. Because not only in the party as a whole, but in its Central Committee, there was no sign of a rift."

In another broadcast, Moscow radio announced that the Soviet Union is going to let individual collective farmers keep the produce they get from their personal holdings. Each worker on a collective farm is allowed a small portion of ground where he can plant crops and raise livestock as he likes. Previously he has been required to turn over a portion of this to the state, and one of the charges against Molotov and his cohorts was that they opposed Khrushchev's plan to abolish this requirement.

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Khrushchev's Revolution

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Why anybody, including the State Department and the CIA and other expert bodies, should have assumed that the death of Stalin also meant the death of autocracy in Russia, is not understandable.

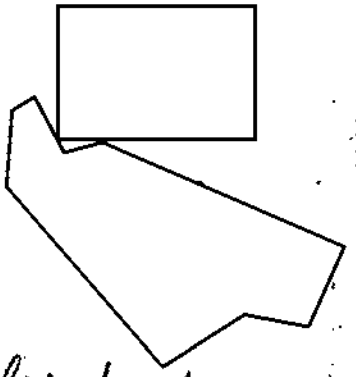
For a thousand years, the Russian form of government has been autocratic. It is a normal response of the Russians to the need for a governmental system. The great heroes of Stalin were Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great —absolute autocrats.

Lenin succeeded where others failed because he pursued the course of traditional autocracy, setting up a substitute for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Politburo and retaining in all its sinister characteristics the Czarist secret police, the Okhrana, by changing the name, first to Cheka and then to a number of other names, including the infamous one of G.P.U.

STALIN

Stalin continued the autocracy but made it tighter than Lenin could do with his Western European training. Stalin murdered lavishly. He tolerated no dissent, no personal ambitions, no criticism, no debate.

Khrushchev is Stalin's successor and has, from his emergence, followed Stalin's course, but like a grandson in a grey business suit instead of in a revolutionist's uniform. The so-called de-Stalinization campaign which Khrushchev launched could only fool Western governments. If Khrushchev de-Stalinized anybody, it was only to become Stalin's successor and heir—to seize power and to make himself a Czar.



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To throw Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovitch out of his government was not difficult. If they resisted, he could order them to be killed. Had he not possessed the power to kill them, he would not have risked deposing them. He now knows the extent of his power.

These three are symbols of another regime and that is their essential crime. Molotov and Kaganovitch are old Bolsheviks, going back to the 1917 revolution. They were revolutionists and Bolsheviks before Khrushchev was out of his diapers. Molotov served under Lenin and Stalin; Kaganovitch was Stalin's brother-in-law. Furthermore Kaganovitch is a Jew and Khrushchev hates Jews. He comes from the border area between the Ukraine and Russia, where pogroms on Jews were always fiercest.

Khrushchev was Stalin's hatchet man in the Ukraine, a common murderer in his younger years, and Malenkov was the man who transmitted Stalin's orders to him. Malenkov was Stalin's private secretary. Khrushchev, who now poses as more liberal, needs no witnesses in the Presidium to his former infamy. He may not need such witnesses anywhere; then they will die, of course.

For the United States, this is not good news. Khrushchev gets drunk readily and when drunk he is a nasty guy. That gay, thoughtful, fat shopkeeper type that you saw on the television show is Khrushchev sober; drunk he is a cursing, snarling beast.

Such a man could be a menace when he rules unchecked in a world that is always on the brink of war, particularly in an era of A-bombs and H-bombs.

There is another side to this picture. It is the absolute evidence from the course of events that disturbances not only in Soviet Russia but in the entire Communist world are intense and desperate. We can only hope that they get worse, much worse.

0-19 (11-22-55)

O Communist International

U. S. Skeptical On Soviet Purge

The State Department today expressed skepticism about any policy changes that may follow the shakeup in the Soviet leadership announced Wednesday.

"The proof of the pudding is in the eating," Press Officer Lincoln White said today.

"If you are to take the communique at face value the people concerned (removed) have been accused of opposing policies looking toward easing international tensions and the strengthening of the peace. You will recall these people were charged, for example, with obstruction of policies looking toward the conclusion of the Austrian state treaty.

"If you take this at face value, the proof of the pudding will be to see whether or not the Soviet Union will now proceed with practical measures directed toward achieving just solutions to such important international problems as disarmament and German reunification and whether or not the Soviet Union will now conduct itself in the foreign field in such a way as to permit peace and stability in areas now afflicted by tensions.

"One such obvious area is the Middle East."

The new United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Llewellyn Thompson, is still in Vienna winding up his affairs as Ambassador to Austria. The top American representative in Moscow is Richard H. Davis, counsellor and charge d'affaires.

Mr. White told newsmen that what the Kremlin changes "will add up to remains to be seen."

He noted that there had been "considerable interest in the Soviet changes."

The biggest question under discussion among Washington officials is the role of Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Georgi Zhukov. He was elevated to full membership in the Communist Party Presidium, presumably indicating approval by the Soviet military of the party and government changes.

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Peiping Backs Soviet Purge

HONG KONG, July 5 (AP).—Red China gave full approval and support today to the Soviet Union's purge of leading Communists, Peiping Radio reported.

The Chinese Communist party said the Kremlin purge would "help to further the unity and consolidation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," the broadcast added.

The Chinese Communists sent this message to the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee:

"We thank you for informing us through Comrade P. F. Yudin (Soviet ambassador to Peiping) of the resolution passed at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from June 22 to 28 on the anti-party group of (Georgi) Malenkov, (Lazar M.) Kaganovich and (V. M.) Molotov.

"We believe that this resolution, passed unanimously at the plenary meeting . . . will help to further the unity and consolidation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

"The Communist Party of China will consistently unite closely with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to struggle together for further strengthening the great fraternal alliance between China and the Soviet Union for lasting world peace and for the triumph of the cause of Marxism-Leninism."

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Date JUL 5 1957
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0-19 (Rev. 9-7-56)

Pravda Warns Leninism Foes

MOSCOW, July 3 (AP)—Pravda warned today no Communist can expect to retain a party post if he is hostile to Leninism or the decisions of the 20th party Congress—and that no Communist is too big to be expelled from the party.

The 20th congress in February, 1956, was the one at which Communist boss Nikita Khrushchev denounced Stalin.

(The Pravda warning came before announcement of a shakeup in the Kremlin hierarchy.)

Pravda carried an editorial and a full-page article on the subject of dissensions in party ranks and the needs for unshakable unity. It threatened expulsion from the party of any individual, "no matter how big," for mistakes or misdeeds.

"The policy of principle is the only right policy," Pravda said. "The bedrock principle of Communists is never to depart in anything from the common general party interests.

"It was this only right principle that the party, and its founder, Lenin, always took as their guide in treatment of anyone who disregarded the will of the party and its interests or opposed its line, no matter how great the services and prestige of these people, nor how high their position."

Pravda recalled that Lenin did not hesitate to condemn one of his closest associates, Georgi V. Plekhanov, one of the prerevolution organizers of the Russian Socialist Democratic Labor Party.

It said two other prominent revolutionary leaders of 1917, Leo Kamenev and Gregory Zinoviev, similarly were condemned by Lenin when they disagreed with the Bolshevik plan for armed uprising.

"Lenin saw joint action as the party's supreme weapon in the struggle for the socialist revolution," Pravda said.

Pravda warned against party members' discussion of ideas contrary to Marxism-Leninism.

"The Communist Party is not a discussion club. It is a militant organization of the working people."

Pravda warned the party cannot admit "that under the disguise of freedom of criticism or expression of opinions" topics contrary to Leninist tenets can be discussed in party rallies, meetings or the press.

"Our party always has suppressed any attempts to shake the unity of party ranks or to divert the party from its correct path, no matter from whom these attempts emanated," said the editorial.

Thus, full support must be given to the Leninist instruction that "the political actions of the party must be united, and no appeals which violate the unity of its actions are admissible," the editorial said.

The paper rejected the Western view that the renunciation of Stalin in 1956 would cause confusion throughout Communist ranks.

"The whole of our multimillion party approved the measures aimed at eliminating the personality cult, resolutely did away with the mistakes of the past period, and now is leading the country along the path of new victories," Pravda said.

Individuals and groups which still oppose decisions of the party Central Committee must be exterminated, it asserted.

"It would be a big error to believe that we are assured against the appearance among us of separate groups or individuals who do not agree with the party line," Pravda said.

The editorial concluded with a demand that "every Communist stand guard and strengthen the unity of our party, whose strength and authority were never higher than now."

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Date JUL 4 1957

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Communist International

Text of Soviet Party Communique

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Reuters

Following is the text of the Soviet Communist Party communique announcing the dismissals from the Party presidium, as broadcast in English by Moscow radio.

The resolution of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the anti-party group of G. M. Malenkov, L. M. Kaganovich and V. M. Molotov—

At its meetings of the 22d-29th of June, 1957, the plenum of the Central Committee Communist Party of the Soviet Union considered the question of the anti-party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov which had formed within the presidium of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U.

At a time when the party, led by the Central Committee and supported by the people as a whole, is doing enormous work to put into effect the historic decisions of the 20th Congress designed to develop further the national economy and steadily raise the standard of living of the Soviet people, to reestablish Leninist norms in party life, to do away with violations of revolutionary law, to extend the link between the party and the masses, to promote Soviet socialist democracy, to consolidate friendship among the Soviet peoples, to pursue a correct national policy, and in the sphere of foreign policy to relax international tensions in order to secure a lasting peace, and when notable progress is being made in all these fields, progress well known to every Soviet citizen, the anti-party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov came out against the party line.

Attack on Party Line

Seeking to change the Party's political line, this group used anti-party fractional methods in an attempt to change the composition of the Party's leading bodies, elected by the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This was not accidental. In the last three or four years, during which the Party has been steering a resolute course towards rectifying the errors and shortcomings born of the personality cult and waging a successful struggle against the revisionists of Marxism-Leninism, both in the international sphere and inside the country, years during which the Party has done appreciable work to rectify distortions of the Leninist national policy committed in the past, the members of the anti-party group now laid bare and fully exposed have been offering constant opposition, direct or indirect, to this course approved by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The group attempted in effect to oppose the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, of relaxing international tension and establishing friendly relations between the U. S. S. R. and all the peoples of the world. They were against the extension of the rights of the Union republics in the sphere of economic and cultural development and in the sphere of legislation and against enhancing the role of the local Soviets in the fulfillment of these tasks.

Development Resisted

Thereby, the anti-party group resisted the Party's firm course towards the more rapid development of economy and culture in the national republics, a course insuring the further promotion of Leninist friendship between all the people of our country.

Far from understanding the Party's measures aimed at combating bureaucracy and reducing the inflated state apparatus, the antiparty group opposed them. On all these points, it came out against the Leninist principle of democratic centralism being implemented by the Party.

The group persistently opposed and soght to frustrate so vastly important a measure as the reorganization of industrial management and the setting up of economic councils in the economic areas, approved by the whole of the Party and the people.

They refused to understand that at the present stage, when progress in Socialist industry has assumed a tremendous scale and continues at a high rate, the development of heavy industry receiving priority, it was indispensable to find new, better forms of industrial management such as would bring out greater reserves and guarantee an even more powerful rise in Soviet industry.

The group went to far as to continue its struggle against the reorganization of industrial management, even after the approval of the above measures in the course of the country-wide discussions and the subsequent adoption of the law at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Against New System

With regard to agricultural problems, the members of the group showed lack of understanding of the new, pressing task. They would not recognize the necessity of increased material incentives for the collective farm peasantry in expanding output of agricultural products.

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They objected to the abolition of the old bureaucratic system of planning on the collective farms and to the introduction of a new system of planning, such as would release the initiative of the collective farms in carrying on their economy, a measure which has already yielded positive results.

They drifted so far away from reality as to be unable to see the actual possibility of abolishing at the end of this year obligatory deliveries of farm produce by collective farmers from their individual plots.

The implementation of this measure, which is of vital importance for the millions of the working people of the U. S. S. R., was made possible by substantial progress in socially owned livestock breeding at the collective farms and by the advancement of the state farms.

Instead of supporting this pressing measure, the members of the anti-party group opposed it. They carried on an entirely unwarranted struggle against the Party's appeal, vigorously supported by the collective farms, regions and republics, to overtake the U. S. A. in the next few years in per capita output of milk, butter and meat.

'An Overbearing Attitude'

Thereby, the members of the anti-party group demonstrated an overbearing attitude to the urgent, vital interests of the broad masses of the people and lack of faith in the enormous potentialities of socialist economy in the country-wide movement now going on for a speedy increase in milk and meat production.

It cannot be considered accidental that Comrade Molotov, a member of the anti-party group, who manifested a conservative and narrow-minded attitude, far from realizing the necessity of making use of virgin lands, resisted the raising of 35 billion hectares of virgin land, an enterprise which acquired such tremendous importance in the economy of our country.

Comrades Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov put up a stubborn resistance to the measures which the Central Committee and the whole of our Party were carrying out to do away with the consequences of the personality cult, to eliminate the violations of revolutionary law that had been committed, and provide such conditions as would preclude their recurrence.

Turned 'a Deaf Ear'

Whereas the workers, collective farmers, our glorious youth, our engineers and technicians, scientific workers, writers and all our intellectuals unanimously supported the measures which the party was putting into practice in accordance with the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, whereas the entire Soviet people had joined the vigorous effort to carry those measures into execution, whereas our country is going through a powerful rise in popular activity and a fresh surge of creative energy, the members of the anti-party group kept turning a deaf ear to this creative movement of the masses.

In the sphere of foreign policy, the group, in particular Comrade Molotov, showed narrow-mindedness and hampered in every way the implementation of the new pressing measures intended to ease international tension and promote universal peace.

For a long time, Comrade Molotov, in his capacity as Foreign Minister, far from taking, through the ministry of foreign affairs, measures to improve relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia, repeatedly came out against the measures which the Presidium of the Central Committee was carrying out to improve relations with Yugoslavia.

Comrade Molotov's erroneous stand on the Yugoslav issue was unanimously condemned by the plenary meeting of the central committee of the CPSU in July, 1955, as not being in line with the interests of the Soviet state and the socialist camp and not conforming to the principles of Leninist policy.

Raised Obstacles

Comrade Molotov raised obstacles to the conclusion of the state treaty with Austria and the improvement of relations with that country which lies in the center of Europe. The conclusion of the Austrian treaty was largely instrumental in lessening international tension in general.

He was also against normalization of relations with Japan, while that normalization has played an important part in relaxing international tension in the Far East. He opposed the fundamental proposition worked out by the Party on the possibility of preventing wars in the present conditions, on the possibility of different ways of transition to socialism in different countries, on the necessity of strengthening contacts between the C.P.S.U. and progressive parties abroad.

Comrade Molotov repeatedly opposed the Soviet government's indispensable new steps in the defense of peace and the security of nations. In particular, he denied the advisability of establishing personal contacts between the Soviet leaders and the statesmen of other countries, which is essential for the achievement of mutual understanding and better international relations.

On many of the above points, Comrade Molotov's opinion was supported by Comrade Kaganovich and in a number of cases by Comrade Malenkov.

Patience Unrewarded

The Presidium of the Central Committee and the Central Committee as a whole exhaust-

ly corrected them and combated their errors, hoping that they would draw proper lessons from the errors, that they would not persist in them and would fall into step with the whole of the Party's leading body. Nevertheless, they maintained their erroneous anti-Leninist position.

What underlies the attitude of Comrades Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov, which is at variance with the Party line, is the certain fact that they were and still are shackled by old notions and methods, that they have drifted away from the life of the Party and country, failed to see the new conditions, the new situation, take a conservative attitude, stubbornly cling to obsolete forms and methods of work that are no longer in keeping with the interests of the advance towards communism, rejecting what is born of reality itself and is suggested by the interests of the progress of Soviet society, by the interests of the entire Socialist camp.

Both in internal problems and in matters of foreign policy they are sectarian and dogmatic, and they use a scholastic, inert approach to Marxism-Leninism. They fail to realize that in the present conditions living Marxism-Leninism in action and the struggle for communism manifest themselves in the execution of the decisions of the 20th Party Congress, in the steady carrying out of the policy of peaceful coexistence, the struggle for friendship among peoples and the policy of the all-round consolidation of the Socialist camp, in better industrial management, in the struggle for the fullest possible advancement of agriculture, for an abundance of food, for large-scale housing construction, for the extension of the rights of the Union Republics, for the flourishing of national cultures, for the all-round encouragement of the initiative of the masses.

Started a Struggle

Seeing that their erroneous statements and actions were constantly rebuffed in the Presidium of the Central Committee, which has been consistently putting into practice the line set by the 20th Party Congress, Comrades Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov embarked on a group struggle against the Party leadership.

Entering into collusion on an anti-Party basis, they set out to change the policy of the Party, to drag the Party back to the erroneous methods of leadership condemned by the 20th Party Congress. They resorted to methods of intrigue and formed a collusion against the Central Committee.

The facts revealed at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee show that comrades Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov, as well as comrade Shepilov who joined them, having embarked on the path of fractionary struggle, violated the Party statutes and the decision of the 10th Party Congress on Party unity, drafted by Lenin, which says:

"In order to effect strict discipline within the Party and in all Soviet work and to achieve maximum unity in eliminating all fractionary activity, the Congress empowers the Central Committee to apply in cases of breach of discipline or of a revival or toleration of fractionary activity, all Party penalties including expulsion from the Party, and in respect of members of the Central Committee their reduction to the status of alternate members, or even as an extreme measure, their expulsion from the Party.

"A precondition for the application of this extreme measure to members of the Central Committee, alternate members of the Central Committee and members of the Control Commission shall be the convening of a plenary meeting of the Central Committee and all members of the Control Commission should be invited. If such a general meeting of the most responsible party leaders recognizes by a two-thirds majority the necessity of reducing a member of the Central Committee to the status of alternate member or his expulsion from the Party, then this measure shall be carried out immediately."

This Lenin resolution makes it obligatory for the Central Committee and all Party organizations tirelessly to consolidate Party unity, to rebuff with determination every evidence of fractionary or group activity, to insure that the work is indeed carried out by joint effort, that it indeed expresses the unity of will and action of the vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party.

Notes Solidarity

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee notes with great satisfaction the monolithic unity and solidarity of all the members and alternate members of the Central Committee and the members of the Central Auditing Commission of the C. P. S. U., who have unanimously condemned the anti-party group.

Not a single member of the plenum of the Central Committee supported the group.

Faced with unanimous condemnation of the anti-party activities of the group by the plenary meeting of the Central Committee, in a situation where the members of the plenum of the Central Committee unanimously demanded the removal of the members of the group from the Central Committee and their expulsion from the Party, they admitted the existence of a collusion and the harmful nature of the anti-Party activities and committed themselves to complying with the party decisions.

Activities Condemned

The view of the foregoing and guided by the interests of all-round consolidation of the Leninist unity of the party, the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has resolved:

1. To condemn as incompatible with the Leninist principles of our party the fractionary activities of the anti-party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov and of Shepilov who joined them.

2. To exclude comrades Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov from membership in the Presidium of the Central Committee and from the Central Committee; to remove Comrade Shepilov from the post of Secretary to the Central Committee and to exclude him from the alternate membership of the Presidium of the Central Committee and from membership in the Central Committee.

The unanimous condemnation of the fractionary activities of the antiparty group of Comrades Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov by the Central Committee of the party will serve to further consolidate the unity of the ranks of our Leninist Party, to consolidate its leadership, to promote the struggle for the general line of the Party.

The Central Committee of the Party calls on all Communists to rally still more closely around the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism, to bend all their energies to the successful fulfillment of the tasks of Communist construction.

Adopted on 29th June, 1957, by the unanimous vote of all the members of the Central Committee, the alternate members of the Central Committee and the members of the Central Auditing Commission, with one abstention, in the person of Comrade Molotov.

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Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
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Mr. Tamm
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Mr. Nease
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Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

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UP94
(RUSSIA)
GOVERNMENT AND DIPLOMATIC SOURCES HINTED THAT TROUBLE HAS BEEN BREWING INSIDE THE KREMLIN, POSSIBLY FORESHADOWING A SHAKE-UP IN THE SOVIET HIGH COMMAND.

THEY BELIEVE THAT SOMETHING HAS BEEN GOING ON WITHIN THE SOVIET HIERARCHY FOR SOME TIME AND WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF IT COMES TO A HEAD AT ANY MOMENT -- OR PERHAPS MAY HAVE DONE SO BUT HAS NOT YET BEEN ANNOUNCED.

THEY CITED AN ARTICLE IN TODAY'S PRAVDA, COMMUNIST PARTY ORGAN, CALLING FOR UNITY AMONG ALL MEMBERS OF THE PARTY, INCLUDING "THE PEOPLE AT THE TOP."

THEY ALSO CITED THE RECENT POSTPONEMENT OF AN AIR REVIEW AND CANCELLATION OF A SCHEDULED TRIP TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY SOVIET PREMIER NIKOLAI BULGANIN AND COMMUNIST PARTY BOSS NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV.

THESE THREE DEVELOPMENTS STRENGTHENED THE CONCLUSION OF EXPERTS HERE THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERSHIP IS SPLIT BY DISSENSION.

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UP68
(PRAVDA)
MOSCOW--PRAVDA TODAY CRYPTICALLY DEMANDED COMPLETE UNITY AMONG ALL MEMBERS OF THE PARTY--INCLUDING "THE PEOPLE AT THE TOP."
THE LENGTHY MANIFESTO DEPARTED FROM THE USUAL EXHORTATIONS FOR "IRON DISCIPLINE AND IDEOLOGICAL UNITY" IN THAT IT REFERRED TO "THE PEOPLE AT THE TOP." THIS MEANS THE 11 MEMBERS OF THE RULING PARTY PRESIDIUM AND THE 122-ODD OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST CENTRAL COMMITTEE.
THE EDITORIAL ALLUDED TO MISTAKES MADE BY SOME OF THESE LEADING COMMUNISTS IN THE PAST FEW YEARS AND THE STEPS THE PARTY TOOK TO CORRECT THESE MISTAKES.
REFERRING TO THE PERIOD BEFORE THE 1956 COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS ORDAINED AN END TO STALINISM, PRAVDA NOTED THAT "SOME PEOPLE NOT JUSTIFYING THE TRUST IN THEM WERE EXPELLED FROM CENTRAL COMMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP."
IN THIS PERIOD, IT SAID, "THE ACTIVITY OF A NUMBER OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS INCLUDING EVEN THE ACTIVITIES OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS WERE SEVERELY CRITICIZED AT THE PLENUM'S (CONGRESS'S) CENTRAL COMMITTEE."
PRAVDA, WHICH SPEAKS WITH THE FULL AUTHORITY OF THE TOP COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP, PRESENTED THE LENGTHY AND IMPORTANT THEORETICAL PIECE IN TWO SECTIONS ON THE FRONT PAGE AND INSIDE OF TODAY'S ISSUE.
THE COMMUNIST PARTY EDITORIAL SAID THE PRACTICE OF CONDEMNING DEVIATIONS DOESN'T PRECLUDE DISCUSSION AND CONTINUOUS EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS BETWEEN PARTY MEMBERS.
IT NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT "THE PARTY IS NOT A DISCUSSION CLUB BUT A FIGHTING POLITICAL ORGANIZATION."
IT DECLARED THE PARTY WOULD NOT ALLOW FACTIONALISM AND ANTI-LENINIST TENDENCIES TO ARISE WITHIN ITS RANKS.
AT THE SAME TIME, THE EDITORIAL SAID THERE ARE STILL DOGMATISTS "WHO WOULD LIKE TO TURN THE PARTY BACK TO INCORRECT METHODS OF LEADERSHIP WHICH WERE CONDEMNED AT THE TWENTIETH CONGRESS (IN FEBRUARY 1956)."
IT INDICATED THAT THE PARTY OPPOSES THESE PEOPLE AS WELL AS THOSE INCLINED TO EXCESSIVE FREE DISCUSSION.
MOSCOW RADIO BROADCAST A LENGTHY ACCOUNT OF THE EDITORIAL.
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ADD PRAVDA, MOSCOW

THE EDITORIAL PARTICULARLY REFERRED TO PAST ~~ERRORS~~ ERRORS ATTRIBUTED TO FORMER PREMIER GEORGI MALENKOV AND FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER V. M. MOLOTOV, BUT IT MENTIONED NO NAMES.

MALENKOV SUCCEEDED THE LATE JOSEF STALIN AS PREMIER. BOTH HE AND MOLOTOV HAVE BEEN ADVOCATES OF CONTINUING THE STALIN POLICIES DENOUNCED BY THE KREMLIN GROUP LED BY COMMUNIST PARTY BOSS NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV AND PRESENT PREMIER NIKOLAI BULGANIN.

THIS WEEK BULGANIN AND KHRUSHCHEV SUDDENLY POSTPONED A TRIP TO PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, SCHEDULED TO START LAST MONDAY. IT NOW IS SUPPOSED TO BEGIN JULY 8.

(A MOSCOW DISPATCH REPORTING THE PRAVDA EDITORIAL UNDERWENT UNUSUAL DELAYS AT THE HANDS OF SOVIET CENSORS. THE MOSCOW CENSOR BROKE THE CONNECTION WHEN UNITED PRESS IN LONDON ATTEMPTED TO CALL THE U.P. BUREAU IN THE SOVIET CAPITAL.)

"THERE NOT AND THERE CANNOT BE INDIVIDUALS IN THE PARTY WHO BY VIRTUE OF THEIR HIGH POSTS WOULD BE PROTECTED FROM CRITICISM OF THEIR MISTAKES AND INSUFFICIENCIES," PRAVDA SAID.

"THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE BOLDLY DISCUSSES AND CRITICIZES ANY LEADERS OF THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT REGARDLESS OF WHO THEY ARE IF THEY COMMIT ERRORS IN THEIR WORK.

"AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TAKES DECISIVE MEASURES AGAINST ANY INDIVIDUALS IF THEIR ACTIONS AND DEEDS CONTRADICT THE PARTY'S LINE."

WESTERN EXPERTS IMMEDIATELY INTERPRETED THE BLAST AS A SIGN OF ACUTE DIFFERENCES IN THE KREMLIN LEADERSHIP AND SAID IT APPEARED A CHANGE IS UNDERWAY.

INDEPENDENT INFORMATION FROM AUTHORITATIVE COMMUNIST SOURCES IN LONDON SAID A MAJOR ANNOUNCEMENT WAS EXPECTED FROM MOSCOW SHORTLY. THE SOURCES DID NOT SPECIFICALLY LINK THEIR REPORT TO PRAVDA'S ANNOUNCEMENT TODAY.

PRAVDA MENTIONED CHARGES WHICH BROUGHT THE RESIGNATION OF MALENKOV AS PREMIER IN 1955 AND THE STRANGE "ADMISSION OF ERROR" BY MOLOTOV ON SEPT. 16, 1955.

MALENKOV ADMITTED HE WAS WRONG IN ATTACHING TOO MUCH PREFERENCE TO LIGHT INDUSTRY AND CONSUMER GOODS AS OPPOSED TO HEAVY INDUSTRY. MOLOTOV SAID HE WAS IN ERROR IN DECLARING THAT RUSSIA STILL IS ON THE "ROAD TO SOCIALISM" INSTEAD OF ALREADY THERE.

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Mr. Nease
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

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Communist International

UP131

(RUSSIA)

LONDON--POLISH CORRESPONDENTS IN MOSCOW REPORTED TONIGHT THAT GEORGI MALENKOV AND V. M. MOLOTOV HAVE BEEN EXPELLED FROM THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR DEVIATING BACK TO STALINISM, A DISPATCH FROM WARSAW REPORTED.

7/3--GE31 SP

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

0-19 (11-22-55)

Top Shakeup Reported in Russia

GEORGI MALENKOV

V. M. MOLOTOV

DMITRI SHEPILOV

L. M. KAGANOVICH

AP-wirephoto

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Communist Interference

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Wash. Star A-1
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N. Y. Daily News
Daily Worker
The Worker
New Leader

Date JUL 3 1957
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57 JUL 12 1957

London Hears Four Kremlin Heads May Roll

'No Man Too Big To Be Expelled,' Pravda Warns

MOSCOW, July 3 (AP).—Pravda warned sternly today that no man is too big to be expelled from the Communist Party.

The official party newspaper, in a prominent article and editorial calling for unshakable party unity, reminded the U. S. S. R.'s seven million Communists that Lenin did not hesitate to break "with all who did not prove susceptible to measures of education and persuasion and with all who went against the majority in the party."

(The pronouncement coincided with reports from diplomatic sources in London that a major shakeup looms in the Kremlin. Marked for demotion, said these reports, were such high-ranking Communist leaders as Georgi Malenkov, V. M. Molotov, L. M. Kaganovich and Dmitri Shepilov. The charge against them, said these sources, is that they failed to agree with Communist Boss N. S. Khruschev's drive to downgrade Stalin.

(The articles were a clear warning that the Soviet regime will tolerate no such open discussion in the Soviet Union as that which brought a flood of criticism to the regime of Mao Tze-tung in China.

Dissension Previously Reported

(Reports of dissension among Kremlin leaders have filtered through to the West for several months.

(A spokesman at the United States Embassy said that in the absence of confirmation from its own sources, he was inclined to regard them as "a trifle suspect." But he made plain that fresher news from the Soviet capital might change the Americans' present view.

(The spokesman indicated the most insistent reports of impending demotions in the Kremlin have come to British government officials.)

Pravda, in article and editorial, said Lenin himself "did not hesitate to condemn one of his closest associates," the old Communist Georgi Plekhanov, when he "betrayed the working class." It indicated there would be no hesitation now, either, about expelling any member for alleged misdeeds or mistakes.

Pravda also said there is no place in the Soviet party for support or even for discussion of any question in opposition to Marxism-Leninism.

"Not a Discussion Club"

An article and a front page editorial in Pravda said there is no place in the Soviet Communist Party for support or even discussion of any question in opposition to Marxism-Leninism.

"The Communist Party is not discussion club," Pravda said.

See PRAVDA, Page A-

PRAVDA

Continued From First Page

"It is a militant organization of working people."

Thus, added the official party newspaper, the party cannot admit "that under the disguise of freedom of criticism or expression of opinions" subjects contrary to Marxist-Leninist principles should be discussed in rallies, party meetings or the party press."

Pravda demanded strict unity within party ranks. It warned against factions which might seek the return of the "cult of personality," the current Communist description of Stalin-like one-man rule.

The newspaper threatened expulsion from the party of any individual, "no matter how big," for mistakes or misdeeds.

Party Unity Supported

"Iron discipline, high vigilance and the preservation and strengthening of ideological, political and organizational unity of the party ranks constitute the guarantee of great new victories of the Communist Party and the Soviet people," Pravda said.

In supporting party unity, the Soviet people must give "full support to Lenin's instructions that political actions of the party must be united and no appeals are possible which violate the unity of its actions," Pravda said. (This is called "democratic centralism," a Leninist doctrine which Red China also professes to embrace.)

Pravda referred repeatedly to the existence in the USSR of individuals and groups who still oppose the decisions of the Central Committee. It warned these groups must be exterminated.

Pravda dismissed any Western belief that the renunciation of Stalin in 1956 would throw the party into confusion. It said the bulk of the party approved the elimination of the "personality cult." Now, it added, "every Communist must stand guard and strengthen the unity of our party, whose strength and authority were never higher."

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Mr. Belmont
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Communist International

UP75

ADD PRAVDA, MOSCOW (UP68)

(PARTS OF THIS DISPATCH WERE HELD UP BY UNUSUAL CENSORSHIP DELAYS IN MOSCOW.)

IN ITS EDITORIAL, PRAVDA SAID SIGNIFICANTLY:

"THERE ARE NOT AND CANNOT BE INDIVIDUALS IN THE PARTY WHO BY VIRTUE OF THEIR HIGH POSTS WOULD BE PROTECTED FROM CRITICISM BY THEIR MISTAKES AND INSUFFICIENCIES. THIS WOULD CONTRADICT THE SPIRIT OF A MARX-LENINIST PARTY.

"THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE BOLDLY DISCUSES AND CRITICIZES ANY LEADERS OF THE PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT, REGARDLESS OF WHO THEY ARE, IF THEY COMMIT ERRORS IN THEIR WORK, AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TAKE DECISIVE MEASURES AGAINST ANY INDIVIDUALS IF THEIR ACTIONS AND DEEDS CONTRADICT THE PARTY'S LINE.

"THE 20TH CONGRESS NOTED IN PARTICULAR THAT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE SPOKE OUT IN GOOD TIME AGAINST ATTEMPTS TO DEVIATE FROM THE GENERAL LINE OF THE PARTY, PREFERENTIAL DEVELOPMENT OF HEAVY INDUSTRY, AS WELL AS AGAINST CONFUSIONS ON QUESTIONS OF BUILDING SOCALISM IN OUR COUNTRY AND SOME OTHER THEORETICAL QUESTIONS."

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UP111
ADD 1 RUSSIA (UP94)
THERE WAS OFFICIAL SPECULATION THAT THE PRAVDA EDITORIAL WAS AIMED AT FORMER SOVIET PREMIER GEORGI M. MALENKOV, AND FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER V.M. MOLOTOV.

AS READ HERE FROM THE ACTUAL TEXT, OFFICIALS SAID, THE EDITORIAL APPARENTLY ENDORSED KHRUSHCHEV'S LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

THEY SAID THE EDITORIAL SEEMED TO THREATEN EXPULSION OF OTHER IMPORTANT PARTY OFFICIALS. THE LANGUAGE REMINDED EXPERTS OF SIMILAR SOVIET WRITINGS IN ADVANCE OF PREVIOUS IMPORTANT EVENTS IN MOSCOW. THESE INCLUDED MALENKOV'S OUSTER AS PREMIER IN 1955, AND THE ARREST AND LATER EXECUTION OF POLICE CHIEF LAVRENTI BERIA. BERIA WAS ARRESTED IN JUNE, 1953, AND SHOT IN DECEMBER OF THE SAME YEAR FOR FAILING TO FOLLOW DECISIONS OF THE COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP.

OFFICIALS SAID THAT ONE SENTENCE IN THE EDITORIAL COULD BE READ AS POINTING THE TROUBLE FINGER AT MALENKOV AND MOLOTOV. THIS SENTENCE RECALLED THAT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY "SPOKE OUT IN GOOD TIME AGAINST ATTEMPTS TO DEVIATE FROM THE GENERAL LINE OF THE PARTY, PREFERENTIAL DEVELOPMENT OF HEAVY INDUSTRY, AS WELL AS AGAINST CONFUSIONS ON QUESTIONS OF BUILDING SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY. . ."

MALENKOV'S OUSTER AS PREMIER CAME ON THE HEELS OF THE 1954-55 DEBATE IN MOSCOW ON THE SUBJECT OF THE PRIORITY OF LIGHT VERSUS HEAVY INDUSTRY. MALENKOV WAS LINKED WITH A PLAN TO INCREASE LIGHT INDUSTRY AND CONSUMER BENEFITS IN THE SOVIET UNION. THE DAY BEFORE HIS OUSTER, A PRAVDA EDITORIAL CRITICIZED THOSE WHO QUESTIONED THE SOVIET PRACTICE OF GIVING PRIORITY TO HEAVY INDUSTRY.

AS FOR MOLOTOV, HE SPOKE OUT IN FEBRUARY, 1955, ON THE QUESTION OF SOCIALISM IN THE SOVIET UNION. HE TOOK THE POSITION THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS STILL BUILDING SOCIALISM DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE SOVIETS HAD SAID FOR YEARS THAT SOCIALISM HAD BEEN BUILT IN THE SOVIET UNION. IN THE EARLY FALL OF 1955, MOLOTOV RECANTED, AND AGREED THAT SOCIALISM HAD BEEN BUILT.

SUPPORT FOR KHRUSHCHEV WAS SEEN IN PRAVDA'S ENDORSEMENT OF ADVANCES IN SOVIET AGRICULTURE, THE RECENT REORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT AND OTHER PROJECTS IDENTIFIED WITH KHRUSHCHEV. THE FAR-RANGING TRAVELS OF KHRUSHCHEV AND PREMIER NIKOLAI A. BULGANIN WERE ALSO ENDORSED BY PRAVDA.

7/3--RH216P

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NOT RECORDED
44 JUL 8 1957

64 JUL 9 1957

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

0-19 (Rev. 9-7-55)

Reds Again Call Stalin Not So Bad

Critical Magazine Prints Apology

By B. J. Cutler

From the Herald Tribune Bureau
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MOSCOW, June 15. — The Communist party shook up today its official writers of history for being too hard on the late Josef V. Stalin and not tough enough on American "imperialists."

This became known when the magazine "Questions of History," the most influential Russian publication in its field, appeared with a new editorial board and an apology for what it had written about the former Soviet ruler.

"Questions of History" chastised itself for having taken a too "liberal" interpretation of last year's party decision to denounce the "cult of personality," a Communist term for Stalin's one-man dictatorship.

The magazine had been edited for many years by Anna M. Pankratova, who had risen to the top of the historical field here by writing glowing accounts of Stalin's life. She died last month.

Underling Blamed

It turned out today that E. N. Burdzhalov, who was pointedly referred to as the "former deputy editor," had been running the magazine and tried to "blacken Stalin's activities and depict him as an opportunist."

Burdzhalov's articles appeared last year after party leader Nikita S. Khrushchev had denounced the evil aspects of Stalin's rule. They caused a sensation at the time. Since then, Mr. Khrushchev has taken to referring to Stalin as "a great Marxist, a great fighter for communism."

The magazine's current issue was printed before Mrs. Pankratova's death and still carried her name as editor. Burdzhalov's name was missing from the masthead, which listed N. I. Matsushkin as the new deputy chief.

In the leading editorial, the new board promised to make amends and to expose the United States. It promised plenty of articles depicting the United States as intervening in Soviet affairs together with Great Britain, France and Japan.

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0-19 (Rev. 9-7-56)

THESE DAYS:

Too Many Opinions And Too Few Facts

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

THE press agents of McCall's Magazine make quite a to-do over the assumption Americans have strong opinions about Russia but are weak on their facts. They thereupon send along some pages of the magazine and want some free publicity which seems to be justified by the news of their data.

An important question asked is "What per cent (it should have been percentage in English) of the Russian people belong to the Communist Party?" It would appear that most Americans did not reply correctly from the standpoint of the editors of this magazine. What they wanted the people to say was "approximately 3 per cent." This is, of course, a nonsensical answer although it might be statistically correct. Statistics which often prove the obvious can also establish it as a fact that the obvious is idiotic.

To ask that question with sufficient accuracy in the wording to establish some meaning would be to use these phrases: "What percentage of the inhabitants of Soviet Russia accept the Marxist-Leninist doctrine as a control over their lives?" Nobody can answer that question, but it is the only one that matters. It would be as though one were to ask Americans whether they live by the tenets of Christianity without further definition.

Question Proves Nothing

The question asked by McCall's proves nothing even if 100 per cent of those replying gave 3 per cent as the answer. And for the following reasons:

1. The use of the term "Russian people" is incorrect. What is geographically termed Russia and often by such writers as myself inaccurately by habit as Soviet Russia is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) consisting of perhaps as many as 100 races and peoples, some, like the Daurians, being so vestigial as to be on the verge of disappearance; others such as the Uzbeks and Mongols being very aggressive and vivid and developing new cultures out of old traditions.

2. The Communist Party is a small, monopolistic group which dominates all peoples inside of geographic Russia and among the satellites and holds the people's power as a substitute for the dictatorship of the proletariat which the Marxists expected to establish but could not. The party is in no Western sense a political party at all, consisting principally of the top echelons of administration, men and women who are dependent for their jobs and benefits (which are enormous) upon those who are in the Politburo (now the Presidium) and who run the country under a dictator, the Secretary of the Party, who used to be Stalin and is now Khrushchev.

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The question in McCall's and the summary of answers therefore make no sense. Now we come to another question: "About how long has Russia been a communist country?" Various answers are given to this question. The editors of the magazine answer it this way:

"... Actually, this year the Soviet Government celebrates its fortieth anniversary." This is, I assume, to give the impression that Russia has been a Communist country for 40 years although it ducks the fundamental question neatly.

Call It Socialist Country

That answer is incorrect. What it means to say is that it is 40 years since the October Revolution placed Lenin and his associates in power. No one in authority in the Russian Government has ever claimed that Russia is a communist country. They say that Russia is the first socialist country, that the means of production, distribution and exchange are owned by the government, that finance capital has been extirpated, although some small phases of private capital are tolerated, such as recognized black market operations. Communism involves not government-ownership but the people's control and actually under Communism, the government should begin to wither away and in the end disappear as an unnecessary institution along with religion, racial and national differences.

The California woman who was questioned by the McCall interviewers about Communists in Russia and answered "I don't know how many there are, but it's far too many," undoubtedly gave the correct answer to all the questions from the American standpoint. Certainly the editors who criticized Americans for too many opinions and too few facts studied their facts like someone on one of the quiz programs who knows the answer in the book, but not what it means. Alas, that is so often true and it is also true that on occasion an opinion is worth more than an isolated fact. Vide Aristotle!

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Today in World Affairs

A Daily Communique to Tell Progress of 'Cold War' Urged

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, May 27.—There ought to be a daily "communique" on the way the "cold war" is going—its victories and defeats. This is how the "communique" could be written today:

1. Victory for the Communists in Formosa: The anti-American demonstrations there were "definitely organized" in advance of the riots. American officials in Formosa now say the activity may have been inspired by Chinese political elements on the island anxious to make a deal with Communist China. It was a "natural" for the Communists to try to inflame the Chinese on Formosa over the acquittal of an American soldier who killed a Chinese prowler outside his home.

Lawrence

2. Victory for the Communists in the United States: Demands are being heard that American forces be withdrawn from overseas "to save money." For several years now Moscow and Peiping have been behind that strategy. The idea is being taken up now in the American Congress, where cuts in the budget may force the withdrawal of at least one army division from overseas and possibly more. The Air Force and Navy of the United States will also be weakened. This is good news for Moscow.

3. Victory for the Communists in America: A drive is on to cause America and Britain, respectively, to stop the testing of nuclear weapons even without any agreement in advance that the Soviets will stop their tests. This crusade has been going on for several years now—helped by millions of dollars being spent in propaganda by the Soviets to influence and dupe the American and British peoples and particularly the American Congress. British Prime Minister Macmillan and Foreign Secretary Lloyd have publicly denounced the scheme as Communist in origin, but Americans are not yet fully alerted to it.

Progress in Middle East

4. Victory for the United States against the Communists: The Middle Eastern situation, where the starting of a world war has been averted, is now becoming favorable to the American viewpoint. Cyrus Sulzberger, widely known as a traveling correspondent for the "New York Times," who has been studying the Middle East and has been critical of the State Department's policy in the past, says in a Paris dispatch:

"So far, our new Middle Eastern policy seems to be working remarkably well. In varying degrees all the Arab states but Egypt and Syria indicate appreciation of the Eisenhower doctrine or at least of its intentions. Israel welcomes its pacifying effect. Moscow is visibly displeased.

"Secretary Dulles, who earned a full measure of blame for past American ineptitude in the area, deserves equal credit for the speed with which he has managed to stabilize an unpromising situation. Much, indeed, remains to be done before any permanent benefits can be measured. But we appear to have captured the initiative."

The same dispatch says that it is apparent that Syria's hostile government is weakening and Egypt's is nervously conscious of its isolation."

Yet only last February the skeptics were criticizing the Eisenhower Doctrine and many members of Congress voted reluctantly for it, believing it would not do much good.

Critics Are Silent Now

Now the critics are silent. Interest has turned away from the achievement of peace in the Middle East, and all eyes are on the Federal budget in Congress. The change in the Middle East, however, has been truly sensational. Even many of the British and French who thought it would have been better to "finish the fight" at Suez now realize that this would have meant endless guerrilla warfare and a multiplicity of situations like those that have caused the British so much anguish and expense in

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Cyprus and the French such a headache in Algeria.

The victory for American policy in the Middle East is a victory also for the sensible leaders of the Arab countries and Israel who saw in President Eisenhower an impartial leader—concerned only with the avoidance of war and the maintenance of peace.

Meanwhile, the understanding of the American viewpoint by the British and French people is growing. Unfortunately, this is the time selected by some members of Congress to cut down the services of the U. S. Information Agency. Over the week-end it was announced from London that the work of the American agency inside Britain would have to be curtailed for budget reasons. Probably this will happen also with respect to France.

Can't Afford Cable Tolls

Shortsighted members of Congress have been asking what the need is for information services to those two countries. The answer in part is that most newspapers abroad cannot afford to pay cable tolls on the full texts of America's statements of policy. The U. S. Information Agency provides these texts free. Also it is important for the U. S. Information Agency to have representatives on the spot to explain the American viewpoint to editors abroad. This effort cannot be carried on by the State Department, as it is a specialized field requiring personnel trained in that line of work. It is much better to keep it separate from the rigid rule of the diplomatic service.

America could encounter many defeats in the "cold war" if it doesn't keep up its efforts to offset the propaganda of the Communists, which, incidentally, is very intensive inside Britain and France, working constantly with "left wing" elements and misrepresenting and distorting the American viewpoint.

The "cold war" is a new game for America, and it is regrettable that so many members of Congress haven't begun to understand how effective the Communists are in it, as witness, for instance, the way they have overnight turned the Formosa situation upside down. But it isn't all over there yet either. The Nationalist government will expose the plot in due time.

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The Inquiring Fotographer

By JIMMY FIDMAIL

THE NEWS *will pay $10 for each timely, interesting question submitted and used in this column. Today's award goes to Leslie Duncan, P. O. Box 117, South Bend 24, Ind.*

THE QUESTION.

Is Communism more likely to collapse from within or will it take another World War to crush it?

WHERE ASKED.

Long Island and Manhattan.

THE ANSWERS.

Cliff Steward, Lake Success, retired: "Only a third world war, if waged successfully, can crush Communism. If the majority of people in Russia wanted to revolt, what chance would they have against the tanks and machine guns of the tremendous Red Army?"

Gene Palazzo, Staten Island, accountant: "Communism will collapse from within, but it will take many years. The one fact that history has proved conclusively is that people will eventually revolt against despotism. A peaceful revolt can be more conclusive than one achieved through violence."

Nicholas J. Thiriet, Parkchester, retired: "I'm afraid that the only way Communism can be crushed is through a horrible nuclear war. The people inside Russia have been taught Communism for 40 years. Most of them don't know what freedom is. They believe in Communism. We've got to live with Communism or crush it."

William A. Joyce, E. 138th St., Bronx inspector: "From within. It's a matter of education and propaganda. There are lots of Communists outside of Russia and her satellites. We have many of them here, right in our midst. How can we hope for an internal collapse in Russia without education.

William A. Joost, East Meadow, maintenance engineer: "There is no chance of Communism collapsing within Russia. Remember Hungary? Its patriots had small arms, but they were ruthlessly subdued by Russian tanks. We could not help them without starting World War III."

Frederick F. White, Franklin Square, foreign car dealer: "Collapse from within. We get evidences every day. The interchange in world trade and the money we are spending over there is all helping to speed the day. Russia will first lose her satellites. Then there will be an internal revolt."

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C.P. RUSSIA

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Red Press Ideal: Just Echo Party

Call U. S. Staffs 'Capital Slaves'

By B. J. Cutler

From the Herald Tribune Bureau
© 1957, N. Y. Herald Tribune Inc.

MOSCOW, May 5. — Russian newspapers today celebrated Soviet Press Day with an outpouring of self-congratulatory editorials and virulent attacks on the United States press. The holiday marked the day forty-five years ago that the Communist party newspaper "Pravda" was first published.

Among the tens of thousands of words printed about the Soviet press today were instructions to heighten the ideological contents of its pages but none to print the news with fairness and objectivity.

Communist Party Servant

"Pravda" frankly defined the role of the press as servant of the Communist party. "The most important task of our press is the propagation of the ideas of Marxism, Leninism and the Communist education of the workers," it said.

The government newspaper "Izvestia" hailed this method of running newspapers as "true freedom of the press." In the United States, it said, newspapers are owned by "a small group of millionaires and billionaires" who make journalists "slaves of capital."

"The imperialist rulers are using the press for their lowest and most disgusting lies and insinuations against [redacted] and to fan military psychosis," it added.

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'THE ROTTEN STRUCTURE WILL COLLAPSE'

Nixon Predicts Upheaval Will Kill Communism

CHICAGO, May 1. (UP)—Vice President Richard M. Nixon predicted last night that the uprisings in Poland and Hungary marked the beginning of an internal revolt that will "sweep away the Communist Empire."

Mr. Nixon spoke before the joint defense appeal of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. After the meeting, at which he received an award for promoting fair employment practices, the Vice President returned to Washington.

Mr. Nixon said the recent revolts against communist rule served as a warning to the Kremlin that the armies of its red-dominated satellites would not be reliable in the event of a decisive struggle between democracy and communism.

CAN'T SAY WHEN

In an interview, he also told United Press a great anti-communist revolution will occur, but "no one can predict when."

He said Russia's leaders know the pressures for freedom are mounting "until some day there will be a decisive revolt at the very center of the communist empire.

"When that day comes, the entire rotten structure will collapse of its own weight."

The Vice President warned against weakening this nation's force of freedom thru racial and religious discrimination.

"Kremlin propagandists seize upon every failure of the western world to live up to its ideals of liberty under law," he said. "I could give example after example of how instances of prejudice and discrimination in the United States have been used devastatingly against us in countries abroad."

"Whenever we contribute to the elimination of prejudice and discrimination in the United States, we not only help those discriminated against; we are serving the cause of freedom and striking an effective blow against communism and all forms of dictatorship," he said.

In presenting the award to Mr. Nixon, B'nai B'rith National President Philip M. Klutznick told the Vice President he "applauded without reservation" the United States decision to give Jordan $10,000,000 in aid.

"I aplaud the aid because its purpose was that men should be free," Mr. Klutznick said later. "On that basis I support help for Jordan."

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Nixon Predicts Communist Fall

CHICAGO, April 30 (AP)—Vice President Richard M. Nixon predicted tonight that a "decisive revolt" at home eventually will destroy Russia's Communist empire.

Nixon said in a speech prepared for a joint meeting of American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith that last year's uprisings in Poland and Hungary were the beginning, not the end, of an internal revolt that will ultimately sweep away the Communist empire.

"The brave fighters of Hungary were subdued by overwhelming force," Nixon said. "The people of Poland have achieved some measure of freedom, but their independence is strictly limited.

"But the fact that these uprisings occurred proves two important truths. They show that the desire for freedom is so deep in the heart of man that neither the tyranny of secret police nor the brainwashing of unending propaganda can make men believe that slavery is freedom or that lies are truth."

Nixon said these events proved "that no group in a Communist country can be considered reliable by its leaders in the event of a decisive struggle between democracy and communism.

"The leaders of the Kremlin know that their armies are not reliable," he said. "They realize that unrest and dissension are barely hidden in their colleges and universities. They are aware of grumblings and doubts in the ranks of the Communist Party itself.

"And they know that these pressures are mounting until some day there will be a decisive revolt at the very center of the Communist empire. When that day comes, the entire rotten structure will collapse of its own weight."

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These Days . . . . . By George Sokolsky

The Communists and Russia's Jews

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AMONG THE resolutions that were not passed at the recent convention of the American Communist Party was one introduced by Morris U. Schappes, dealing with antisemitism in Soviet Russia. This resolution did not come up for a vote; it was referred to the incoming National Committee for consideration. The National Committee was instructed, "in a fraternal manner," to request a statement from the Russian Communist Party explaining what has happened to the Jewish question. If such a request is ever made and it is ever answered, what will be done with the reply?

Sokolsky

The resolution presented by Schappes takes cognizance of the antisemitism that developed during the Stalin regime. It says:

". . . The distortions of the Leninist policy on the Jewish question, as part of the distortions of the national question under Stalin's rule, led to the execution of the leading Jewish cultural figures, and to the administrative liquidation of all channels for Jewish cultural expression in Yiddish in 1948 and 1949.

THE RESOLUTION explains the evils that grew up under Stalin:

"Since the Twentieth Congress in the Soviet Union, the Jewish question in the Soviet Union has been of particular concern. We who had considered that there had been a solution of the national question in general and of the problems of the Jewish people and antisemitism in particular, have become aware that the entire problem is more complex than we have hitherto thought. The liquidation of the outstanding Yiddish writers and Jewish communal and political leaders, and the snuffing out of organized Jewish cultural life have been known for some time since the Twentieth Congress. More recently, official delegations of the Canadian and British Communist parties, as well as French and American progressive journalists, after visits to the Soviet Union and discussions of the problem there, have publicly expressed dissatisfaction with the failure to restore Jewish cultural life, and also with certain views and judgments about the Jewish people expressed by individual spokesmen of the Soviet Union. From one Communist Party delegation we learn, for instance, of such disturbing views and judgments as that the Jews were not considered patriotic enough to be allowed to make the Crimea a center of Jewish recolonization after the war lest the Crimea become a place d'armes' against the USSR in case of another war, or that Jews are not loyal enough to return to the USSR from tours abroad."

OUT OF THIS discussion, two trends appear: one, that the Jew, individualistic and idealistic, found life under materialistic communism too burdensome and found means for revolting against the worst phases of it; secondly, that under Stalin, Soviet Russia reverted to pan-slavic chauvinism and that Stalin abused those minority nationalities, which he could not wipe out, by destroying their distinctive cultures.

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(ZHUKOV)

BERLIN--SOVIET DEFENSE MINISTER GEORGI ZHUKOV WARNED THE WEST TONIGHT THAT ITS PRESENT POLICY "CAN LEAD ONLY TO A NEW DEVASTATING WAR."

THE RUSSIAN MILITARY LEADER CAUTIONED "THE AGGRESSIVE IMPERIALIST CIRCLES" AGAINST UNDER-ESTIMATING THE SOVIET UNION AS HITLER DID.

ZHUKOV AND SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREI GROMYKO SPOKE AT AN EAST BERLIN RECEPTION AFTER SIGNING A SOVIET-EAST GERMAN AGREEMENT ON THE CONTINUED STATIONING OF 22 RUSSIAN DIVISIONS IN RED GERMANY TO "FRIGHTEN OFF ATTACKS" AGAINST THE COMMUNIST WORLD. THEIR SPEECHES WERE REPORTED BY THE EAST GERMAN RADIO.

GROMYKO SAID WEST GERMANS COULD CHOOSE BETWEEN GERMAN REUNIFICATION AND THEIR MILITARY ALLIANCE WITH THE WEST. HE SAID A PREREQUISITE FOR UNITY WAS NEGOTIATIONS AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE BONN GOVERNMENT AND THE COMMUNIST EAST GERMAN REGIME.

MARSHAL ZHUKOV SAID THAT THE WORKING PEOPLE OF ALL LANDS DO NOT NEED A WAR. THEY DO NOT NEED FOREIGN MILITARY BASES IN THEIR HOMELANDS, NOR DO THEY NEED MILITARY BLOCS, HE SAID.

"THE WORKING PEOPLE OF ALL LANDS NEED PEACE," ZHUKOV SAID. "IT IS NOT OUR FAULT THAT THE AGGRESSIVE IMPERIALIST CIRCLES, WHO ARE HOLDING TO THEIR COURSE OF A POLICY OF STRENGTH AND COLD WAR, STILL DO NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE AND THE RESULTS OF THEIR POLICY, WHICH CAN ONLY LEAD THE WORLD TO A NEW DEVASTATING WAR."

ZHUKOV AND GROMYKO SPOKE AFTER MEETING WITH THEIR LOCAL COUNTERPARTS, LOTHAR BOLZ AND WILLI STOPH, AT THE FORMER NAZI AIR FORCE HEADQUARTERS IN RED BERLIN TO SIGN THE TROOP TREATY.

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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Revolt Anniversary 19

By Peter Edson

FORTY years ago today the Russian revolution began with a riot for more bread in Petrograd. This was the first revolution, that overthrew the Czar. It was a revolt of moderate socialists and liberals.

Lenin was in exile in Switzerland at the time. Trotzky was in New York and Stalin was in the fourth year of Siberian prison camp. Their leadership of the second, counter-revolution to overthrow the provisional, democratic government set up under Alexander Kerensky, was eight months later.

In this period from now until the later anniversary on Nov. 7, people will be reading and writing and expecting a great deal about the past four decades of Russian communism.

Forty years aren't so long a time in history. Anyone who was an adult in World War I can remember the Russian revolutions.

There are old Bolsheviks who took part in those revolutions, who are still alive and in power. All of them operate as tho they believe they are the real leaders of the masses and have their full support.

But the third generation is now growing up under communism. And what is today considered the most significant fact about the Russian revolution of 40 years ago is that it had not produced a new Soviet man.

Basically, say those who are closest observers of the Russian scene, the Russian people still have the same old Russian mind, with the same old Russian human qualities.

They may be sick or bored by communism. They may be privately disillusioned by the lies they have been told about the revolts in East Germany, Poland and Hungary. But the Russians themselves are not considered ready for a third revolution.

* * *

MUCH has been made in the post-World War II years of Russia's technical and educational advances. It has been assumed from this that the more educated Russians would soon be ready to overthrow their communist masters.

Two facts are said to make this unlikely.

• The first is the rigid discipline in the state-controlled Soviet educational system. People need jobs to live. Students who do not submit to communist discipline can be thrown out of the universities and their means of livelihood destroyed. That keeps down intellectual revolt.

• Also, higher education in itself is not a guarantee of revolt against oppression. It is recalled that the Germans of the 1930s were as highly educated as any people in Europe. In spite of it, they followed Hitler and submitted to Nazi dictatorship.

* * *

IDEAS that communism has been changing—particularly since the death of Stalin—are now seen to be based more on hope than on reality. There was no de-Stalinization of Russia—following the Khrushchev speech to the party congress a year ago—and there has been no re-Stalinization since, say Russian analysts.

There have been certain internal changes within the USSR. The newly announced program to decentralize control of raw materials and industrial production is considered of utmost importance. It is taken to mean that the Russian leaders are beginning to learn they cannot control everything from Moscow.

Under Stalin there was this central, one-man control. But the shift away from it is an internal, national matter.

Internationally, communism is considered just what it was under Stalin. Stalin is still secure in his tomb. Khrushchev is no Stalin, but he remains in power, the best they have for the time being.

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F.B.I. Chief Warns on Reds in U.S.

He Denies Party Cut Moscow Ties

J. Edgar Hoover report—Page 12

By James E. Warner

WASHINGTON, Mar. 12. — F. B. I. director J. Edgar Hoover declared today that, despite all propaganda assertions to the contrary, the Communist party in the United States still is directed by Moscow as a part of the world-wide conspiracy having for one of its aims the overthrow of the United States government.

At the request of Sen. James O. Eastland, D., Miss., chairman of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, Mr. Hoover submitted a twenty-page report on the recent sixteenth Communist national convention in New York.

The non-Communist press was not admitted to convention proceedings, "slanted" reports of which were later released, Mr. Hoover said. From the vast amount of detail presented by him as to what went on in the convention, it was apparent that the F. B. I. had agents or other information sources at all the convention sessions.

Report Is Quoted

He opened his report with the statement that:

"The Communist party before and after its 1957 convention is part and parcel of the world-wide Communist conspiracy. It is still responsive to the will of Moscow; still works for the destruction of the American way of life and still is dedicated to building of a Soviet United States patterned after the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism. Changes in the party's constitution, organization and announced public objectives are designed to bring to an end a period of isolation from the American public caused by disclosures of their tactics and objectives. Should it succeed in further hoodwinking certain people, as it has with some success since the convention, then it will emerge stronger than it ever was and more dangerous to the peace and security of the United States."

Hypocrisy Charged

Resolutions to either uphold or condemn Soviet aggression in Hungary and to discuss with Russian Communist leaders anti-Semitism within Russia, including "liquidation of the Yiddish writers and Jewish communal and political leaders and the snuffing out of organized Jewish cultural life . . ." were shelved by the convention through reference to the party's incoming national committee, Mr. Hoover reported.

"High Communist party leaders are agreed," he said, "that the Soviet handling of the Hungarian situation and of anti-Semitism in Russia has caused a loss in party membership and that these issues will have to be met in a satisfactory manner if the party is to gain any real mass support.

"The failure of the convention to take a stand on the Soviet rape of Hungary and anti-Semi-

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F. B. I. Chief

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tism in Russia proves the hypocrisy of the American Communists' alleged declaration of independence and indicates that the American Communists in fact have not broken with the Soviet Union. Incidentally, these are facts which the party's spokesman, Mr. Simon W. Gerson, did not report to the daily press."

Mr. Hoover referred to Mr. Gerson's activities elsewhere in his report as follows:

"The 1957 convention was cloaked with secrecy despite party claims that it was '. . . being covered by the largest battery of newspaper men in the party's history.' Newsmen were not admitted to witness the convention proceedings, but were briefed by the party's spokesman, Simon W. Gerson, who has been a member of the party since 1932. Gerson very adroitly slanted the accounts of the convention to make the Communist party take on its best possible appearance to the public."

Estimate Summarized

At another point, Mr. Hoover declared:

"The 1957 convention was designed to hoodwink the public with a 'new look.' Its program is designed to enable them to develop a militant assault to accomplish their 'historic mission' of wrecking and infiltrating this nation."

The F. B. I. director summarized his estimate of the 1957 convention's objective as follows:

"1. To gain greater mass acceptance. Ever since 1950, the party has been largely underground.

"2. To thwart government prosecution.

"3. To lay a foundation for possible unity with other Left-wing groups.

"4. To create a basis for establishing more fronts.

"5. To create atmosphere for party membership recruiting.

"6. To meet growing rank and file unrest in the party.

"7. To win back the support of financial 'angels'."

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F. B. I. Chief's Report

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, Mar. 12.—Following are highlights of a report by J. Edgar Hoover, F. B. I. director, on the present status of the Communist party in the United States:

The sixteenth national convention of the Communist party o fthe United States held in New York City, Feb. 9-12, 1957, had a two-fold purpose. First, there was the necessity of re-casting the party's activities in line with the twentieth congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union held in Moscow a year ago. Secondly, the American Communist party used the convention as a means of developing its program to convey the public impression that it no longer was subservient to the Soviet Union and thus endeavored to thwart future prosecutions by the Department of Justice.

The 1957 party convention was no different from previous party gatherings which brought about revisions in the constitution of the Communist party eighteen times, and the changing of the name of the party on nine prior occasions.

Calls Reds Masters Of 'The Big Lie'

A study of the convention's deliberations discloses that the Communists are still masters of 'the big lie.' Their double talk, duplicity, and semantic gyrations make them the most dangerous and proficient masters of propaganda in the civilized world. . . .

Soviet Communist leaders have been boasting of the Communist party's expansion on a world-wide basis, and the Soviet official who closely supervises the Communist party in the United States, Mikhail Suslov, secretary, Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, last November broadcast to the world that the ". . . fraternal Communist parties are experiencing a period of great creative activity." Suslov then proclaimed, "There is no doubt that we are on the eve of a new upsurge in the activity of Communist parties in their struggle for national independence, democratic rights of their peoples, for the vital interests of the workers for peace throughout the world and for socialism."

Contrary to statements issued by its spokesmen, the Communist party in the United States has not severed its ties from the Soviet Union, but on the other hand has consolidated its position consistent with the Soviet Union's "new look." . . .

Gives Highlights Of Convention

That the Communist party has not changed its objectives one iota is attested to by the following highlights of its 1957 convention:

1. Despite a year of debate, the party retained its old name and traditional organization;

2. The party continued the majority of its old leadership;

3. The party reaffirmed its adherence to the basic concepts of Mavxism-Leninism;

4. The party reaffirmed its acceptance of "proletarian internationalism";

5. The party refused to take a stand against the Soviet rape of Hungary;

6. The party refused to take a stand against the tyranny and anti-semitism in the Soviet Union;

7. The party at no time passed any resolution during the convention declaring its independence of the Soviet Union, nor did it urge freedom in the satellites, nor did it support American foreign policy to the detriment of Soviet foreign policy, and at no time did it disavow its dependence upon the Soviet Union nor its loyalty to the Soviet Union. In fact, upon its conclusion, the Soviet-controlled press hailed the Communist party, U. S. A., for remaining loyal "to the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

8. The party reaffirmed its adherence to the basic Leninist concept of Democratic Centralism, even more than in prior conventions, through the selection of convention delegates who were primarily functionaries and who ended the convention agreeing that "the party won" and that there was "unity." . . .

Reveals Attempt At Vote Fraud

The much-heralded factional fight within the party had very little effect upon the convention as such. John Gates, for example, had long advocated changing the name of the party and its organization into a political association. This view was bitterly opposed by the pro-Soviet leaders of the party. The opposition was so bitter, in fact, that even before the convention an attempted vote fraud came to light wherein twenty ballots were doctored in the New York State

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election which would have given the Foster faction a majority over the Gates faction for delegates to the national convention. The attempted vote swindle was discovered, and there was a quick attempt to cover up the fraud and suppress the incident.

When the matter of changing the name of the party and its organization came before the convention, the pro-Soviet leaders of the party had gotten control, and debate was shut off after one hour with Gates being allowed only five minutes to present his views. That the convention was rigged is arrested to by the fact that only three comrades voted for the change while seventeen abstained from voting. Not a single state district advocated dissolution of the party, and it was no surprise that the usually loquacious Gates later commented, "It would be a brave man indeed who would dare to discuss this question after the convention." There is little doubt that the comrades were influenced by a news story in the Russian paper, "Sovyetskaya Rossiya," on Feb. 3, 1957, which was picked up by "The New York Times" on Feb. 4, 1957, under the headline, "Soviet Backs Foster's Faction, Attacks Right Wing U. S. Reds." It is known that the hard core of U. S. Communists interpreted this article as Soviet instructions to the American Communist party, since the Soviet news article charged "The Daily Worker," run by Gates, with advocating national communism.

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Communist International

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ARTICLE BY MAJOR FRANK PEASE

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COMMUNISM MEANS MASS MURDER

By Major Frank Peiss

BECAUSE mankind is saturated with obsolete ideas, superstitions, fallibles and often downright nuttiness because the minds of men are still crammed with antiquated notions that lack form, sense and direction, it is small wonder Communism's hard core of desperate characters is driving straight through the universal *status quo*, smashing the old and enforcing the "new"—that is, its own brand of madness and falsities.

But it is surprising and deplorable that a world crammed of inherited institutions and beliefs should fail to resist deeply Communism's threats of destruction. It is likewise deplorable that Americans should be content to allow their minority of leaders and rulers to continue keeping entirely in their own hands all foreign and even the ambiguous domestic defenses against Communism.

Yet is not this the tragic case? Under the sacrosanct *aegis* of "protocol, recognition and conference," every day, every month, year in, year out, the "traveling salesmen" of this government meet, confer, palaver, deter and concede, losing point after point to Communism, yielding principle upon principle to it without the slightest reference back to the people.

Major Peiss has devoted himself for the past forty years to the fight against Communism in China, Europe and his own United States. The General Staff, Army War College, School of Command and War Plans Division have valued his contributions and add to. As a soldier, he holds the Silver Star, Purple Heart and Philippines Medals, with "Special Recommendation to the President." From the morning of November 8, 1917, when the Bolsheviks seized the Russian government, he has been fighting over and beyond the "call of duty."

who are most endangered by such concessions and compromise.

Considering colonial America's stalwart background of habitual community discussion, with its direct influence upon government policy and action, how could such an irresolute condition of minority control and imbecilic deference to the murder cult of Communism have come about at all? What was the primary flaw that led to it, and what group sponsored it?

Simply those initial meetings with the Communist enemy on *terms of equality* in 1917 and 1918.

Four wars have followed. The fourth war is still going on. The fifth war looms ahead. Communism's enforced mobilization of unnumbered millions of potential soldiery means nothing less. Moscow's military empire no longer conceals—rather, has never concealed—its aims of global conquest. The epitaph on Lenin's tomb reads: "OUR TASK—WORLD REVOLUTION."

"Europe today—tomorrow the world," sounds like something heard not long ago. The world's present chaos of hazardous suspense is the result of that first acceptance of Communists as legitimate and morally rightful participants in the comity of nations. No greater mistake could have been made. This beast in the cage will some day again burst out, and the world will again know its bitterness, cruelty and terror.

With the funds from international bankers, Bolshevism triumphed over the Romanoff regime. However, it was never the equal of powers outside Russia's borders. It is not yet their equal, though it soon may be, as it now has a man-power reservoir of 900,000,000 to draft from. In 1917-18 there was no need of so treating it. The world-sundering break in history's continuity and the secular preservation of the *status quo* occurred a little later, when the world's "*Cordon Sanitaire*" was penetrated, broken down, or at most only half-heartedly maintained, owing to *de facto* "recognitions," as with those Communist trading-posts, *Torgpredstovs*, *Arcos* and *Amtorg*, Red wooden horses within the Troys of Capital. Thereafter Communism is not maintenance of history but its decapitation. That is not "history" taking place in Soviet Russia. It is assembly-line slaughter, the operation of an international hate-machine, herald of world eclipse, a sorry time for the human race.

COMMUNISM has advanced to power with such swift and gigantic strides that its current designers of world murder have long since passed the stage of essential dependence upon the stupid good will of that controlling personnel of foreign states—premiers, cabinet members, secretaries, ambassadors, consuls, United Nations savants,

and similar bureaucrats. Their previous conferences and "top secret" scenarios are no longer of such vital significance and weight. Moscow now drives through its own conspiracies with or without the world's approval. Communism is now a going concern. It has made the grade. It can now blackmail the world, and does. In any case, all these governing officials with whom they still so glibly, genially or even acrimoniously debate, discuss and imbibe, are men marked for slaughter. Under Communism they are "mere bourgeois," doomed to the last man. In Lenin's contemptuous phrase, they are but the refuse of revolution headed for the "garbage heap of history." Diplomatic immunity is only *pro tem*. Revolution itself knows no protocol. Today these bourgeois statesman but sup with death. To Communists they were never anything but stooges, mouthpieces and stalking-horses of allegedly decrepit Capitalism, which Communism is sworn to destroy.

Such "upper bracket" fraternizing, jovial camaraderie and tall-brow sophistry were only "dialectics," the Communist hieroglyph for lies. It was never Communism's real concern but only cryptic double-talk, only their deceits and treacheries, only that "first step which counts," just gate-crashing. From the beginning their ultimate aim was always at something else—something below, behind and beyond governments as such—namely, the people, the majority, the mass, the proletariat. Protocolic recognitions and their stilted sanctities, acceptance of trade delegations and purchasing agents from Soviet Russia, who, like their ambassadors and consuls, were always spies on the side—this was all in the day's work for International Murder, Unlimited. Here were the window displays on the grand scale; spectacular, exhibitionist, costly, hypocritical and traitorous, to be sure, but in reality only tactical moves toward that greater strategical conquest—their unimpeded access to the world's masses.

These masses are historically and universally directionless. Addicted to trivialities, untruths and credulities, sheer hokum their mental food, their daily absorption subjective indigestibles, they are incapable of sifting facts from falsehoods. They will believe anything if told often enough, sometimes told but once. Communism is "telling" them. Their starvation diet of printer's ink, soapbox oratory, and sundry entertainment gadgetry atrophies even the most fundamental instinct of all living forms: self-protection.

MEANWHILE, under the tolerance of supine government, Communist encroachments are steadily consolidating one of Moscow's secondary aims: the creating of an

extensive "Fifth Column." It is a tactic old as the hills, and Communism's tactic for forty years. In any anti-Soviet war domestic sabotage would be rather more calamitous than the submarine-landing of a handful of amateur young spies. For this reason it is of paramount importance to get rid of 5,000,000 people, illegally in the United States.

The government stands still, equivocally marks time, or actively cooperates with the world's deadliest enemies. It assures us "massive retaliation" is the solution for all Communist threats; but there is no retaliation out of graveyards. We are to take atomic defense for granted, assume its power, and rely upon government's sincerity of intentions. But all this bureaucratic braggadocio is far from advancing any domestic solution of Communist provocations. Something—very much, indeed—is still missing from any *total* defense, which should include domestic defense—*right in your home towns.* Trojan horses are far too numerous to ignore in this free-for-all nation.

One does not assert the "atomic ring" around Soviet Russia is misplaced, nor that it is "merely" defense at long distance; although it is still a pregnant military axiom that "the best defense is offense." It is only to surmise, judging from the strange manner by which some recent wars were launched and conducted, that this foreign-based defense is exclusively an affair of the White House, State Department and Pentagon. At the foreign periphery of national concerns, government will *handle* everything. On the foreign fighting field the regimented arms will *do* everything. In domestic opposition to Communism no one can depend upon that aggressive support from government which any broad sweep of prohibition and liquidation demands. The present drift is all the other way. Coddling and coddling is the order of the day. But it is not "capitalism" which is to blame, it is the bourgeois regime. It has never learned how to rule. Rulership includes the ability to identify its enemies, how to fend off and defeat them.

THUS for all the hypothetical military protection of America upon foreign lands, home mass defense appears of small concern to government. Save for that period during the puerile hullabaloo of campaign days, the days of lush promises, it is all but *lèse majesté* to solicit or demand emphatic government action against these inner foes. In no small degree this is the fault of anti-Communists themselves. There has long been a vital error in the kind of anti-Red opposition applied. This mistake consists in there having been a too intellectualized approach

instead of a direct and brutal appeal to the masses. It could never be as brutal as the brutal facts themselves, nor can words compensate for bloodshed. The "Counter-Revolution" (what there is of it in America) has bred its own intelligentsia. Communism has been treated with an ingratiating dignity in place of that intense hatred and unconditional contempt it deserves. "Co-existence" has been considered seriously, as though it could ever be anything but an armed truce, as if what those Jack-the-Rippers were doing were capable of doing, was anything but whetting their knives for the next victim.

Communism has been dealt with as if it were anything but an organized murder cult, a recrudescent blast out of the paleontological Pit itself. Far away (and safe) from its frightful mass shootings, its torture cells and Siberian death-traps, it has been looked upon as a political parliament, an economic doctrine, a statistical study, a sociological experiment, as endless subject matter for editorial comment and scholastic speculation; in short, as an "ideology."

This was just what Communism wanted. Such attention and analysis kept the world's eye off the ball, Communist militarism, that is, Communist mass murders. Those were not abstract preachments out of Marx but *military orders* out of Trotsky that brought Communism's victories. A "whiff of grapeshot" wields more conviction than all the ideologies ever conceived. Neither benevolence nor ballots won for Bolshevism, but Red bullets and Red bayonets split the world. Military conquests are still Communism's constant concern. Soviet Russia's heaviest expenditures are military. Moscow claims it is all for defense. But, alas, no one attacks them.

Communism does not operate within established "Rules of War." It does not even dodge the iniquity of initiating atrocities, having nothing to do with battles but which bring reprisals on its own troops, to say nothing of non-combatants. (In the Ukraine Stalin deliberately starved to death 1,000,000 farmers.) All are expendable. From 1917 it has been war to the death. There is no armistice in this "class war."

Every activity directed to arousing the masses against the Communist peril should include its *record of mass murders*. The ignorant should be informed of it, disbelievers disabused and convinced, the indifferent persuaded out of their apathy, the approvers denounced and branded for what they are: potential murderers awaiting but their own chance to murder. Lozovsky ordered: "When you see a bourgeois escaping, catch him and kill him with your own hands." These blood-stained ter-

rorists, the inner core of the Communist Party, still walk our streets unmolested, unrecognized as such, since cloaked in the Judas-garb of "ideology" or masked by "diplomatic immunity." Whether so identified or not, here are tomorrow's cutthroats and executioners.

The American people have never actually realized this seminal fact that terrorism is at the heart of the world Communist movement. Until Hungary, there has never been enough blood displayed in the record of Communism to create mass hostility to it. Its real nature has always been concealed by an opaque screen of consummate lies by Communists and fellow travelers. It has been misjudged by a timid, uninformed and often quite parochial intelligentsia who can't see the mass murders for the "ideologies". It has been labeled "The *Russian* Experiment"—a mortal sophistry for a bourgeois society, for it is neither an experiment nor a natural evolutionary unfoldment. Rather, it is the tragic spectacle of an international conspiracy of ruthless and godless men who succeeded in ambushing a state at the moment of its greatest weakness, and then remained in power through the unconscionable mistakes of the non-Communist world.

Communist imperialism gathers to itself, not for their preservation and promotion but for their exploitation and absorption, what have hitherto been history's fixed entities: races, states, nationalisms, geographies, languages, social groupings, political, scientific and economic bodies, all cults and cultures. These variant elements soon become at least roughly amalgamated in the Communist totalitarianism through force, fear and intensified brain-washing.

The entities vanish in the Party Line. The peoples wind up as regimented labor slaves or equally faceless nonentities in the Red Army. This is to say, they are either roughly amalgamated or more than roughly liquidated: as witness the imprisoned satellites. The difference between this imperialism and that of the past is that Communism does not propose ever releasing any state or people or territory once fallen into its grip. Consequently, no Foreign office, no General Staff, no War Plans Division of any non-Communist state can risk for an instant the optimistic notion that "coexistence" is safe, or that there will be any diminution of Communist power throughout the world until its defeat.

WHAT the bourgeois world, what history itself, is now confronted with is not the reappearance of a Genghis, a Tamerlane or the hordes of Mohammed, but something vaster. Communism is a summation, a culminating of subsocial elements composed of a thou-

sanid misanthropies; frustrations and unreal grievances, now so organized and armed as to menace all that exists on earth. It is an eruption that has broken through the matrix of law, order and sobriety to spread its lava of hate and terror over the globe.

These subsocial forces and once hidden fires are old as the ages. They are as destructive as the anarchies that laid Rome low, and can be likened to geological upheavals which have racked the earth times without number and left the works of man in dust and ruin. To keep these ever-recurrent nihilisms under control has been among the main tasks of rulership since first appearance of an organized society. When the kings went out and the multi-headed or "impersonal" bourgeois state came in, the task was still the same. This is what the American bourgeoisie do not and doubtless will not realize until the Red Terror is upon them.

If the free world is ever to defeat this looming Communist threat it must learn to evoke a counter-emotion of anti-Communist wrath. The record, not of scores or hundreds or thousands of mass murders, but millions of mass murders, with still more millions doomed to the same fate, must be documented. To visualize these atrocities, to portray this crucifixion of all the humanities in the name of Marx, to unmask the wielders of terror in Moscow, to expose Communism's wrecking of everything *civilized* which the genius of man has wrought; to crash the barriers of mass ignorance and apathy with *shock*; to set up such reverberations of anxious wrath and unforgettable alarm that every commoner will recognize that "Under Communism this could happen to *me!*"—such is the obligation of counter-revolution, which is also to say, of American Patriotism. It has yet to be accomplished.

The repetitious slogan of this order of attack must be: *"Communism Is Mass Murder."*

A talented but very shy singer contracted to sing at a social gathering. Trying to make a fast getaway after his enthusiastically received program, he was trapped in the lounge by several ladies of various ages. His embarrassment was acute but he realized that, come what might, it was essential that he respond as gracefully as possible to the compliments being lavished on him.

As he nervously cleared his throat a stout woman grasped him firmly by the sleeve. "Wonderful!" she gushed. "Your singing took me back to my girlhood days!"

"Thanks so much," he blurted. "I had no idea my voice carried so far!"

U.S. Gov't (Rev. 9-7-56)

When the Russians Rose Against the Czar

Tolson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Nease
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

C.P. Russia

Forty years ago, a spontaneous—non-Communist—revolution seemed to promise a brave new era of freedom. Its failure, says Kennan, holds a lesson for us

By GEORGE F. KENNAN

ON Monday, March 12, 1917, following three days of persistent strikes and demonstrations in the Russian capital over serious but essentially nonpolitical grievances, the Russian Government, despairing of handling the disorders by normal police measures, called out the troops of the local Petrograd garrison in an effort to bring the situation under control. It soon became clear, to almost everyone's surprise, that the garrison was overwhelmingly on the side of the people. Not only did the soldiers refuse to act against the people, but they defied the authority of their officers generally, and were at once surprised and excited to find that they could do so with impunity.

In a manner strongly suggestive of recent events in Hungary, many of the soldiers joined the mobs in hunting down members of the hated political police and in burning public buildings which, through their associations, were particularly odious to public feeling. The sudden sense of release and insubordination was contagious. By evening the authority of the Government had simply melted away in the great capital city. The example spread like wildfire to other parts of the empire. When the Czar finally abdicated, two or three days later, he was merely ratifying an existing situation that he had no power to change.

THIS series of events, occurring in the last days of February according to the old Russian calendar then in use, has come down in historical memory as the February Revolution. It constituted, let us note, not a premeditated act but a succession of unexpected and unintended happenings. Unlike the second revolution that was to follow so closely on its heels, it was

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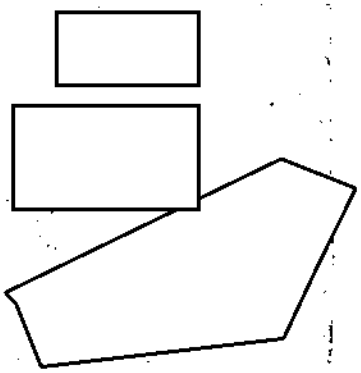

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Wash. Post and Times Herald
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Journal-American
N. Y. Mirror
N. Y. Daily News
N. Y. Times Magazine
Daily Worker
The Worker
New Leader

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not the work of plotters or revolutionaries. The Communists, in particular, had no appreciable part in it. Many Russian liberals, sensing in advance the possibility of something of this sort, had half feared it, suspecting that things might get out of hand, and had tried to forestall it by pleading vainly with the Czar to make concessions in good time. The February Revolution was simply a series of events that occurred at a given time for the reason that circumstances—not least among them the blind stubbornness of the Czar and his misguided, mediocre entourage—no longer permitted of anything else.

Despite its unintended quality, despite the uneasy premonitions some people had experienced, the February Revolution was the occasion for much rejoicing and anticipation, in Russia and abroad. Few events in history can have produced, at the moment, greater elation and greater hope. Petrograd was swept by a general sense of excitement and drama and promise so overpowering that only those who were obviously marked out as the Revolution's immediate victims could remain fully immune to its infection. The normal routine of life was forgotten. Day and night became as one. People wandered, as in a dream, through the immense confusion of the distracted city, pinching themselves to test the reality of the incredible fact that the old structure of czarist power, on which the life of Russia had been conditioned for so many centuries, had suddenly come to an end, and a new era—marked, seemingly, by endless possibilities—was dawning.

PEOPLE in the United States could not share, or even conceive of, this strange wave of intoxication that seized the Russians. But in New York and Washington, news of the change was received with astonished gratification and with some excitement. This was a time when (Continued on Page 32)

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America stood on the very verge of entrance, on the Entente side, into the world war then in progress. Russia, of course, was a member of the Entente.

The February Revolution, creating the impression that Russia had turned from autocracy to democracy, solved for American statesmen the problem that would have been involved had we been obliged to associate ourselves in the war with a czarist court whose principles and purposes were generally believed to be anything but our own. Now, it seemed, one could speak with good conscience of a war for democracy.

NOR did Americans doubt that the Revolution would lead to an intensification of Russia's war effort. Opposition circles in Russia had contrived to give wide currency in Western countries to the belief that the Czar's Government was secretly pro-German and that his entourage was a hotbed of treason. We know today, from the German documents captured in the recent war, that there was very little substance behind these rumors; but they found ready credence in the atmosphere of war hysteria by which Western public opinion was then dominated; and it was natural that people inclined to this belief should leap to the conclusion, precisely contrary to what actually occurred, that the Revolution would clear the path for an enthusiastic and fullhearted prosecution of the war effort on Russia's part. Here is an example of how easily political emotionalism can destroy the sense of realism, stimulate false expectations and prepare the ground for bitterness and disillusionment.

There were ideological reasons, as well, for American satisfaction over the February Revolution. It appealed to the traditional anti-monarchical sentiment by which, at that time, a portion of American opinion was still affected. Many Americans, influenced perhaps by this factor, thought they saw in the Revolution the gravitation of one of the world's great peoples into what was essentially the American, as distinct from the European, orbit of political ideals.

President Wilson himself [illegible] to this view, and there was a note of real triumph and excitement in the eloquent words with which, in his message to Congress of April 6, 1917, calling for the declaration of war against Germany, he hailed the Revolution that had just taken place in Russia.

"Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude toward life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and a great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naive majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice and for peace. * * *"

ALL the rejoicing and satisfaction, as we know today, were soon to be rebuked and disappointed by the further course of events. The state of affairs produced by the February Revolution proved to be unstable and impermanent. It led directly to the Communist seizure of power eight months later.

In this way it ushered in a period of Russian history which, whatever else may be said of it, was destined to rival for bloodshed and hardship anything that unfortunate country had known in the past, to bring disillusionment even to the great majority of those who, on the Communist side, were instrumental in its inauguration, and to present to the Western world a problem of such fearful ugliness that four decades later survival itself—and not just for the Western peoples but for humanity at large—would seem to hang by the issue. Never, surely, has

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an event raised greater hopes, and never has it dashed them more cruelly.

Precisely because it was abortive—because it was overtaken so soon by the second, more fateful and more decisive revolution—the February Revolution has been somewhat eclipsed in memory, and one may well ask what lessons, if any, it could hold for us today. But no great human event is without meaning in terms of human experience; and of this one, too, there are aspects worthy of our attention, even after the lapse of four decades.

FIRST of all, both the timing of this occurrence and the unhappy nature of its results were largely conditioned by the great war then in progress. It was not, of course, the war that had created the dire need for change and adjustment in Russia's governmental structure. But the strains of conducting such a war were clearly beyond the capacity of Russia's backward political and economic system; and it was this growing gap between Russia's real strength and the strains placed upon her by the effort to wage war that caused the collapse to occur just at this time, when no one was really prepared for it.

Similarly, after the Revolution had occurred, it was the attempt on the part of the new Government to continue in the war at the same time that it strove to create a new political system that was the greatest single cause of its political failure and of its early overthrow by the Bolshevik. Russia, in other words, was ripe for political change, and would surely have had it, revolutionary or otherwise, at some point along the road. But it was the war that caused this change to come when it did, as it did, and in conditions unfavorable to any healthy democratic outcome.

RUSSIA'S European allies, who for years had tried to enlist Russia's strength (which they viewed, somewhat one-sidedly, in terms of manpower) as a counterbalance to that of Germany in Europe, were only too delighted, initially, to have Russia fighting on their side in the great war. If they gave any thought to the effect which the very effort to wage such a war might have on Russia, there is little evidence of it in the historical record. In a manner characteristic of the Western democracies, they assumed that all that mattered in war was whether you won or lost; they failed to realize that total war among great industrial powers could be an evil in its own right, even for the victor, involving a host of contingent strains and undesirable side effects and leading in many ways to a deterioration of the conditions for dignified, civilized living everywhere.

One might ask: How could people have known this in 1914? The war then beginning was only the first of the great wars of this century. There had been no precedent.

Generally speaking, this is true. But in the case of Russia, there had been a clear warning: the Russian-Japanese War of 1904-05. That war had involved only a fraction of the strain that a war with Germany might be expected to involve; yet it had taxed the resources of the czarist system to the limit and had brought the country to the verge of revolution in its aftermath. How, with this example before them, could the Allies, or even the Czar's Government itself, have supposed that Russia would be able to endure with impunity, only a decade later, the far more serious expenditure of blood and substance on which Europe was now embarking?

In bringing Russia into this war—in sending million after million of her peasant youth to suffer and die for a cause of which they had virtually

INSIGNIA—A red flag drapes the Czar's monogram at Tsarskoye Selo, the imperial family's first prison.

no understanding—the Czar's Government and the Allies were inviting catastrophe for Russia and, in the ultimate sense, for themselves as well. They had no proper cause for surprise when the result turned out to be a veritable ocean of bewilderment and hatred and cynicism among the Russian masses—an ocean in which the Communist Bolshevik, with their hate-ridden *simpliste* ideology, swam like fish.

THE moral of this reflection (and this is not the only example of it that could be drawn from the First World War) is that whoever leads great peoples into the exhausting, nightmarish experience of modern war should not make the mistake of supposing that formal victory is all that matters—that if victory is achieved all the other effects of warfare will be calculable and manageable.

After all, Russia's side won, in the end, in the First World War; but Russia was by that time a shambles, and faced with decades of horror. Whoever grasps for the sword today must ask himself not only what are the chances for victory in relation to the enemy

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but also what will be the effect—on himself, on the development of his own society, and on a host of ulterior relationships—of the expensive, exhausting, brutalizing and demoralizing experience which total war represents. He must ask, in other words, not just "What will I do to the enemy and what will he do to me?" but also "What will the very process of waging war do to me?"

Had people asked themselves this question in 1914, they might never have made the mistake of attempting to introduce into the quarrels of the European family a changing, groping Russia, a Russia just arrived at a crucial state in her own development, a Russia desperately in need of peace.

A SECOND point that stands out in the story of the February Revolution is the demonstration of the fact that freedom is not enough. Many people seem to have assumed at the time that what needed to be done was only to depose a form of government regarded as onerous and oppressive (though actually latter-day czardom looks liberal in comparison with much we have seen since), and the rest would flow of itself. One needed, in other words, only to give scope to human initiative, to release it from artificial bonds and restrictions, and things would in some way arrange themselves: a new governmental system would be devised, a new sense of purpose would be found, to take the place of the old.

Many Russian revolutionists embraced this view. The terrorists of the Social-Revolutionary party were particularly susceptible to it. With their bombs and revolvers they had destroyed, in the years prior to the Revolution, human life after human life, never inquiring into the real degree of personal responsibility of the victim, never pausing to ask what gave them the right to stand as arbiters over the life and death of other people, confident that if only certain people in certain positions could be removed from the scene or frightened into retirement, the blessings of a Utopian future could not fail to begin to flow of their own accord.

WE might recall that this, minus the terrorism and the utopianism, was essentially the philosophy that underlay the American Revolution. Our forefathers, too, believed that the forces requisite to the assurance of the good life were always there, in the background, sufficient to all good purposes; and they conceived the function of government, at the national level, as being primarily a negative one: to see to it that these forces were not inhibited by any unnecessary and undesirable restraints.

For this, there was good reason in the case of the United

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States. The early colonists brought to this country a heritage of habit and tradition that was in many respects unique. It embraced the fruits of England's long experience in the development of a society based on law rather than on the workings of arbitrary power. It embraced the inestimable advantage of an independent judiciary. It embraced religious beliefs and habits of thrift and personal independence which reduced greatly the area in which there was any need at all for the exertion of the governmental power. And to the extent the intervention of public authority was still needed, the English heritage enabled the colonists to solve at the local level, on a representative basis, many of the problems which elsewhere are the province of the supreme central power. All this being the case, it could well be argued that all that was needed to put America on the way to the creation of a vigorous and hopeful society was simply the avoidance of certain types of governmental restraint.

In Russia, all this was different. There the development had been precisely the opposite. To be sure, there had been certain elements of self-government in the old Russian village commune, and a start had been made in the final decades of czardom at the creation of a real pattern of local government. But, in 1917, all this was still rudimentary.

IN tremendous areas of human association, people were accustomed to look to the central authority to be the final arbiter of all things. It is the tragedy of the February Revolution that, marking the end of one system of authority and of one concept of national purpose, it was unable to answer immediately the question of what should be put in their place. There was no consensus among the opposition parties as to what should fill the resulting vacuum. Worst of all, there was no agreement among them on the methods by which they should go about it to devise such a consensus in an orderly and peaceful manner.

The result was that the vacuum endured too long, and became, itself, less and less endurable with the course of time. It led in the end to such a thirst for authority and order and purpose that the tiny Bolshevik faction—the only one wholly devoid of scruple in political method, well aware of what it wanted and disciplined and ruthless in the pursuit of it—cut through the chaos like a knife through cheese and succeeded in imposing itself for an indefinite time on the life of the country.

ONE sees in these circumstances an illustration of the vital fact that freedom is not an abstraction, that there is no such thing as freedom *per se*—only a freedom *from* something and a freedom *to* something—that people cannot be liberated in the abstract, but can only be liberated *from* one condition and *into* another.

Had people been aware, in earlier decades, of this reality, there would have been less tendency to assume that the end of czardom would necessarily lead to the triumph of democracy, that the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire would produce orderly and forward-looking conditions in Eastern Europe, that the fall of the Kaiser would preclude the rise of a Hitler, or that the fall of a Hitler would automatically assure the peace and stability of Europe. And were people better aware of this reality today, there would be greater clarity in the whole tortured question of the Western attitude toward events in Eastern Europe; for it would be realized that the problem, once again, is not just to do away with what exists but to find alternatives to it that promise, over the long run, a better break for those who inhabit the area and greater international stability for Europe as a whole.

Despite the war-born quality of the February Revolution, despite the handicaps that rested upon it and the false hopes that were invested in it, we would be making a mistake to ignore or to underestimate the potential impor-

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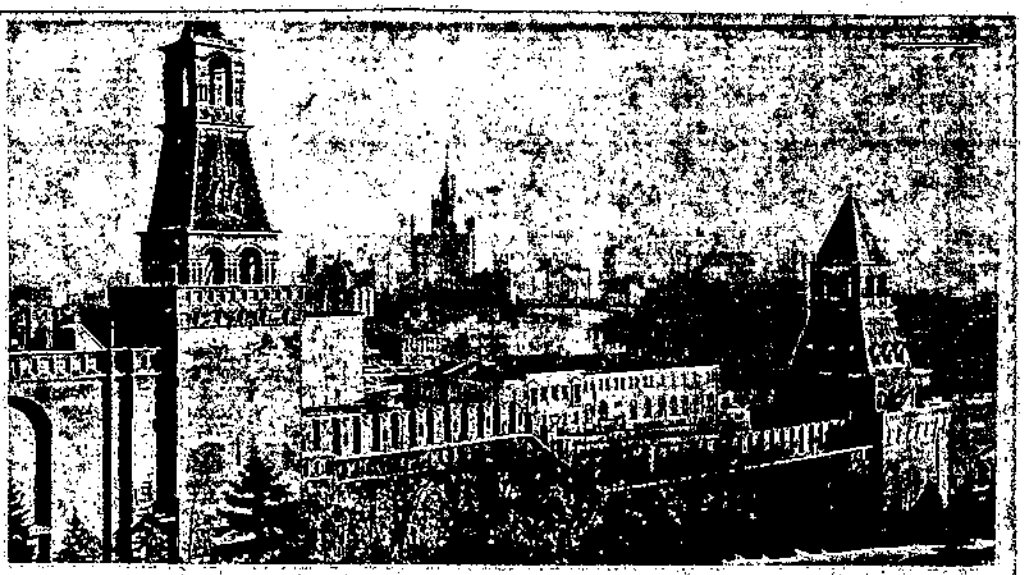
tance of its positive overtones. It involved, to be sure, much that was artificially borrowed, much that was ill-conceived, much that was irrelevant to Russian needs and Russian possibilities, then as now. But there was also much in this brief and tragic experiment with democracy for which the Russia of 1917 was simply not yet ready, and much that was unwisely and unjustly repressed by the Bolsheviki.

IT is true that Russia, suddenly confronted in 1917 with the terrible dilemma of freedom, recoiled—in effect—from the prospect of it, as many of her earlier prophets and thinkers had thought she might, and took refuge in a form of rule which was nominally progressive but actually reverted in many ways to old-Russian concepts and patterns.

But there is still the question whether that recoil was final and whether the day is not approaching when some of the hopeful beginnings of the February Revolution could be reabsorbed into the Russian experience. Today many Russian people—and particularly the younger ones—are manifesting a heightened insistence on the freedom to seek truth where they can find it. This quest is already carrying them back to the earlier traditions of the Revolution: to the political world of Lenin and to the emotional world of the young Communist poet Mayakovski (who committed suicide out of disillusionment with the course of the Revolution).



FORTY YEARS AFTER—Moscow today, with the Kremlin wall in foreground and new apartment houses beyond.

Some of us in the West may question how much they will find there. Very possibly, it will be more than we might think. But of this we may be sure: it will not be all that they require. Lenin never faced, after all, the basic question of how central political authority is to be related to the popular will, over the long term, in a country where the classic assumptions of Marxist communism have *not* materialized: where the state has *not* withered away and shows no signs of doing so; where the answer to political problems does *not* flow automatically from the relationships of production, where there is a continued need for governmental authority—for such things as prisons and armies and bureaucracy and centralized responsibility for taking many political choices important to the people as a whole.

YET this is the condition of Russia today, and it poses a problem—namely, the problem of how this bundle of concentrated authority is to be passed along from one generation of leaders to another—to which Leninism holds no answer. One may well raise the question, therefore, why the new spirit of inquiry and of retrospective discovery, so noticeable in the Soviet youth of this day, should stop with Leninism—why it should not go further and pry back into the record of those hectic and tragic months of 1917 when, for a brief interval, Russia tried so hard, and under such crushing handicaps, to find a solution somewhere between the senseless, anachronistic strictures of czardom and the living hell of Stalin's prisons and forced labor camps.

Is this suggestion a summons to "counterrevolution?" Only if the Soviet leaders wish to make it so. It is significant that they have never denied

their ultimate obligation, in principle, to the concept of majority rule. They have only corrupted, for propagandistic purposes, the words by which it was previously known in political discussion the world over; and they have deprived it of real content in their own political practice to date. But all this could conceivably change within the framework of the Soviet system, as well as without. Stranger things have happened, and particularly in Russia.

SHOULD something like this occur—and should the tragic events of 1917, and the latter decades of czarist power in which they had their origin, again become a treasure house of experience in which there could take place an open-minded search for constructive ideas as well as for mistakes and lost opportunities—then we in America will do well not to impede or embarrass the process by claiming it for our own and by attempting to see in it the repetition and vindication, in universal terms, of our own history.

It is her own laws of development, not ours, that Russia must follow. The sooner we learn that there are many mansions in this house of the nations, and many paths to the enrichment of the human experience, the easier we will make it for other people to solve their problems, and for ourselves to understand our own.

FIRST SHOTS—The Russian Revolution became a reality March 12, 1917 (Feb. 27 by the old Russian calendar), when troops refused to fire on demonstrators in Petrograd. Here students and rebel soldiers join in firing at political police. On March 15, the Czar abdicated.

LAST STAND—As Minister of War, Alexander Kerensky sought to continue the fight against Germany. Here, seated fifth from the left in the third row, he pays a visit to the front. But he [illegible]ated the troops' morale and underestimated discontent among civilians.

CHAOS—While Petrograd mobs dragged czarist officials from their cars, as here, a Provisional Government of moderates took over. They shared power in the capital with a city Soviet, or Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates, in which the Bolshevik faction saw a chance to gain control.

VICTIMS—The Czar and his family, first confined at Tsarskoye Selo, were moved to Tobolsk, where this picture was taken. They were later to be sent to Ekaterinburg—and murdered in July, 1918. Anastasia, who some believe survived, sits at her father's right hand.

ROUT—Kerensky's Ukrainian offensive began well, but, meeting a counter-attack in July, turned into the panic-stricken flight shown here. The disaster, and the reimposition of harsh discipline, inflamed the public against the Government. Whole troop units turned Bolshevik.

TRIUMPH—This Soviet painting by V. Serov (complete with Stalin in an anachronistic place of honor—the rostrum) depicts Lenin announcing the overthrow of the Provisional Government to the Petrograd Soviet. His rallying cry: "Long live the Socialist revolution!"

At the start of the Russian Revolution in March, 1917, Petrograd militiamen lead a czarist policemen off to prison—"Few events have produced, at the moment, greater hope."

6-19 (Rev. 9-7-56)

Reds Link U.S., 'Swedish Spies'

Reuters

MOSCOW, March 6—Two Soviet newspapers today published an official announcement alleging that Swedish and United States intelligence services were combining to smuggle agents into Soviet territory.

The announcement said 14 Swedish agents arrested recently had been convicted and "given various sentences." The announcement was published in the Communist Party newspaper Pravda and the government newspaper Izvestia.

It said that, in December, 1956, Soviet state security agencies caught one of the alleged Swedish agents, Endel Momm, trying to establish contact with an intelligence center in Stockholm by means of a portable radio.

The announcement said investigation had shown that "the Swedish intelligence agencies in contact with the United States intelligence service have for a number of years been smuggling their agents into Soviet territory."

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These Days . . . . . By George Sokolsky

Uninformed Mass Opinion

THERE SEEMS to be a growing belief that opinion must be formed or informed and that the uneducated masses do not know enough to make any sense. Those who think this way have to explain how it happens that so large a part of the American population have gone to high school and some kind of college in this generation. Do they assert that in the good old days when so few had college educations that the majority of our people were better informed than they are today? Or is this an admission of the failure of our educational institutions?

Sokolsky

Also, the assumption that the people are so uninformed is a criticism of our newspapers, magazines, radio and television which reach more Americans that ever before. Is it not rather that most hard-headed, practical citizens find their own conclusions from the data presented to them?

Dean Edward W. Barrett of the graduate school of journalism at Columbia University has stated the case of the well-informed versus the uninformed better than I had ever seen it done. He said:

"I, for one, shudder at what might happen if some mountebank, as temporarily persuasive as a Joe McCarthy, should arise and start inflaming our highly vocal but ill-informed citizens on the delicate issues that lie ahead. That is why, just as De Toqueville feared the 'tyranny of the majority,' men like Walter Lippmann today see domination by uninformed mass opinion as a grave threat."

HOWEVER, IT is mass opinion, informed or uninformed, which is bound to prevail in all but totalitarian countries. The question then is whether it is necessary to change our form of government and to limit the rights of the people so that instead of uninformed mass opinion, we shall be governed by informed elite opinion. And what evidence is there to establish the assurance that the informed can also think well and competently? For instance, it is not difficult to become informed about Arab history and literature or even to learn to read and speak Arabic, Aramaic and Hebrew. But does that have any relationship to wisdom or judgment or the emotional quality of patriotism?

I am making no defense of ignorance but I must ask why even in Soviet Russia where the government need pay no attention to public opinion, informed or uninformed, they have not entrusted their government to a council of experts but rather to two roughneck politicians such as Khrushchev and Bulganin.

There is a vast hiatus between the capacity to amass information and the ability to think out problems. Such a statesman as Sir Winston Churchill is not an expert in many fields. He could hire these experts who briefed him as to the facts, but it takes judgment, imagination, prescience, wisdom to see the consequences of a political action maybe decades after the action was initiated.

PERHAPS that explains why Stalin was able to increase the territory of Russia beyond the dreams of Peter the Great. Khrushchev was undoubtedly correct when he said that Stalin was a poor general and something of a coward, but Stalin fought a winning war and if Americans wish to claim that they won the war for Stalin, it can be said for him that he knew how to hornswoggle the United States into doing it and into giving him $11 billion besides.

Who is informed and who is uninformed? In the area of the world which I know best, I read the names of persons as experts whose judgment has not been as sound as that of a merchant buying handkerchiefs and underwear in Swatow. The difference between a footnote reader and one who has to deal closely with a people is that the former believes what an established name has cited as a truth, even though the established name is only quoting another established name, whereas the latter has had to learn the psychology of a people to be able to deal with them. When Michael Borodin came to China in 1924 to rule it, which he managed to do for nearly three years, he hardly knew anything about the people or the country. He knew no dialect of Chinese and spoke through an interpreter. But he was a born psychologist. Borodin had the advantage of being a revolutionist by profession in a country that wanted a revolution.

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SENATOR JACKSON SAYS

Debunking of Stalin Was Soviets 'Biggest Blunder'

By ISABELLE SHELTON

The "biggest blunder the Soviet Union ever pulled" was to permit Nikita Khrushchev to make his speech debunking Joseph Stalin, Senator Henry Jackson of Washington said last night.

The Senator spoke during the first showing of the color films he took last summer during a trip to Russia. The films were shown to the Women's National Press Club in the Cosmos Club auditorium.

Khrushchev's Stalin speech "sort of blew the lid off," Senator Jackson said. "It set off a chain of events, including restlessness in the satellite areas, which has not yet ended.

"It caused the Soviet people to think that, if Stalin was so bad in his treatment of people, how could the people of the Soviet Union believe what they had been told about the United States and the West," he continued.

"Horns of A Dilemma"

The Soviets are "on the horns of a dilemma," the Senator declared. "In order to beat the West, they must educate their people — train them to be scientists and to think logically. And if they do that, the people will see through the propaganda about the West.

"The Soviet people are smart," he added, and even

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The Soviets 'Blundered'

Continued From Page B-3

now do not believe all they have been told. There were several "incidents" during his trip which indicated that they were thinking a little more freely, the Senator said. He found universal friendliness to Americans, he added.

The Soviet government has certain great strengths and certain weaknesses, all of which it knows, the Washington Senator said.

Its power, he said, is based on its vast land, which gives it "a tremendous advantage;" its raw materials, with "resources equal to the United States and relatively untouched; a huge total labor force, composed 40 per cent of women, and its industry.

Only in the latter does the Soviet Union lag behind the United States, the Senator said, adding "they know it and they are determined to overcome their deficiencies and impose their military will on the United States and the rest of the free world."

Production Drive

He is firmly convinced of the Soviet intention to overtake this country in industrial production, Senator Jackson said. He cited as an example a chart at a Moscow trade fair, showing comparative production figures for the two countries and showing that the Soviets would equal this country by 1970 and surpass it a few years later.

Other evidences are huge power developments now under way in Russia and the tremendous educational drive. The University of Moscow alone has 21,000 students, who are devoting themselves largely to mathematics, physics and chemistry, he said.

The Soviet's great weaknesses are inability to produce sufficient food (this has been complicated by large Russian shipments of wheat to Col. Nassar's Egyptian government, the Senator said); "terrible housing conditions;" and a transportation system "that does not compare to ours."

Such waterway system is excellent, but "they do not have a highway system in the sense we do," he said. Main highways leading out of big cities "end in a cow pasture 25 or 30 miles out."

Mr. E. S. Serebrennikov of the Library of Congress and Lt. Col. Edward Hathaway, liaison officer to the Senate Armed Services Committee from the Army, who accompanied the Senator on his trip, also were present last night.

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Advice From Lenin

As pointed out by Allen W. Dulles, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, the men of the Kremlin "have been trying for some time now to cover up the cracks in their ideological plaster." They have been doing this in various ways, not least of all by appealing to their people to go back to Lenin for guidance and adhere faithfully to his precepts.

Mr. Dulles, however, has run across one such precept that Nikita Khrushchev and company probably would like to have everybody forget, especially in view of what has happened in Hungary. Here is the precept, as voiced by Lenin in May, 1917: "If Finland, if Poland, if the Ukraine break away from Russia, there is nothing bad about that. What is there bad about it? Anyone who says there is, is a chauvinist. . . . No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations."

Soviet newspapers, please copy. Or is that asking too much?

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Walter Winchell
Of New York 10

The Headliners

A throne is not always as romantic as a bench-in-the-park. The foregoing is illustrated by the marital difficulties of Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh. A revealing insight into their problem is offered by the following incident: During the royal couple's tour of Australia, several years ago, a stream of people were presented to the Duke at a university. When a young married pair were introduced as "Mr. and Dr. Robinson," the Duke appeared startled. Mr. Robinson promptly explained that his wife was a doctor of philosophy and "very much more important than I."

The Duke sighed: "Ah, yes, we have that trouble in my family."

The Queen reigns over the Empahr as well as her house. And the Duke is not only her husband—but one of the Queen's subjects. They once attended an exhibit showing the latest developments in radio. The Duke was fascinated by the gadgets. After a half-hour, the Queen's interest dimmed. Although Her Majesty gestured toward the exit, the Duke failed to see her move and continued studying the exhibit. Finally Elizabeth proclaimed: "WE are leaving." And she walked out with the Duke dutifully following.

Ironically, several years ago the Duke sought to stop gossip about the royal family by inserting a clause in the employment contracts of the royal staff which barred them from publishing royal secrets. He took the action following publication of a book by the Duke's former valet who wrote that he owned only one business suit (horrors!) while he dated Elizabeth. As we recently reported, the source of the current scandal was a member of the royal staff.

A philosopher once commented: "You shouldn't repeat gossip—but what else can you do with it?"

"The Spirit of St. Louis" flicker superbly recaptures an epic adventure. Lindbergh's trans-Atlantic hop required rare spunk. However, it was not the act of a carefree daredevil trusting to luck. Every detail was calculated. Nothing was left to chance... Several weeks before the historic take-off, Lindbergh stayed at a hotel with a friend who once awakened at 4 ayem to discover Lindbergh sitting by the window gazing at the stars. The friend inquired: "Why are you sitting there?"

"Just practicing."

"Practicing what?"

Lindbergh explained: "Practicing staying awake all night."

Although some members of the Administration are engaged in skirmishes with the press, the President's relations with correspondents have been generally cordial. No man ever exhibited a deeper trust in newspapermen than Gen. Eisenhower during World War II. About 30 days before the conquest of Sicily, Eisenhower stunned a routine news conference by disclosing the top military secret. His trust was rewarded; the correspondents kept the secret.

Eisenhower once awarded Medals of Merit to war correspondents at the National Press Club. Following the awards, he regretted his inability to express more eloquent tributes to medal-winners. He added: "It reminds me of my boyhood on a Kansas farm. I once asked an old farmer about a cow's pedigree, its butterfat production and how many pounds of milk it produced annually. The farmer shook his head and said: 'I don't know. But she's an honest old cow and she'll give you all the milk she has'."

Eisenhower then concluded with a grin: "Well, I'm like that cow. I'll give you everything I have."

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Israel's Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, sits in front of a map in his office which covers an entire wall. It is a map of North Africa and the Middle East from the Atlantic to India. Israel, however, is only the size of a baby's thumb and is colored with blue crayon to stand out. When a foreign visitor suggests territorial concessions to the Arabs, Ben-Gurion says nothing. He merely points over his shoulder to the map.

Charles Van Doren personifies an astounding phenomenon—conceivably ranking with the discovery of fire. He has demonstrated that intelligence is good box-office. A pioneer in the Big Money Quizzers noted: "The average American has a brain and integrity that is really wonderful. You just have to look for it. Everybody is smart at something."

Will Rogers put it this way: "Everybody is ignorant—only on different subjects."

Changes in the Moscow Mob usually inspire streams of editorials debating whether the consequences will be a hard-soft-or-medium foreign policy. Such debates are absurd. A Communist is always a Red. Whether Communism intends murdering liberty with a hammer blow or a knife-in-the-back makes no difference to the target.

The savagery of Communism was graphically illustrated by a news story in Pravda, the official Soviet rag. The following is a direct quote: "The Prosecutor's Office of the Saratov Region has investigated the output of unsatisfactory cigarettes by the Saratov Tobacco Factory. The cigarettes were placed on sale insufficiently stuffed with tobacco and with torn wrappers. The director of the factory has been sentenced to seven years in prison. The chief engineer and production manager to five years in prison each."

Call it fate, destiny or luck. It is a formidable force. And in the greasepaint realm, the roulette aspects of the craft are always fascinating...Bea Lillie (returning to Broadway soon as the star of the "Ziegfeld Follies") was a straight singer who languished in obscurity for many years. One day she auditioned for a musical. While chanting, she noticed the producer yawning. In sheer desperation, Miss Lillie began clowning while singing. P.S.: She got the job...And thus began a long and happy career.

Frank Sinatra, one of the 20th Century's scholars, had a thoughtful comment on the subject of luck: "People often remark that I'm pretty lucky. I don't think luck as such has much to do with it. You've got to have something more substantial. The competition is too fierce"...In other words, you'll be lucky—if you're lucky enough to have talent.

When G. B. Shaw was a critic, a young actress requested his opinion of her ability. He urged her to marry, have two children, learn something about life, then return to the theatre. She followed his counsel. Five years later she came back to the footlights and renewed a lustrous career (for a half-century) and is now brightening B'way in "The Potting Shed." Dame Sybil Thorndike, of course.

Folks, babies are news. Her Grace had a doll. Gina Lollobrigida and Margaret Truman are expecting. "Tunnel of Love," a new Broadway show, concerns pregnancy and so does Judy Holliday's latest movie, "Full of Life." The flicker's top howl is inspired by Judy's groan: "Ooolihh, it takes sooo lonnnggg to have a baby, you forget what made it seem like a good idea in the first place."

0-19 (Rev. 9-7-56)

Khrushchev Says Policy Of Shepilov Will Continue

MOSCOW, Feb. 19 (AP).—Nikita S. Khrushchev went out of his way last night to emphasize that last week's change of foreign ministers does not mean a change in Soviet foreign policy.

Seizing a microphone at a Russian-Bulgarian party, the Soviet Communist Party boss launched into a speech apparently aimed at observers abroad.

"Our foreign policy does not depend on any one individual," Mr. Khrushchev said.

He went on to expound the continuity of Soviet policy.

Andrei Gromyko had replaced Dmitri Shepilov as Foreign Minister Friday, three days after Mr. Shepilov outlined the government's foreign policy outlook to the Supreme Soviet (parliament).

Tougher Era Seen

Although Moscow radio later announced that Mr. Shepilov's address still stood, observers here had come to the view that Career Diplomat Gromyko was being counted on for a tougher era of international negotiations.

They felt Mr. Shepilov, former editor of Pravda, had proved himself inept in the tough arena of international politics during his eight months as foreign minister.

Mr. Khrushchev told the guests at the reception:

"Our former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Shepilov, defended our interests. Gromyko will carry out these policies . . . Shepilov stated our case very well in his address to the Supreme Soviet . . . We stand by what he said."

Once again Mr. Khrushchev praised Stalin and said the Soviet people would not abandon their late leader.

He called Stalin "a man of iron."

Bulgarian Blasts Tito

The reception was for a visiting Bulgarian government and Communist party delegation which is expected to sign another of the series of East European unity and friendship pacts with the Soviets tomorrow.

~~Premier~~ Anton Yugov, head of the delegation, startled some diplomats at a Kremlin luncheon by linking Yugoslavia with "the enemies of socialism."

In a speech expressing his country's solidarity with the Soviet Union, Mr. Yugov said some Yugoslav papers expressed disappointment that Bulgaria had no uprising like Hungary's.

"Whatever the enemies of socialism accuse us of is their business," he said.

He declared the Bulgarians are proud "to be called Stalinists and satellites. . . . If they call us Stalinists because we are firm and intolerable to opportunism and revisionism, then we consider that an honor."

The criticism of Yugoslavia—made in the presence of the top Soviet leaders—lent weight to speculation in the West that Mr. Shepilov's removal heralded a tougher attitude toward Titoism. The Shepilov appointment last June was viewel as a sop to President Tito while the Kremlin was wooing the Yugoslav Communists. Now the Kremlin traces much of its woe in Hungary and Poland to the influence of Marshal Tito's "national communism" policy.

Enver Hoxha, Communist dictator of Albania, launched another massive verbal assault on Marshal Tito in radio broadcasts heard yesterday in Vienna. The Albanian leader accused his neighbor of "gross interference in Hungarian and Albanian affairs." The two have ~~been swap~~ping blasts for several months.

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Ideological Whip

Despite having been subjected for decades to party-line propaganda and indoctrination, many Russians still appear to be unconvinced that Marxism-Leninism is a blessing. Indeed, although describing them as only a "negligible handful" of people, Pravda—which reflects the Kremlin's ideological hopes and fears—has found them sufficiently numerous and worrisome to publish a long piece shrilly demanding that they be brought back into line before they endanger the Soviet system.

These delinquents, according to Pravda, have been "contaminated" and "poisoned" by the "influence of international reaction" and bourgeois, capitalist ideas. As a result, they try to exploit Russia's "still existing difficulties and shortcomings for their anti-Soviet aims." And the most shocking thing about them, from the Kremlin's viewpoint, is that they include educated young persons and even some Communist Party officials who have become bored with Marxism-Leninism. Accordingly, as Pravda has proclaimed, the USSR must now crack down on all such backsliders and subject them again to the most intensive and militant kind of party-line propaganda and "iron discipline."

This call for all-out use of the ideological whip is the latest in a series of developments indicating that the Kremlin is seriously disturbed by the spread of restiveness and anti-Communist conduct inside the USSR, especially among student elements. We can be reasonably sure, moreover, that these dissident groups are not just a "negligible handful," and we may doubt that a mere indoctrination drive—no matter how vigorous—will reconvert them. Actually, the more educated the Russian people become in non-Marxist matters, and the more economic progress they make, the more they are likely, in ever-growing numbers, to challenge the tyrannical nature of the Soviet system. Red totalitarianism, after all, appeals chiefly to the impoverished and the ignorant, not to those who have learned to think for themselves in a country that is capable of great industrial and agricultural growth.

All of which constitutes a kind of dilemma for the USSR. As it advances economically, and as its population acquires schooling, the men of the Kremlin must reckon with constantly mounting pressures for more and more liberty and less and less tyranny. May their troubles on that score continue to increase and multiply, and the faster the better.

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Report Says Bulganin Foe Mysteriously Wounded

Kaganovich Is Reported Shot

NEW YORK, Feb. 4 (UP)—Lazar M. Kaganovich, deputy premier of the Soviet Union, has been shot mysteriously in a Kremlin power struggle and is near death, The New York Daily News said last night in a dispatch from Washington quoting "intelligence sources."

Kaganovich, 64, is a hard-core Stalinist who wants to remove from power Communist Party Chief Nikita S. Khrushchev and Premier Nikolai Bulganin, the dispatch by News Washington correspondent Jerry Greene said.

"Khrushchev and Bulganin, recognizing Kaganovich as the chief schemer in a plot to bring their ouster and a complete Kremlin reshuffle, reportedly ordered the deputy shot," the News said.

WENT WRONG

"Something went wrong," the dispatch said. "Kaganovich was only gravely wounded when struck down by a bullet Thursday night, and now he is apparently receiving every care."

"Dr. Hans Joachim Schulten of Cologne, West Germany, was hurriedly summoned by the Kremlin and flew to Moscow yesterday to treat Kaganovich," the News said.

The United Press correspondent in Moscow reported yesterday that Dr. Schulten, a blood specialist, had been flown from West Germany to treat a critically ill "mystery patient" in Moscow. Dr. Schulten told United Press he had examined the patient, but did not know who he was. He said he did not recognize him from photographs of leading Soviet politicians he had seen in newspapers.

Dr. Schulten said the patient was in critical condition. He said the patient was not Foreign Minister Dimitri Shepilov or Deputy Premier Georgi Malenkov, both of whom have been reported ill recently. He has not revealed what ailment the patient is suffering from.

SPECULATIONS

(The East German Radio said today Kaganovich has visited a cement factory this week-end and chatted with the workers. In London, the Daily Express speculated that Moscow's "mystery patient" was either an atomic scientist, or an important satellite, or Soviet Security Chief Ivan Serov.)

Kaganovich, the only Jew remaining in the Soviet hierarchy, was known as the "iron commissar" while serving as trouble-shooter for the late Josef Stalin. He was regarded as Stalin's most able lieutenant. During the early collectivizations he forcibly put down peasant objections against the regime and punished entire areas by seizing local food supplies to create famine.

Later, when the Communist Party and top government officials were subjected to severe criticism for lack of progress in the building industry, Kaganovich was appointed minister of the building materials industry.

He built Moscow's famed subway system and during World War II reorganized Russia's railroads. He introduced the death penalty in the railroad industry for failure to meet schedules.

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(RED PROPANDA)

A U.S. EXPERT ON SOVIET PROPAGANDA TOLD THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY SPENDS "BILLIONS OF DOLLARS" EVERY YEAR ON PROPAGANDA.

HENRY LOOMIS, DIRECTOR OF THE RESEARCH AND INTELLIGENCE OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY, SAID THE BULK OF THE MONEY IS SPENT INSIDE IRON-CURTAIN COUNTRIES TO KEEP CONTROL OF THE LOCAL POPULATIONS.

HE SAID THE RECENT REVOLT IN HUNGARY WAS "THE CLEAREST EXAMPLE OF THEIR PROPAGANDA FAILURE."

LOOMIS SAID THE COMMUNIST PARTY, WITH HEADQUARTERS IN MOSCOW, SPENT "HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS" ON PROPAGANDA IN FREE WORLD COUNTRIES, AND MAKE AN ATTEMPT TO CONTROL ALL MEDIUMS OF BRINGING INFORMATION TO THE PEOPLE.

HE SAID ONE PUBLISHING FIRM IN MOSCOW LAST YEAR PUBLISHED 660 DIFFERENT BOOKS--20 MILLION COPIES IN ALL--FOR OVERSEAS PROPAGANDA DISTRIBUTION IN FREE WORLD COUNTRIES.

LOOMIS ADDED THAT ONLY ABOUT 20 PERCENT OF ALL COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IS LABELED AS SUCH.

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Our America

By DR. RUTH ALEXANDER

The purpose of downgrading Stalin as a person was to up-grade communism as a system, by providing a scapegoat for its brutal excesses.

Many of our influential "liberals" accepted this viewpoint until the Hungarian counter-revolution focused attention on the continuity of terror as an integral part of communism.

Some still prefer, however, to be hoodwinked and claim "now that Stalin is dead we have nothing to fear or to fight."

In keeping with the dictum of the Manifesto of 1848 that "communists disdain to conceal their aims," we should have expected this move as early as 1951, when it was laid down in anticipation of Stalin's death. A book, "The Sixth Column," conveniently alleged to be a "novel" by Peter Fleming, dramatizes the story through the eyes and ears of his protagonist, Gluterov, who defects fraudulently to the West and asks "asylum."

Gluterov is lionized by "liberal" circles, already favorably disposed toward communism, and is given unlimited opportunities to write and lecture. Having been instructed to accept a tactical reverse for the sake of a strategic gain in the future, he initiates a campaign of slander against Stalin, presumed to be dying. His "objectivity" is admirable by "liberal" standards and where tyranny and terror cannot be rationalized out of existence, he maintains "they are directly traceable to flaws in the psychological make-up of Comrade Stalin."

The device serves a perfect alibi for the past brutality of the present rulers, now claiming to have been helpless under Stalin's domination.

Fact or fiction, myth or reality, the concept has successfully emasculated both British and American policy. The final irony is that the giant Stalin, who built the Soviet Union into a world power almost single-handedly, should end up merely as a scapegoat for the nincompoops, Krushchev and Bulganin.

Communism, regardless of "de-Stalinization" is a brutal, tyranical system, dedicated to the subjection of humanity, something we must never forget!

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Communist Party Russia

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66 JAN 31 1957

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Mr. Nease
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

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C.A.-RUSSIA

UP10
(KREMLIN)
THE WORLD SHOULD KNOW VERY SOON WHETHER TOP SOVIET LEADERS ARE TRULY FIGHTING A BEHIND-THE-SCENES BATTLE FOR POWER, DIPLOMATIC OFFICIALS SAID.
WORD OF ANY SHIFT IN KREMLIN MANAGEMENT SHOULD COME FROM THE FEB. 5 MOSCOW MEETING OF THE SUPREME SOVIET, NATIONAL LEGISLATURE OF THE SOVIET UNION.
ANY SHIFT, HOWEVER, WOULD BE WORKED OUT SECRETLY IN ADVANCE BY THE POWERFUL CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THEN BE RUBBER-STAMPED BY THE SUPREME SOVIET.
SATELLITE TROUBLES AND INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES HAVE SPURRED REPORTS THAT KHRUSHCHEV MAY LOSE HIS RED CROWN.
WHILE ALL REPORTS HAVE NOT BEEN UNIFORM, MOST HAVE SUGGESTED THAT:
--MALENKOV IS GIRDING FOR A COMEBACK AND MIGHT GET KHRUSHCHEV'S TOP PARTY POST IN ANY NEW RESHUFFLE.
--KHRUSHCHEV MIGHT BE KICKED UPSTAIRS TO NIKOLAI BULGANIN'S PRESENT JOB AS PREMIER.
--BULGANIN WOULD MOVE UP TO THE CEREMONIAL JOB AS PRESIDENT OF THE SOVIET UNION.
--MARSHAL GEORGI ZHUKOV, SOVIET DEFENSE MINISTER, IS DESTINED TO PLAY AKEY ROLE IN ANY POWER BATTLE. ALL INDICATIONS ARE THAT ZHUKOV'S STAR HAS BEEN RISING.
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61 JAN 28 1957

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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Mr. Boardman
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Mr. Nease
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

File

C.P.-Russia

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UP207
(KHRUSCHEV)
MOSCOW--SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY CHIEF NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV SAID TONIGHT THAT JOSEF STALIN WAS A "MODEL COMMUNIST." HE DECLARED THAT EVERY COMMUNIST SHOULD "FIGHT LIKE STALIN" IN THE INTERSTS OF THE WORKING CLASS.
KHRUSHCHEV'S WARM WORDS FOR STALIN WERE VOICED AT A GALA RECEPTION GIVEN FOR VISITING CHINESE COMMUNIST PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI AT THE LUXURIOUS HOTEL SOVIETSKAYA. HIS REMARKS WERE ENTHUSIASTICALLY APPLAUDED BY MORE THAN 1,200 GUESTS AND COMMUNIST LEADERS.
"I DO NOT SEPARATE STALINISM FROM COMMUNISM," KHRUSHCHEV SAID, WAVING HIS FIST IN THE AIR TO EMPHASIZE HIS POINT.
"BUT I CONSIDER THAT--AS A COMMUNIST--FIGHTING FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS, STALIN WAS A MODEL COMMUNIST."
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21 JAN 24 1957

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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A KARL MARX DOCTRINE, ONE OF MANY UNHEARD OF BY SOVIETS

C.P. U.S.S.R.

'There Is Only One Way to Deal With Russians . . . the Fearless Way'

By JOSEPH CLOUD

Karl Marx wrote this:

"There is only one way to deal with a power like Russia, and that is the fearless way."

Marx hated Russia and the Russians—not emotionally, but with a coldly objective, intellectual reasoned distrust.

The Russians whose acquaintance I made a few weeks ago—members of the Soviet embassy staff here—never had heard of some of the opinions expressed by their patron saint. Nor have the Russian people.

• Here are some Marxian doctrines that aren't taught in Soviet schools and probably won't be published in Pravda (which means "Truth").

• "Russia," true to the old Asiatic system of cheating and petty tricks, pursues the traditional ambition of the Russians.

• "Russian diplomacy, more dangerous than Russian generalship, seeks to fulfill the Russian ambition for 'universal empire' by threats, cheating and duplicity."

Unless you knew better, you might easily imagine some of the things Marx wrote a century ago had been written shortly after the Suez invasion, when Nikita Khruschchev and Nikolai Bulganin were threatening England and France with involvement in a war "with modern rocket systems."

More Marxisms

Karl Marx wrote this:

• "Russian diplomacy has rested on the timidity of Western statesmen . . .

• "England especially has been imposed on. She has been bullied and is so still . . .

• "France, too, has been bullied . . .

• "Both together have been frightened out of the only policy which could at once have guaranteed the preservation of the peace, while maintaining their own respectability."

Marx wrote those things in clear English, not in German, as a correspondent for an American newspaper.

For nine years just before the Civil War, Marx wrote for The New York Tribune and his dispatches from London were widely read in the United States.

Between 1853 and 1856 he wrote frequently of Russian aggression—which he bluntly asserted wouldn't change because you can't change the Russians—pinpointing incidents that led to the Crimean War.

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His dispatches during that period were gathered into a book by his daughter, Eleanor Marx Aveling, in 1897.

You won't find a copy of Mrs. Aveling's book in the Congressional Library, nor in any other American library. A wide search has been made for it.

Library catalogs show several libraries in this country had copies of the book shortly after it was published and for a good many years after that.

They've all been stolen, presumably by communist agents after the Russian revolution in 1917, when the communists became extremely sensitive about what Karl Marx had to say about the Russians.

There's only one way to find out now, and that is by going back to the old files of The New York Tribune. Fortunately Lloyd Wendt, of The Chicago Tribune, did that in 1948, and reprinted some of the most significant and vivid of Marx's evaluations of Russia's political role, past, present and future.

Marx was pretty much in favor of blasting Russia off the map. He said the "stereotyped mannerisms" of Russian policy proved "the intrinsic barbarism of Russia herself."

¶ Another Opinion

Karl Marx wrote this:

"The Russian bear is capable of anything, so long as he knows the other animals he has to deal with are capable of nothing."

Marx's opinions were rooted then in the same "dialectical materialism" that is now the mainspring of communist ideology wherever it is found. He and Frederick Engels had published The Communist Manifesto in 1847, six years before Marx became a correspondent for The New York Tribune, then edited by Horace Greeley, who didn't object to radicalism in his European contributors.

Marx was at that time working on "Das Kapital," published in 1861 as an indictment of capitalist society as he knew it, and his ideas about Russia were not those of an irresponsible young man who might later repudiate them. As a matter of simple fact he never did repudiate them, and it is as true today as it was then that Karl Marx just didn't like Russians.

Mr. Wendt pointed out what also is undeniably true—"there is no doubt Marx hated Russia because of her reactionary government, but that hatred was not the basis for his analysis of Russia as a menace to the Western world. Applying his materialistic yardstick to history, the approved communist method, he concluded that Russian nationalism always had been and always would continue to be a threat to the rest of the world."

Karl Marx wrote this:

● "Since Peter the Great the Russian frontier has advanced towards Berlin, Dresden and Vienna about 700 miles; towards Constantinople (Istanbul) 500 miles; towards Stockholm 630 miles; towards Teheran 1000 miles.

● "Russia's acquisitions from Sweden are greater than what remains of that kingdom; from Poland, nearly equal to the Austrian empire; from Turkey in Europe, greater than Prussia; from Turkey in Asia, as large as the whole dominion of Germany proper; from Persia, equal to England; from Tartary, to an extent as large as European Turkey, Greece, Italy and Spain taken together.

"The total acquisitions of Russia during the last 60 years are equal in extent and importance to the whole empire she had in Europe at that time."

¶ On Soviet Methods

As for the methods used by Russia, Karl Marx wrote:

"England . . . has been bullied and is so still . . . "France, too, has been bullied . . . "But both together have been frightened out of the only policy which could at once have guaranteed the preservation of the peace, while maintaining their own respectability. To the arrogance of the Autocrat (the Russian government) they have replied with the symptoms of cowardice.

"If, at the outset, they had used a manly style of language adequate to the positions they hold, and the pretensions they set up before the world, if they had proved that bluster and swagger could not impose on them, the Autocrat would not only have refrained from attempting it . . ."

"At that time (prior to the Russian attack on Turkey), to show that they seriously meant to preserve Turkey intact, and were ready to back up their intention with the last reason of kings—fleets and armies—was the one sure means of maintaining peace. **THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY TO DEAL WITH A POWER LIKE RUSSIA, AND THAT IS THE FEARLESS WAY."**

The capitalization was Karl Marx's.

"Politicians are wont to refer to the testament of Peter I, in order to show the traditional policy of Russia in general. They might have gone still further.

"More than eight centuries ago, Sviätaslaff, the grand duke, declared that 'not only Bulgaria, but the Greek empire in Europe, together with Bohemia and Hungary, ought to undergo the rule of Russia.'"

Discussing Russian designs on Turkey and Greece, and the assumption that Russia might seize the Dardanelles, he wrote:

"Having come this far (that is into control of the Dardanelles) on the way to universal empire is it possible that this gigantic and swollen power, Russia, will pause in its career? Circumstances, if not her own will, forbid it.

"With the annexation of Turkey and Greece, she has excellent seaports, while the Greeks furnish sailors for her navy. With Constatinople (Istanbul) she stands at the threshhold of the Mediterranean; with Durazzo and the Albanian coast she is at the very center of the Adriatic. Flaking the Austrian dominions on the north, east and south, Russia will already count that nation among her vassals.

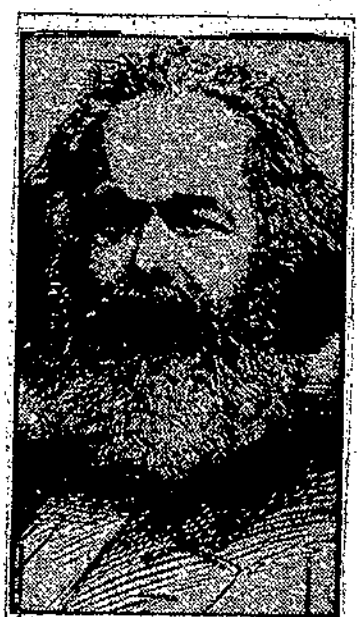
"And, as sure as conquest follows conquest and annexation follows annexation, so sure would the conquest of Turkey by Russia be only the prelude for the annexation of Hungary, Prussia, Galicia and for the ultimate realization of the Slavonic empire which certain fanatical pan Slavic philosophers have dreamed of.

¶ *Wasn't Good Prophet*

But Marx wasn't as astute a prophet as he was a reporter. He didn't imagine a communist revolution in Russia. Nevertheless, it is of interest that Marx wrote:

"If the success of her hereditary policy proves the weakness of Western powers, the stereotyped mannerisms of that policy proves the intrinsic barbarism of Russia herself."

As an example of Russian duplicity he pointed out that the country obtained control of the mouth of the Danube in violation of treaties, and then used its strategic position to starve smaller nations into submission.



KARL MARX

0-19 (Rev. 9-7-56)

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Communist Party - Russia

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THE WASHINGTON POST and TIMES H
Wednesday, January 2, 1957

Khrushchev

By John Rettie
Reuters

MOSCOW, Jan. 1—Russian Communist Party Chief Nikita Khrushchev told guests at Monday night's New Year's reception in the Kremlin that all the Soviet leaders were "Stalinists" when it came to "fighting the imperialists," diplomatic sources said today.

These sources said that Khrushchev was loudly applauded by the guests, numbering several hundred, when he praised Stalin as a "great fighter against imperialists" and a "great Marxist" while proposing a New Year's toast.

Foreign envoys were invited to the reception, but the majority of the Westerners declined, including United States Ambassador Charles Bohlen, British Ambassador Sir William Hayter, French Ambassador Maurice DeJean and other NATO envoys.

Neutrals Attend

The reception was attended by Afro-Asian and other "neutral" heads of missions.

Diplomatic sources quoted Khrushchev as saying, "I grew up under Stalin" and that the present Soviet leaders must share responsibility for his mistakes because they were associated with him.

Soviet leaders had been accused of being anti-Stalinists, but when it came to "fighting the imperialists," they were all Stalinists, the Communist Party chief said.

After Khrushchev's toast, others were proposed by Deputy Premiers Vyacheslav Molotov, Lazar Kaganovich, Georgi Malenkov and Premier Nikolai Bulganin.

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HERALD

Praises Stalinism

Seem Aimed at Tito

These toasts, together with Khrushchev's emphasis on the present Soviet leaders' close association with Stalin and their willingness to accept their share of responsibility for Stalin's "mistakes" were taken as an attempt to scotch allegations made by Marshal Tito and others that these leaders were divided into "Stalinists" and "anti-Stalinists."

It was the first time that any Soviet leader had publicly admitted any responsibility for Stalin's "mistakes" which were so severely condemned by Khrushchev himself at the Communist Party Congress last February, but the difference of emphasis in Khrushchev's position then and now was considered in Moscow to be strikingly significant.

Diplomatic sources also quoted Khrushchev as saying in a reference to the Middle East that strength was most important for the cause of peace.

Mideast Letter Recalled

The Communist Party leader was reported to have said that nothing happened after the United Nations had called on Britain and France to stop military action against Egypt, but that fighting ended after Bulganin's letters to British Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden and French Premier Guy Mollet.

These letters contained what were taken to be veiled threats about the position of Britain and France in the event of an attack on them with rockets and other modern weapons by a more powerful state.

During the reception Khrushchev gave Chinese Ambassador Liu Hsiao the honor of sitting at a table with the Soviet leaders in the massive white marble St. George's Hall where the banquet was held.

Among the guests was Yugoslav Ambassador Veljko Micunovic. But the new year opened with two attacks, the sharpest yet in the Russian press, on Yugoslavia and her ideological position.

The attacks, in the weekly magazine New Times and the journal Kommunist, said "independent communism" was being used by "imperialists" to deal a stab in the back against Western Communist parties.

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These Days . . . . . By George Sokolsky

The Contrast

THERE ARE always men of good will who believe, despite the facts of life, that a compromise is usually attainable if those who differ talk things over. The error undoubtedly is that those who adhere to principle without regard to consequences do not wish a compromise but are ambitious only to achieve their ends.

Sokolsky

President Eisenhower is beyond question a man of good will, but when he expects unselfish responses from Nehru, Tito, Nasser and Chou En-lai, he is moving into a league which he cannot even believe exists. Chou En-lai's immediate response to Mr. Eisenhower's conversations with Nehru displays the cloven hoof of the Devil.

Galeatus (pseudonym), writing in the "Free World Review," makes an interesting contrast between Western society and the Communist state which shows how irreconcilable these two systems are. Correctly he places religion as the first and sharpest difference, and although I think he minimizes somewhat the position of Christianity in Western society, he nevertheless recognizes the trend toward secularism in the West which has not yet been arrested although it is diminishing in some areas. Herewith his contrast:

"WESTERN SOCIETY

"Agnostic attitude toward God. (Science is based on the supposition of a material universe.) Educationist and sociological views point to a thoroughly secularized state, with religion confined to the private sphere. Tendencies to exclude denominational teaching from schools. 'Scientific' tendencies to do away with the ethical system of Christianity. (Ethics treated in an utilitaristic manner.)—Neitzche.—Freud.

"COMMUNISTIC STATE

"There is no God.

"There should be no churches.

"Order maintained by the state only."

IT IS REALLY over this contrast that both the Polish and Hungarian revolts occurred, although they play no part in the Titoization of the American Communist Party, which is moved by other forces. In both Poland and Hungary, Roman Catholicism reasserted itself, and in both countries a cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church became the symbol of freedom. The singing of "Stille Nacht, Heilige Nacht," by the Communist radio in Hungary established that even the atheistic Communists had to recognize that a new day had dawned.

In the United States, where religious nonconformity is so fashionable that there are hundreds of religious sects, it is difficult to recognize that the struggle against communism in Europe must be premised on religious organization because the first target for destruction in each Communist country is religious organization.

The Jew is essentially a religious person who traditionally, when 10 of them find themselves anywhere, form a synagogue even in a hovel, and do so under Communist rule. What Khrushchev dares not face is the fact that Catholics and Protestants do the same, and therefore the monolithic society which he and Lenin and Stalin believed they had established never really came into existence.

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Crisis in Communism III. By Barrett McGurn

Some Cracks Appearing in Yugoslav Red Rule

N. Y. Herald Tribune News Service

BELGRADE — The rickety Toonerville trolleys which teesaw across the plains of Slavonia bear faded slogans: "Death to Fascism. Freedom to the people."

In the decade since President Marshal Tito seized power, the old right-wing regime has met its death and the principle of freedom from Moscow also has been affirmed effectively, but there is still little of civil liberty for the people.

The crisis shaking the pro-Moscow part of the Communist world, traceable at least in part to Marshall Tito's revolt against the Russians, is now with some irony reviving the question of the Yugoslav people's freedom and the very fate of Yugoslav communism. There are many signs that the cracks Yugoslavs point to in the structure of pro-Moscow communism are opening in their own brand as well.

"Creeping democracy" has taken many forms. The people can and do tune in to the anti-Communist radio stations of the West. For those who can read and afford them—few to be sure—Western newspapers have been available in recent weeks at some of the newsstands. The American and British consulates are allowed to publish uncensored news sheets in Serbo-Croat, which are very popular.

DEPUTIES in parliament are authorized to criticize the running of Yugoslavia's creaking economy, and scores this month seized the chance to do so.

Painters are allowed to experiment with modernism instead of propagandistic "socialist realism."

But there are limits, as Milovan Djilas found out when he broadened his attack on Soviet communism (He called it a "total dictatorship by a new class of exploiters—a political and party bureaucracy"), to reduke Yugoslavia's Communist leadership. He said they were part of a "detached closed world which outside its polished and parvenu officers always moved about its same summer resorts, its same clubs, its same villas, its same boxes in the theater and sports stadiums."

After that and stronger comments, Djilas was sentenced this month to three years at hard labor, a punishment all the more remarkable because he had once been one of Yugoslavia's top Communists.

An idea entertained in at least part of the Yugoslav Communist Central Committee is that democracy is now inevitable throughout the world, but that in their own country they can keep it within certain "socialist" limits. Public ownership of the "means of production" and of the large banks must not be surrendered, Marshal Tito's aides maintain.

On the other hand, they agree that when communism degenerates to "bureaucratic despotism," such as it did in Hungary, popular explosions are likely to sweep away any Communist regime. To avoid that some "Democracy" is necessary, the Yugoslav leaders concede.

The great debate now under way in Yugoslavia and to some extent throughout the rest of the Communist world is how far the "democratization" should go. It is in part a debate on whether democracy, once unleashed, can be held within limits at all.

ONE THEORY entertained in top Yugoslav Communist circles is that the "many-party system," as officials here describe western democracy, is not the only form of popular self-rule.

After a short period of dictatorship in a newly communized state, workers who have had their minds conditioned to public ownership of the "means of production" should be given the opportunity to express their views, at least on details of economic improvement, according to the theory. They may even be permitted to choose between rival political parties dedicated to the same basic principles of public ownership, the Yugoslav Communist theorizers are arguing.

That means that Yugoslavia could agree to rivals for the now all-powerful Tito Communist Party, so long as each new party was pledged to preserve certain elements of socialism. On the other hand, the Yugoslav theorizers assert that democracy is still fully possible without rival parties, and Marshal Tito may well still stick with that view.

C.P. — Russia

Yugoslav Communist leaders are slowly approaching democratic reforms, not because of any strong attraction they feel for the people's self-rule, but because they are repelled by the alternatives.

THE REBELLION of Tito against Moscow set off ripples of freedom which never have stopped expanding by the logic of their position. The Yugoslavs have opposed the Soviet-run regimes of the Eastern European bloc, and in their criticisms have exposed ever more profound layers of lies, hypocrisy and inhumanity in a system they now condemn virtually to a man.

The Yugoslav leaders can

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it the Stalin system, although many of them agree they mean by that the present Communist organization of much of the rest of the Red world.

Their rivals retort with the charge that it is the Communist system itself which Marshal Tito and the rest of the Yugoslavs are assailing. Ironically, for the Yugolav regime, their Communist opponents may prove to be right. In the meantime, some of the most penetrating denunciations of Moscow-led communism comes from the Yugoslavs.

It is to Yugoslavs that the Romanians are willing to tell their anti-regime jokes. To a Yugoslav official, a satellite economist admitted that his attack on America as a society of capitalistic monopolies without working class influence was an official line he had to mouth but did not believe.

To a Yugoslav, the workers of Budapest, just before the revolt, pointed out the absurdities of a factory system dictated to and financed from a top ministry which was almost totally ignorant of local problems.

MEANWHILE, inside Yugoslavia even writers in the tightly controlled propaganda press are beginning to say that they would like to see newspapers with more facts and less opinion. Some safety valves are already operative in the Yugoslav system.

[illegible] dissatisfied local workers do not like the candidate put up by the Communist controlled "Socialist Alliance," they are, in theory, allowed to propose a man of their own. He, in turn, could be elected by secret ballot.

It is unlikely that the 600,000-man Tito Communist Party would stand by inactively while a stream of such local nominations tipped the balance of power in the Parliment's lower house or that the Tito regime would watch without acting while its present upper house veto power vanished, too.

The voters, so far, show no such aggressive intentions. However, one thing is sure, according to some of Marshal Tito's closest aids: "We won't call in the Red army to redress the situation."

Using foreigners against one's own people, as other Eastern European Communists have done, is a critical error, Marshal Tito is convinced. Helping the Yugoslav President is the fact that the desire for individual freedom and for democracy, which burns in hearts here as it does everywhere, is not wedded to hatred of the foreign masters, as it is in the satellites.

Marshal Tito's aides insist that the regime's ears are to the ground and that they will avoid the error of "too little, too late."

0-19 (11-22-55)

C.P.-Russia

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Crisis in Communism—I. By Barrett McGurn

If West Panics Soviet Now There Well May Be War

N. Y. Herald Tribune News Service

BELGRADE, Dec. 23—The Kremlin is split on what to do about the monumental crisis in communism. For the moment the "hards"—the "Stalinists," the imperialists—have the upper hand but they are not sure they are right and may yet give in to less militant counsel.

If the West makes no move to panic the Soviets, a slow relaxation of the present tight Moscow control over the Eastern European satellites is probable.

But, if the Kremlin is alarmed into thinking that full-blown anti-Russian, anti-Communist Western democracy is imminent in Eastern Europe, there may well be war.

This is a common view here among the top leadership of Communist Yugoslavia. What the Yugoslavs think is important. As rebel Communists they have a unique inside view of what is going on in the Moscow-dominated part of the world and, as diplomats here testify, they have proved correct in forecasts so frequently in recent months that what they say now cannot be ignored.

Yugoslavs have been impartial in distributing their predictions. Marshal Tito warned the Kremlin leaders a half year ago that trouble was coming for them unless they loosened their tight grip on the satellites, and a member of the Yugoslav Communist Party's Central Committee told the same to Ernoe Gerge, head of the Hungarian Communist Party, less than a week before the Oct. 23 explosion.

THE YUGOSLAV had no crystal ball. He had merely gone to the Csepel automobile factory in Budapest, whose 30,000 workers were the proudest concentration of factory laborers in Communist Hungary. He had called also at one of the main Budapest schools in advanced political and economic theory. The enthusiastic questions the Hungarians put to him about Yugoslavia's relations with the United States and about her experiment in increased democracy, and ironic and bitter comments the students made about their harsh life under Hungarian communism, convinced the Yugoslav that danger for the Gerge regime was around the corner.

Few can testify better about splits in the Kremlin than the Yugoslavs. Marshal Tito had long talks with the Russians here and in the Soviet Union within the past six months. Few, also, are in a better position to lift the curtain of secrecy still covering much of eastern Europe. As Communists outside the Soviet bloc, Yugoslavs invite and generally receive, better confidences. There is no reason to doubt the Yugoslav claim that this country has rare contacts throughout Eastern Europe and in Russia.

From Marshal Tito on down, Yugoslavs are convinced the Soviets now face a crisis of historic proportions. A few such as Milovan Djilas, formerly one of the topmost theoreticians of Yugoslav national communism, go so far as to say that communism as the world has known it, including even national communism, is about to disappear from the international stage under the pressure of democracy.

Djilas has just been sentenced to three years at hard labor for remarks which the officials of Tito's dictatorship could not be expected to find palatable. But at least part of the membership of the Yugoslav Communist Central Committee are known to agree with Djilas that "Stalinism"—by which they mean a great share of the "communism" in the rest of the world—is a "primitive" system of violence which cannot last much longer among the cultured people of Eastern Europe, and may well soon be doomed as a result of the advance of education, even in the Soviet Union.

YUGOSLAVS have kept their ears to the ground for the telltale rumblings to which they look forward inside the Soviet homeland.

Nothing similar to the upheavals of Hungary and Poland are expected soon in the Soviet Union, according to Yugoslavs, but even small tremors would have vast significance, they contend. Keeping power through the Red Army on foreign soil in Eastern Europe is one thing; maintaining it inside the Soviet homeland, where communism presents itself as a product of the popular will, is another, it is argued.

For the moment, the events in Hungary and Poland have resulted in a tightening of Soviet screws in much of the rest of Eastern Europe, according to Yugoslav information. In some cases, such as in Romania, where diplomats understand that there are not even enough convinced native Communists to staff the state machinery; in Bulgaria, in Albania and in Czechoslovakia, where the Moscow-imposed Communist regimes feel that survival depends on continued Red Army support, local regimes have slowed down such "de-Stalinization" and "democratization" as had begun, it is understood here.

But unless blunders cause a war, and that is considered improbable, the process of contracting Soviet influence and of expanding democracy is sure to resume, it is commonly predicted here.

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0-19 (11-22-55)

Discussion Group Members Arrested

Russia Denounces Student 'Rhetoric'

By Victor Zorza
Manchester Guardian

THE SOVIET authorities have arrested a number of Moscow students on suspicion that they had formed an "underground political organization." This news has been brought out of Moscow by a traveler whose reliability is beyond doubt, and who was in touch with some of the students concerned.

The particular "organization," which has now been liquidated by the police, began innocently and openly enough as an informal literary discussion group. The students' discussions of the repressive policies of Stalin and Zhdanov led naturally enough to discussions of the government, and to criticism of the present leadership for delaying "genuine democratization."

MORE OR LESS open student discussion groups have grown greatly in numbers in recent months, and criticism of various aspects of the Soviet system is being freely voiced. Much of this criticism is deliberately encouraged by the party, which uses it both as a safety valve and as a means of putting right the many wrongs which still persist from the Stalinist period.

The latest issue of "Meditsinsky Rabotnik," the organ of the Ministry of Health, reports with approval, for instance, that a party meeting at the medical faculty of Moscow University has elected a new party committee after it had criticized the old leadership's failure to comprehend the students' aspirations and ideas.

At the same time, however, the paper denounced "demagogic speeches" by some of the students and warned them against "indulging in endless and idle rhetoric" and against adopting "a negative approach to everything around them." This can only mean, in Soviet double-talk, that the students reject the ideological and political conceptions which have been forced upon them and that their "rhetoric" is directed toward evolving something new, something different.

Indeed, it is known that some student discussion groups have deliberated on the role and function of the Supreme Soviet and have suggested its replacement by a more democratic parliament, chosen in free elections.

KHRUSHCHEV, addressing Moscow youth last month, found it necessary to deal at some length with the "intrigues of counter-revolution" in Hungary. According to Soviet press accounts of his speech, his reference to Hungary was immediately followed by this warning:

"The enemies of socialism gamble particularly on the young people, trying to deceive them with false slogans, to divert them from the correct path. Therefore we must continually increase our vigilance, and devote more attention to the correct training of youth."

He warned university students that unless they toed the party line, they would be expelled. This he did by telling his audience a cautionary tale which went something like this:

Certain comrades, after having observed unhealthy sentiments among some students, asked them in the course of a frank talk: "Your studies are financed by a state grant?" "Yes," the students replied. "You have a hostel, good lecturers?" "We have." "Do you want to learn?" "We do." "Then you should study more conscientiously. If some of you don't want to do that, you should go to work. If you do not like our institutions, go and work, and others will come and study in your place."

THIS, OF COURSE, did not happen in Russia, said Khrushchev, but in Romania. Khrushchev is the last man to threaten Soviet students with expulsion because "you do not like our institutions," if only because he would be the first to deny that any such threats were necessary.

Besides, he is a diplomatic man. So, still speaking of Romania, he asked: "Did these comrades act correctly? In my view, they did." As for Russia, he only added that "we must improve our system of admission to the universities" by making sure that only "people devoted to the cause of Lenin" get in.

It is also reported that students in the Baltic republics have staged nationalist demonstrations. The official Estonian party paper reports that during a party meeting in Tallinn, speakers criticized Russian party agitators who refused to learn the Estonian language and called for respect for the national traditions of Estonia.

But one manifestation of bourgeois nationalism which the meeting refused to countenance was the attempt made at a local school to substitute Boy Scout-type neckerchiefs for the red ties of the Communist children's pioneer organization. The meeting [illegible]ly condemned this as an attempt to liquidate the revolutionary pioneer symbol."

Russian Students Arrested [illegible]

Communist Party - Russia

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0-19 (Rev. 10-29-57)

J. E. Hoover Calls Nixon Riot 'Lesson'

F. B. I. Chief Says Attacks Show Ability of Communist Minorities

By James E. Warner

WASHINGTON, May 18.—Anti-American riots in South America, led by Communists, should be a "lesson" to United States citizens at home on the ability of Communist minorities, F. B. I. director J. Edgar Hoover said tonight.

Speaking on the television program "Let's Look at Congress" conducted by Rep. Kenneth B. Keating, R., N. Y., over an upstate New York network, Mr. Hoover said flatly that Communists were responsible for the riotous attacks on Vice-President and Mrs. Richard M. Nixon in South America last week.

Cites Dangers Here

Agreeing with Rep. Keating that it was "disheartening" to hear American citizens attempt to minimize the danger of Communist infiltration, Mr. Hoover said:

"It is disheartening and unrealistic. The Communist party of the U. S. A. is an inseparable arm of the treacherous international conspiracy headed up at Moscow. . . . As an international Communist menace, the matter becomes even more serious in this country as it expands abroad. . . .

"All you have to do is to look in South America for the last few days and view some of the very serious attacks made upon our Vice-President and his wife. They were initiated by Communists in those various countries and yet in not one of those countries is the Communist party in the majority, but in a very small minority. Yet they endangered the life of our Vice-President and his wife, destroyed the American flag and insulted all the things for which it stands. I think that should be a lesson to the folks in this country."

Points to Moscow Attitude

Mr. Hoover did not go into statistics. It is the best estimate of Latin-American experts here, however, that only 200,000 Latin Americans are active Communists, with perhaps twice that number of sympathizers, out of a total population of 180,000,000.

Referring obliquely to Democratic contentions that the attacks on Mr. Nixon reflected resentment against United States trade and diplomatic policies, Rep. Keating asked whether the riots were "definitely Communist - inspired." Mr. Hoover replied:

"I think that is proven by the fact that in many of the demonstrations supposed to have been conducted by students many participants were found to be persons in their late thirties and forties who obviously were not students in the universities which the Vice-President had gone to address. . . and there has been a concerted effort throughout the Vice-President's trip to embarrass him. . . and last week the Moscow radio and press greeted with somewhat marked enthusiasm the various demonstrations made against the Vice-President, showing their condonement of such activity."

J. Edgar Hoover

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DAVID LAWRENCE

The Big Russian Weakness

Attempt to Keep People From Getting U. S. Views Held Fatal Policy Error

What are the men in the Kremlin afraid of? They talk glibly about wanting better understanding between the Soviet and the American peoples. But the jamming of broadcasts of news from the United States into the countries behind the Iron Curtain continues with renewed intensity.

It is reliably estimated that, out of the several billions in its propaganda budget, the Soviet government is spending $100 million a year just to jam radio broadcasts from stations in the free world to Russia and the captive countries. This is about the same amount that Congress appropriates for the entire program of information disseminated through radio, movies and books by the United States Information Agency.

The number of persons inside Russia who understand English is limited, so the broadcasts by the "Voice of America" when made in English are not interfered with—besides, the Moscow authorities like to transcribe for themselves what is being said. The broadcasts in the Russian language, however, and in all Slavic languages sent from stations in Europe both by the United States and her allies are always jammed. This means that electronic devices are used in various places to interfere with transmission.

The authorities also censor every newspaper and magazine published in the Soviet Union, and instructions are regularly issued banning the publication of certain kinds of information.

Throughout the Soviet Union, the radio is used 24 hours a day with considerable repetition and persistence, to explain the government's point of view to the people.

The apologists for the Soviet Union claim they practice "democracy." They use the phrase "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" and often refer to "freedom" but, curiously enough, the men in command are afraid to let the Soviet people get both sides of public questions. The people are told that the government has made up its mind as to what is right and proper for them to know, and anyone who differs is suspected of treason.

While the existence of this sort of intimidation is well known outside the Soviet Union, there is no clear explanation as to why the Kremlin is afraid to let the truth come in. No such timidity is shown with respect to the admission of musical groups or ballets or works of art, and there are even token examples of government tolerance of a few Christian churches.

What is behind the fear that causes the Soviet authorities to spend so much time and money jamming the "Voice of America" broadcasts in the Russian and Slavic languages? There was a time when the Communists said they were proud to have the Russian language extolled outside the Soviet Union. Can it be that the Communists really fear the effect on the people of their own country and on the minds of the inhabitants of the captive countries if the truth is allowed to penetrate?

Why, it may be asked, do the Soviet officials exhibit such anxiety about the American point of view? They have no hesitancy in rebutting it day in and day out in their own broadcasts sent to foreign lands. This correspondent listens often to the English-language broadcasts from Moscow, and they are a monotonous repetition of the Soviet rejection of the American viewpoint. But if this is felt to be a persuasive rebuttal, why are the Soviets afraid to let the debate of both sides be heard inside their country by their own people?

There is only one possible answer to the mystery. It is that the Soviet rulers are convinced that their own arguments will not stand up when the truth is known, and they fear a revolution against them. This is the inevitable trend in a dictatorship, but defensive tactics like this eventually prove their own undoing. People become suspicious. The power of word-of-mouth publicity is greater than almost anything else. The printed word and the broadcasts that reach neighboring countries do overflow the borders, as travelers bring in news and gossip from other areas. Rumors are sometimes exaggerations and word-of-mouth circulation has been proved worse in its impact than the printing of the truth.

So the Soviet dictatorship probably is going the way of other autocracies—for a government that is ashamed or afraid to allow a debate on its policies cannot long endure.

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Red Propaganda Chief Named

MOSCOW, May 15 (UP)—Leonid Ilyichev, veteran Soviet Foreign Ministry press spokesman, has been appointed the new propaganda chief for the Soviet Union, authoritative sources disclosed today.

Ilyichev, the sources said, was promoted to chief of the press and propaganda section of the Communist Party Central Committee, the ultimate authority on Soviet propaganda.

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Central Research, said this morning that he had seen this

O.C.P. RUSSIA

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DAVID LAWRENCE

Opposing the Red Conspiracy

U. S. Warning to Moscow and Expose Of Red Plots in Free Nations Is Urged

A different kind of "World War III" than has been heretofore visualized is sweeping four continents — South America, Asia, Europe and Africa.

The Communists have supplied ammunition for the fighting in the Middle East, in Indonesia and in Algeria. They have taken over Egypt and Syria and are threatening to take Lebanon. They now have stirred up spectacular disorders in Latin America.

The Soviet government is taking advantage of the paralysis of fear and the psychology of self-restraint which prevails in the free world. The net result is that a sort of international anarchy is developing in which small countries as well as big ones are either the victims of revolts engineered by Moscow or parliamentary frustration — as in France — brought about by active and aggressive Communist parties.

Most of the countries of the free world are not dealing firmly with subversion. Full political rights and privileges are, for instance, granted to organizations which ostensibly are political parties but which have as their basic aim the overthrow of free governments everywhere.

In Venezuela, for example, where Vice President Nixon and the American flag were subjected to indignities, there is a Communist sympathizer at the head of the cabinet department which is supposed to direct the police to preserve law and order. The Venezuelan anti-Communists have openly accused him of Communist sympathies.

The whole story of what is happening inside Venezuela has not yet been exposed. A dictator was expelled, and a military junta that included a Communist sympathizer assumed governmental power.

There is nothing to be gained by taking any reprisals against the people of Venezuela or of any other Latin American country where demonstrations hostile to the Vice President of the United States occurred. The answer to the problem isn't in Venezuela or in Lebanon, where outspoken enmity to the United States has lately been stimulated by the Communists. The answer is to be found in only one place — Moscow — where the orders to stir up the trouble are issued.

What can the United States do in the circumstances? Nobody, of course, wants a nuclear war, and yet the United States cannot engage in appeasement or assume an attitude of indifference. Such a policy usually breeds the very incidents that lead to a shooting war.

The alternative is for the United States Government to speak out frankly and fearlessly against the Communist conspiracy which is boldly defying the free world. The Moscow government should be warned that it will be held accountable by free men everywhere for its tactics in promoting internal disorders in other countries and in its planned insults to governments that stand for individual freedom.

An essential part of any countermove is full exposure of the wrongdoing of the Moscow government. There is plenty of information — available through official sources — concerning the infiltration that has been steadily carried on by the Soviet government in Latin America and in the Middle East. There is no need to use military force, especially since the great and influential weapons of moral force are available.

For one thing, the United States could announce that it sees little reason now to consider any plan for participation in "summit" meetings with the head of a government that utters promises of peace but clandestinely engages in subversion throughout the world.

The United States could, if it wished to act alone, announce that it is considering a severance of diplomatic relations with the Moscow government until such time as it is assured that hostile acts aimed at the United States Government are terminated.

There is also the possibility that the United Nations General Assembly might be convened in special session to consider the expulsion of the Soviet government from that body on the ground that it has violated the letter and the spirit of the U. N. Charter, which binds the member nations to maintain a "peace-loving" attitude toward one another. Surely the presence in the U. N. of a nation engaged in a war of subversion against the free nations warrants in itself action of some kind.

All these measures look toward the use of reason, rather than military force. The adoption of such an approach would convince the peoples of the whole world — including the peoples behind the Iron Curtain — that they can be assured of an era of peace only if the disturbers of the peace are effectively restrained. For these autocratic governments surely cannot expect to enjoy the benefits of trade or diplomatic intercourse if they carry on at the same time a world-wide war of subversion against peaceful nations.

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Washington Scene . . .

Reds Need to Live Long

By George Dixon

MOSCOW HAS a slogan factory working overtime. It concocts catch phrases in many languages and ships them out in bale lots for use by Communists around the world. A recently produced bale has just fallen into my possession, and I may say that I am immeasurably heartened by it.

Dixon

Whatever other strides it may have made, Russia obviously has not yet caught up with us at punch-lining.

The batch of stuff I have before me consists largely of party yells which were shouted at celebrations in Russia, Poland, North Viet-Nam, Albania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. All I can say is that the shouters must be equipped with marathon lungs and anti-trippers on the tongues. We have few slogan-yellers in this country who could handle anything as lengthy and complicated.

For instance, celebrants in Leningrad, Stalingrad, Sevastopol and Odessa bellowed this prepared commercial the other day without halting for breath:

"Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which inspires and organizes the forces of the Soviet people in the struggle for the building of communism!"

Bulgarian Communists at a rally in Sofia bellowed in unison:

"Long live our Socialist fatherland — the Bulgarian People's Republic! Long live the heroic Bulgarian people led by the great Soviet Union! Long live the Bulgarian Communist Party — great organizer and leader of all our successes!"

They need to long live, just to get a yell finished.

HOW THEY accomplished it without stumbling is one of the miracles of modern forensics, but in North Korea a mob bellowed in precise chorus:

"South Korean youth and students, fight against the press-ganging of the U. S. Imperialists and Syngman Rheeites. We denounce the U. S. imperialist occupationists' atrocities against our brothers and sisters!"

Madison Avenue would never perpetrate anything as complicated as that.

The Moscow slogan factory turned out one for a celebration in North Viet-Nam that would seem to defy the human tongue, but nevertheless a multitude in Hanoi shouted without slipping:

"Let us thoroughly implement the economic policy of our party for further consolidating the Socialist foundation and enhancing the living of all the people!"

In Czechoslovakia, the main slogan for a rally at Prague was: "Under the leadership of the Communist Party, forward to the completion of the construction of socialism!" And in Albania celebrants roared this Moscow-made yell:

"Long live the Albanian Workers' Party, leader and organizer of all victories of our people. Glory to the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, bulwark of world peace and invincible defender of our people!"

Maybe our best hope in the cold war is that they will dissipate their trouble-making energy, yelling these endurance-contest slogans.

AT A SPARSELY attended meeting of the House Interior Committee, Rep. Leo W. O'Brien, of New York, moved that the committee reaffirm its support of Alaskan statehood. O'Brien called for a vote, but Rep. James A. Haley, of Florida, raised the point of order that a quorum was not present.

A roll call was ordered. In the meantime, Haley had become absorbed in some reading matter and neglected to answer when his name was called. This was parliamentary meat for O'Brien. Addressing Committee Chairman Clair Engle, of California, the New Yorker said:

"I wish to make the point of order that the man who raised the point of order is not present."

The "not present" Haley sat glaring at O'Brien, and was rendered speechless long enough for the committee to reaffirm its support of statehood for Alaska.

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Today in World Affairs

Reds Seen Stepping Up Free-World Infiltration

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, May 8.—The Communists are stepping up their infiltration in all the countries of the free world. They feel cocky about their successes inside France, inside Italy and inside Great Britain. They are still hopeful that they can force a change in American policy, drive out their arch-foe, Secretary Dulles, and give themselves also a mastery of the whole military situation by stopping our nuclear tests.

Lawrence

To conquer or dominate the world without firing a shot—this is the objective which the Communists are confident they can attain because of various weaknesses in the free world countries.

Many Unconvinced of Menace

Many Americans are still unconvinced that there is any Communist menace, and they are prone to believe that to stop nuclear testing, for instance, is merely a logical way to avoid a nuclear war. But the amount of organized propaganda behind this and other Communist drives indicates clearly that the agents and auxiliaries of the Moscow government are provocatively busy everywhere improving their own military position.

The demonstrations by Communist sympathizers against Vice-President Nixon in the various Latin-American countries he has been visiting are dramatic examples of how the Soviets operate in the "cold war." To them the fight is on in earnest, and lately it has been going the Communists' way almost by default. This is largely because there is a tendency, principally in the United States, to pooh-pooh the Communist conspiracy.

Subversion Noted

Meanwhile, internal subversion in America is progressing rapidly, and any efforts by Congressional committees to expose what's happening are reported to have been effectively squelched by the Democratic leadership, which evidently must be theorizing that the public will not mind if the Democratic party is again accused of becoming "soft on communism." For it is apparently assumed by the Democratic leaders that there is no need for incisive investigations of the ways by which the Communist apparatus is today making headway in the United States, particularly in the field of science. Yet, while the background of some of the men who are in the forefront of the movement to disarm America and weaken her position on nuclear weapons cries out for exposure, the Congressional committees have been told to keep their hands off. For they have done nothing about exposing the phony petitions and the devious methods by which organized propaganda against nuclear testing has been thriving lately, not only in this country but among our allies.

The Communist success in paralyzing the government of France and an almost parallel achievement in breaking up the political parties in Italy is cause for genuine concern. The inroads made by the Communist viewpoint in British Socialist circles is the gravest threat to allied solidarity yet to appear. What would happen to world policies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization if the Conservative government in Britain is ousted is a matter of grave worry everywhere.

Inside the United States, there isn't as yet a general awareness of what hurts this country abroad. Thus the other day Senator Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico, Democrat, in a spur-of-the-moment comment on a television broadcast—which he probably regretted the moment he made it—said that the United States military men want "dirty" bombs and are making "dirtier" H-bombs. The Atomic Energy Commission denied this categorically, but for the last few days the Soviet radio has been exultantly repeating in many languages throughout the world the comment by the chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of both Houses of Congress.

Then there is the situation about "surprise attack," which the Russians have been publicizing lately because of American maneuvers in the Arctic. A new drive is on to compel our Strategic Air Command to stop training for interception of a surprise attack. This, plus a ban on further testing of nuclear weapons, would give a military advantage of tremendous value to the Soviets.

Small wonder the Communists think they can conquer or dominate the world without firing a shot—they still think Americans are gullible and naïve. And, judging by the current attitude here toward Soviet infiltration in the United States, the Communist planners may feel they have some basis for their theories, though it would prove to be a tragic miscalculation if they ever forced the issue to a climax.

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Communist Infiltration

BRIBHAM

If Marx Visited Moscow Today—

Communism's prophet would find the Russia built in his name far different from the classless, unexploited society he envisaged.

By THOMAS P. WHITNEY

IF Karl Marx could come alive again and visit Moscow, what would he think of the Soviet Union?

He would see his portraits hung in many an office and on holidays he would find them draped on prominent public buildings. He would hear his name praised in oratory by Soviet leaders, and find himself treated as a saint.

But he would immediately start asking Russian leaders embarrassing questions about the evolution of Soviet society. It is fortunate for Nikita Khrushchev and his colleagues that Karl Marx cannot be resurrected from the dead; they can use his name as they please—just as they use those of Lenin and Stalin.

Nevertheless, the works of Marx and his collaborator, Friedrich Engels, remain to speak for themselves. Anyone who wishes to study them can test the Soviet fulfillment against the Marxist blueprint. Marx and Engels wrote profusely, but the essential elements of the Communist society they envisioned can be briefly stated.

Communist society, Marx contended, would come into being through an international revolution by the workers, who would abolish private property and seize all means of production and concentrate them in the hands of the state—which would be a temporary dictatorship of the proletariat. As a result, class distinctions would disappear and in time the state itself would wither away. At first, workers would receive compensation in accordance with their work but, later, all would work according to their ability and receive according to their needs. Thus exploitation and oppression of some men by others would end.

Although the Marxian vision was set forth in generalizations, there are enough specifics to enable an analyst to conclude whether it has come true and in what degree. There has been time enough to measure results since the Russian disciples of Marx grabbed power in a revolution which was at least partially proletarian in character, established what they termed a "dictatorship of the proletariat," and abolished all private ownership of the means of production.

TRUE, this revolution was national, rather than international, as Marx thought it would be. True, it happened not in advanced capitalist countries, as Marx had foreseen, but in a relatively backward economic area. But though these aberrations from Marx' pattern no doubt conditioned much of the subsequent development of the

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Bolshevik revolution, they did not cause its leaders to abandon the Marxist trade-mark or reject his plan for Communist society.

WHAT, then, of the vision and the reality? The differences between the two in Soviet Russia today may be examined by reference to five important points in Marxian doctrine.

First, a "classless society."

Marx wrote:

"In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

And in "The Communist Manifesto" of 1848 he and Engels wrote:

"If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class, if, by means of revolution, it makes itself the ruling class and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."

If Marx were to go to the Soviet Union today he would hear the monotonously repeated claims of the Soviet leadership that in the Soviet Union there are no antagonistic classes. But there he would see all about him evidence to the contrary.

Some Russians are excellently clothed and fed and are driven to work by chauffeurs in sleek limousines. They possess ample apartments in the city and country homes outside of town. They have plenty of money to spend on luxuries. They are able to see that their children get advantages in life. Others wear cotton-padded jackets and well-worn garments, live largely on bread and potatoes, walk to work or ride in public conveyances which are crowded, inhabit hovels or minuscule rooms at the rate of one per family and labor in conditions which, to put it mildly, leave much to be desired.

THE very building on Red Square—GUM, the initials standing for "Chief Department Store"—on which Marx' portrait hangs on holidays is a temple to the material needs of the Soviet upper class. It is true, of course, that tens of thousands of ordinary workers and peasants pass through its portals each year to marvel at its lavish displays and make their purchases. But ruble for ruble the business which it does is Soviet upper-class business—because the members of the upper class are those who can buy more of what it contains.

The Soviet upper class can be defined by its characteristics, despite its generally broad and rather amorphous character. First, its members do not work with their hands. Second, many or most of its members have executive, semi-executive, managerial, supervisory or technical positions. They are the *nachalniki*—the chiefs—while the members of the lower classes are the *podchinyonnye*—subordinates. Third, members of *(Continued on Page 82)*

(Continued from Page 12)

the upper class possess, each of them, some share in Soviet power, no matter how small. They have *vlast*, meaning power, or *avtoritet*, meaning authority, and this constitutes their most precious possession. Fourth, many are members of the Communist party and all must adhere to it and submit to it, whereas most members of the lower classes have little or nothing to do with it.

FINALLY, it is characteristic of the Soviet upper class that its members dispose of a considerably larger share of the national income on a per capita basis than is assigned to the members, on the average, of the three lower classes —the white-collar proletariat, the workers and the peasants. And money income through salaries is only a part of their actual real income in material values. Many of them possess non-monetary privileges and perquisites which make substantial contributions to their standard of living.

The existence of the Soviet upper class is a solid fact, however much Pravda and Khrushchev may deny it. So much for Marx's "classless society."

Second, the "withering away of the state."

In "The Communist Manifesto" Marx wrote:

"When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so-called, is merely the organization power of one class for oppressing another."

And Engels said:

"As, therefore, the 'state' is only a transitory institution which is used in the struggle, in the revolution, in order to hold down one's adversaries by force, it is pure nonsense to talk of a 'free people's state'; so long as the proletariat still uses the state, it does not use it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom, the state as such ceases to exist."

CONTRAST this with the reality of the Soviet state today. Never before in human history has there been such a grandiose and powerful state. Its bureaucrats are numbered in millions. Its army and police force are the largest ever maintained in peacetime by any government in the world. Instead of withering away, it grows in size year by year. The Soviet leadership, in fact, admits the existence of the Soviet state—but justifies it by the argument that it is necessary because of "capitalist encirclement."

The third point concerns another facet of the abolition of distinction between town and country. Marx referred to it in "The Communist Manifesto" in these words:

"* * * gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the population over the country."

It is a fact, demonstrated by Soviet statistics, that in the more than forty years of Soviet power there has been, instead of a more equable distribution of population over the country, an enormous migration from rural areas into the unbelievably overcrowded cities. At the same time in the countryside what Marx called the "idiocy of rural life" has been modified only in small degree since the revolution by the widespread use of machinery in farming and by the introduction of electricity on a portion—still less than one-half—of the country's farms.

The fourth point concerns what workers would give to and receive from society. This is the official Soviet slogan—"From each according to his ability, to each according to his work"—adapted from Marx, who wrote:

"The individual producer receives back from society —after the deductions have been made—exactly what he gives to it."

An analysis of the Soviet wage and salary system would fill a big book. But one thing is certain—it is a far cry from the ideas of Marx. The vast differences in compensation for their labor given Russians at the top of the ladder compared with those at the bottom may have pragmatic justifications—but they certainly have none in Marxist doctrine.

Marx admits that in the beginning phases of Communist society some workers will receive more than others, because they work longer or produce more in a given time—though this would be a preliminary to the concept of each giving according to his

ability and receiving according to his needs." But in the Soviet Union this "beginning phase" idea has been stretched to include the range between a mass of workers who get the minimum wage of some 3,600 rubles a year and certain individuals who may pull in upward of a million rubles.

THE fifth point—Marx's central idea, in which, in spite of his "scientific" and "dialectical" materialism, he reveals himself as an idealist—has to do with the abolition of exploitation and oppression. It was expressed in Engel's preface to "The Communist Manifesto:"

"* * * the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie—without, at the same time, and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinction and class struggles."

The exploitation of some people by others under communism is so painfully apparent that one hardly needs to dwell on it. Suffice to say that the rulers of the Soviet Union could have taught new techniques of exploitation to the nineteenth-century cotton capitalists of Lancashire who aroused Marx's wrath for extracting what Marx called "surplus value" from the labor of their workers.

The Soviet scheme for depriving workers and peasants of the full fruits of their toil is so simple as to be terrifying. It comes down to this: First, the rulers, through the state, determine the wages of all workers and the prices to be paid peasants for their crops. Then the same rulers fix all prices which consumers will pay for goods and services. In doing this they leave a tremendous margin between what goods cost the state and what is charged the consumers, on the average, for them. This margin between cost and sale price the rulers appropriate in the form of profits of state-owned enterprises and tax revenues.

THESE vast funds the rulers then use for three principal purposes: (1) to maintain in some degree of comfort the upper class of the Soviet Union, which thus lives off the lower classes; (2) to maintain a vast and costly military machine in the hope of imperialistic expansion of their system; (3) for capital investment, chiefly in heavy industry, to strengthen their military might and further industrialize the country.

To keep a system of exploitation like this in operation the Soviet rulers must resort to oppression—of their own country and of peoples subject to them abroad. While the Kremlin celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution last November, the non-Communist world hung out flags of mourning for the first anniversary of Soviet suppression of a workers' and students' revolt in Hungary which, had it been allowed to continue, might have done more to abolish oppression and exploitation than anything ever carried out so far in the U. S. S. R.

But the Soviet suppression of the Hungarian revolt was only an external manifestation of a similar kind of oppression which has kept the peoples of the Soviet Union subjected to the rule of the Soviet Communist party. Never before in history has so much blood been spilled and so much human suffering caused in the name of a great ideal—abolition of exploitation and oppression.

* * *

IN summary, it needs to be said that, in their often brutal and frequently daring efforts to apply Marx's ideas to Russia, the leaders of the Soviet Union were up against formidable obstacles and have all along been as much the victims of Russia's history and social milieu as the masters. Violence was not something they invented even though they used it with ruthlessness and in immense doses. It has run all through Russia's history.

The Bolsheviks did not even make the revolution. They took a revolution which had already been made and attempted to ride and rule it. Having envisioned the Russian revolution as only the beginning of a world-wide revolution, they found themselves instead isolated in power in a single country and committed to the application in that country—one which was in a relatively early stage of the industrial revolution—of ideas which Marx believed applicable only in the most advanced Western industrial countries.

It is natural that in their forty years of power their actions have been dictated more by the hard facts of Soviet life and the world and by the logic of their political position than by Marxist ideology, which has meanwhile—since they have insisted on clinging to it—had to be stretched to cover, and conceal, reality.

From an objective, non-Marxist point of view, to establish the fact that Soviet reality is a far cry from Karl Marx's dream is not necessarily a criticism of the Soviet regime.

The fact, for example, that Soviet society is a class society, that it has a big and growing upper class which dominates it, is sociologically natural and even inevitable. And it may, depending upon

how that class conducts itself, furnish the foundation for internal social stability and prosperity—and perhaps also in the long run for a less aggressive Soviet Union in international life. Likewise, the existence of a powerful state apparatus in the U. S. S. R. is hardly a reason in itself for condemnation of the system. The Marxian ideal of withering away of the state was never more than a myth anyway.

YET it is true that one can in some measure judge the Bolshevik revolution by the yardstick of Karl Marx. In particular, this is a yardstick which Marxists—and Soviet Marxists among them—accept. And it is also true that one can in some measure pass judgment on Marx by using the yardstick of the Bolshevik revolution.

The essence of such a judgment would be that Marx was sadly mistaken when he predicted that violence as a means could lead directly to a beneficial end, that violent revolution could breed anything other than more violence for a long time to come—and even more exploitation and oppression than had existed before. If at some future time it is possible to say that the Soviet Union—and the rest of the world—has really learned this hard lesson from the Bolshevik revolution, then it will not all have been in vain.

MILITANT COMMUNISM—A rocket unit parades beneath pictures of Marx and Lenin in Moscow. "Marx's wrath would be aroused by the way the Soviet exploits labor to maintain a vast military machine."

Drawing by William Sharp.

Theory vs. reality—"Marx spoke of a 'withering state'—a direct contrast to the all-powerful, grandiose Soviet state of today."

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Reds Will Re-educate U. S., Khrushchev Says

MOSCOW, April 22 (AP).—Premier Nikita Khrushchev told American Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson last night the Communists will re-educate the capitalists of the world, "when we win."

In a freewheeling 15-minute speech to diplomats at a Polish Embassy reception marking the 13th anniversary of the signing of a friendship agreement between Poland and the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev said:

"I could close my eyes and if you are a Socialist ambassador I know your country is a peaceful country. There are other ambassadors here who would like to spit on communism. But don't let's see who can spit farthest, like camels in a cage. Instead, let's compete. We have to maintain minimum sanitary conditions.

"We will beat the capitalists, but that does not mean killing anybody."

Praises Chinese

He praised the Chinese people for what he called re-educating the capitalist element there. Then he pointed to Mr. Thompson and said:

"When we win in this competition we will also re-educate you.

"We Bolsheviks are a ravenous people. What we achieved in the past is very little. We want more and more."

Mr. Khrushchev spoke in Russia. Mr. Thompson, who has a working knowledge of the language, smiled and looked toward the floor.

Mr. Khrushchev said there has been an increase in Soviet production of butter, milk and meat, and added:

"Look out Mr. Thompson, we are stepping on your tail."

Spots Israeli Envoy

When he spotted Israeli Ambassador Joseph Avidar, Mr. Khrushchev said Dowager Queen Elizabeth of Belgium—who was recently in Moscow—asked Soviet President Klementi Voroshilov whether the Soviet Union had a special attitude toward Jews.

"If you ask what this special relations consists of, I say half the wives of the presidium of the party are Jewish," Mr. Khrushchev said.

He also took an apparent slap at Yugoslavia in touching on the unity of socialist states.

"All members of the socialist camp must be on the same level and help each other. One must not remain behind another. When someone says that there is exploitation of one member by another, this is nonsense. We have to help each other. We advance to communism together."

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Reds to Re-educate Capitalists After 'Victory,' Khrushchev Says

By Angelo Natale

Moscow, April 21 (AP)—Premier Nikita Khrushchev told American Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson tonight the Communists will reeducate the Capitalists of the world, "when we win."

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Aside to Yugoslavia

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"All members of the Socialist camp must be on the same level and help each other. One must not remain behind another. When someone says that there is exploitation of one member by another, this is nonsense. We have to help each other. We advance to communism together."

On Poland, Khrushchev said:

"Poland and the Soviet Union always had a common enemy in the West. Let's not conjure up devils, those devils might appear."

He also had a few words to say about Soviet aid to other countries:

"When we let other countries have our equipment, do we do it for gain? No. We'd get more profit if we used this material in our country."

Then, lifting his glass, Khrushchev said: "Let us drink to the strength and growth of the Socialist camp."

Then, as an afterthought, Khrushchev commented:

"The main problem is to avoid a military clash. But this is only possible if the adversary knows that if he attacks us he will get an unpleasant surprise."

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JIM BISHOP: REPORTER

Karl Marx: A Cold Clay God

The father of communism died 75 years ago. This is the diamond jubilee of his demise. His name was Karl Marx and he looked like Moses. He regarded himself as an economic messiah come to save the people of the world from the greed of the few. Capitalism, he said, is pregnant with the world of communism.

He was a sick and angry man. The back of his neck was lumpy with carbuncles and much of his time was spent in illness. He was born in Germany of a middle-class Jewish family who became Christians. He deserted them and deserted both faiths. Herr Marx grew up to be one of the world's foremost exponents of the rationale—he wanted to be able to understand and explain everything by reason. He had faith in nothing.

Karl was born at Trier on May 5, 1818. He studied law at Bonn and attended the University of Berlin. He was intelligent, truculent, impatient. He worked passionately, indefatigably, for the causes in which he believed. One of the things he believed was that the workers of the world were being exploited by the capitalists.

Somehow, between fights with illness and entrenched wealth, he fell in love with Jenny, daughter of the Baron von Westphalen. Everyone, it seemed, opposed the marriage. Marx married Jenny and wrote to a friend: "I can assure you without any sentimentality that I am in love from head to foot and in all seriousness."

He was a poor husband. Most of his honeymoon was spent in libraries, jotting notes. Much of the rest of his life was spent being expelled from Germany, France and Belgium, and seeking sanctuary in England. Marx spent more time with his disciple, Friedrich Engels, than he did with Jenny.

The first requisite for friendship with Marx was complete abasement and subordination. Engels, who is the co-deviser of modern communism, wrote much of what is credited to Marx, but he had made the pages of history only as a postscript to his friend. Engels supported Marx when Karl would not seek a job, and he kept the Marx family rent paid when Karl was ill.

These two men shook the world. It is still shaking. Their major works are dull and complex: "The Communist Manifesto" and "Das Kapital." Marx and Engels exploited a brilliant thesis, which was that the wealth of the world moves progressively into fewer hands (capitalists) who, in turn, squeeze the multitudinous workers (proletariat) by paying them less than they are worth.

From this, Marx concluded that all history is a struggle between classes of people. Capitalism sells money; labor sells itself. He said that the world was sick and that the proletariat would rise and smash capitalism. He felt that true communism would be born in the countries of the fat capitalists first: Western Europe. It would happen last in the backward countries of serfs, such as Russia.

In 1851, Jenny turned against Karl. It was bad enough to be dispossessed from one nation after another, bad enough to be dispossessed from their little flat in Camberwell, England, but when two infants died mainly because Karl could not afford medical advice, this was too much.

She lived with him, but she no longer loved him. He wore a dusty frock coat and a big watch chain, had a domed forehead and a full graying beard. He was haughty and contemptuous. His most casual observations sounded like the dicta of Roman emperors. He advocated force and violence, and he called these the "mid-wife."

In 1881, Jenny died after fighting cancer for years. Karl was trying to write the second volume of "Das Kapital" and was living on $1,700 a year given to him by Friedrich Engels. The father of communism was so sick with pleurisy that he could not attend the funeral of his wife.

He lived two more years and died on a spring day in 1883. Today, Karl Marx is the cold clay god of millions of men and women. The world population, in 1956, was 2,406,000,000. As nearly as can be estimated, about 1,131,000,000 people live under communism. They worship Marx, but they do not practice what he preached.

Neither their politics nor their economics is Marxian. They live under monolithic socialism—a diluted form of nazism. Perhaps that is why the men in the Kremlin ordered no observation of the 75th anniversary of Karl Marx's death. They owe him nothing but two confusing books.

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Wednesday: The story of Joey Adams.

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Bulganin to Head Bank, Old Cabinet Retained

MOSCOW, Mar. 31 (AP).—Premier Nikita Khrushchev today appointed former Premier Nikolai Bulganin head of the Soviet State Bank and announced most of Marshal Bulganin's old cabinet members and key executives had been retained.

These included Anastas Mikoyan as first deputy premier.

Gen. Ivan Serov was renamed to his old post as chairman of state security, and Andrei Gromyko reappointed foreign minister.

The Supreme Soviet (parliament) approved these nominations unanimously.

Held Job Years Ago

Marshal Bulganin's new job is one he held many years ago. When Mr. Khrushchev replaced him as premier last Thursday there was much speculation he would be given the more important position of a deputy premier.

Mr. Khrushchev appointed as First Deputy Premiers Mikoyan and F. R. Kozlov, and four additional deputy premiers, Alexei N. Kosygin, Demitri F. Ustinov, and Josef Kuzmin from the old Bulganin cabinet, and former economic plan member Aleksandr Gassyadko.

Mr. Khrushchev announced no changes in the heads of the 19 government ministries.

Appointment Made Quickly

The appointment of Kozlov as a first deputy premier is new proof that the Leningrad Communist Party leader is on the way up.

Mr. Kozlov won a seat in the 15-member Communist Party presidium after last June's shakeup and subsequently was appointed premier of the Russian Federation.

Mr. Khrushchev disposed of the appointment of his new government in a matter of three or four minutes, racing through the list of names without time for applause between them.

There was loud and long applause as he finished.

As he stepped down Mr. Gromyko arose immediately to speak on the cessation of hydrogen and atomic tests.

NIKOLAI BULGANIN
Back in Bank Job
—AP Wirephoto

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Khrushchev in Stalin's Shoes

New Soviet Premier Believed Certain There Will Be a Summit Conference

Nikita Khrushchev stepped into Stalin's shoes when he assumed the Soviet premiership besides maintaining his powerful position as secretary general of the Communist Party.

High officials in Washington, while still uncertain about the over-all implications of this unexpected move, are convinced that the Soviet dictator feels a summit meeting is now certain and he wants to be undisputed No. 1 man of the Soviet delegation.

Here to fore, Khrushchev took only second place at international gatherings although he was giving orders to Bulganin.

There is still a division of opinion in Washington regarding the holding of a summit meeting in line with Soviet demands. Some days President Eisenhower sides with Secretary of State Dulles that such a parley is doomed to failure insofar as real relaxation of tension is concerned unless definite agreements, on at least important issues, are reached beforehand at a foreign ministers meeting. At other times the President sides with his unofficial advisers at the White House (generally described as the palace guard) and seems inclined to meet with the Russians without the thorough preparations insisted on by Mr. Dulles. When he takes the latter position he points to the pressure from our Western allies and especially from Britain.

Secretary Dulles predicates his insistence on having the hard constructive work done by the foreign ministers on the historical precedent of the Congress of Vienna in 1814-15. The result of that international gathering after the Napoleonic wars was an unprecedented era of peace and prosperity which lasted 100 years despite some local conflicts which we now call brush fires.

The Congress of Vienna was a summit meeting in the true sense of the word since most of the heads of states (sovereigns in those days) attended it. But they were for show; they had brilliant receptions, spectacular balls and banquets. The real work was done by their foreign ministers, Prince Metternich of Austria, Lord Castlereagh of Britain, Marquis Talleyrand of France, Count Hardenberg of Prussia, Counts Nesselrode and Stein of Russia. These men haggled and bargained for months until they finally established the foundations of an era of peace and prosperity which lasted until World War I broke out in 1914.

It is the Vienna kind of summit meeting which Mr. Dulles envisages. Any acceptance of the Soviet proposals to hold a conference of the heads of state only for the sake of getting together might easily become a tragic farce. Or would accomplish only one thing—increase the prestige of the USSR and further deteriorate America's, particularly in the Middle and Far East where we have so much at stake.

It is essential, says Mr. Dulles officially and in private talks with congressional leaders, that we establish at the foreign ministers' level not only an agenda but also a definite agreement on a number of questions such as the unity of Germany, for instance, before the heads of state get together to put their signatures on the agreements.

One of the reasons why the Teheran and Yalta Conferences turned into a tragedy for America and the free world was the hasty and ineffective preparations for the parleys insofar as the West was concerned, while Marshal Stalin knew exactly what he wanted and gained all his objectives.

According to all indications, Premier Khrushchev wants to make the summit conference an emotional binge where he will sing loudly "peace is wonderful" while he has all the trump cards in his hands. He is relying for his success on the now deeply imbedded feeling in Western Europe that such an international gathering is unimportant from the political point of view but may yield important benefits to the West from trade with the East.

Khrushchev believes that his barrage of threats and cajolings, Sputniks and letter writing (by his former proxy, Bulganin) have softened up, if not American public opinion, at least some important persons in the West. The time has come now, according to students of the Kremlin's tactics, to really go to town. As premier of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev will be in a better position to deal directly with the heads of state of the West and especially President Eisenhower—whose equal he has now become—and make a final drive for a summit meeting on the Kremlin's pattern of "let's talk of many things; of ships and missiles and satellites and ~~cabbages~~ and kings."

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COMMUNIST PARTY - RUSSIA

Khrushchev Takes Over

When a smiling Nikita Khrushchev stood before the Supreme Soviet with his hands clasped over his head—like a victorious boxer—it was clear that the Soviet "collective leadership" had adopted a new motto: "E Pluribus Unum"—"out of many, one." Marshal Bulganin was out; latest in a line that began, so soon after Stalin's death, with Lavrenti Beria, went on through Georgi Malenkov, Viacheslav Molotov, Dmitri Shepilov, Lazar Kaganovich and Marshal Zhukov. Now Nikita Khrushchev, party secretary and Prime Minister, stood in solitary grandeur at the summit of Soviet power.

The facetious might consider that Marshal Bulganin's ouster (or resignation) was the result of a vote of nonconfidence by the Soviet people. After all, the 580,641 Soviet citizens (out of 133,786,091 eligibles) who tacitly rejected the regime by failing to vote in the recent elections were twice as numerous as in 1954. Even more significant was the fact that of the nominations for the Supreme Soviet Khrushchev received more than eighty, while Bulganin ranked fourteenth among the fifteen Presidium members in the number of these little testimonials.

However, Bulganin's downfall was predicted months ago—last August, in fact—when Khrushchev abandoned his old traveling companion and began to tour alone. Bulganin's own position had been equivocal in the plot against Khrushchev, which resulted in the banishment of Molotov, Malenkov and their associates to the outer darkness of backwaters like Outer Mongolia.

But Khrushchev's successive purges, bloodless as yet save for Beria, were not directed only against those who had been opposed to him in the Presidium, or lukewarm in their support. He paused before removing Bulganin to get rid of Marshal Zhukov, who had rallied the army to his side in the crisis. The pattern is not one of a search for revenge, but a relentless grasp for power. Now Khrushchev has power, and moreover wears its outward trappings in the dual role that Stalin played before him—chief both of party and of government.

This swallowing of rivals is in the grand pattern of collective dictatorships, whether Roman triumvirates or French Directories. In a state which contains no real machinery for the transmittal of power, no constitutional determination of legitimacy, there is a kind of iron law of struggle, in which the stronger individual rids himself of weaker associates, and centralization of authority comes about almost inexorably. It is ironical that Khrushchev, who made one of his initial bids for influence by denouncing the Stalinist "cult of personality," who posed as "first among equals," and whose domestic policy has been based on breaking up the central bureaucratic control of Soviet industry and agriculture, should emerge as the sole ruler of the U. S. S. R. But since Khrushchev's reforms, such as they were, were directed at details of administration rather than fundamentals of government, it was certain that this should occur.

The world has few illusions now concerning the kind of government that Nikita Khrushchev represents, or the threat which it holds for the free peoples. His smiles are as ominous as Stalin's poker face; his goals are as dangerous, his methods, in this age of missiles and nuclear weapons, can be as ruthless. It remains to be seen whether the inevitable laws of the endless power struggle will drive him to Stalin's next phase, that of wholesale murder.

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D. C. Rutchford

Communist Party - Russia

Kirichenko in Line To Succeed Bulganin

Former Boss of Ukrainian Reds A Close Associate of Khrushchev

When the top Communist hierarchy tried to oust party boss Khrushchev last June, it was reported that at one point he lost the support of Premier Bulganin. Soon after, when Khrushchev went to East Germany, he was not accompanied by his long-time companion. Recently, in a further maneuver, Bulganin was forced to run for election in a remote Caucasian district.

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

PARIS, Mar. 26.—Alexei I. Kirichenko has come to the forefront here as the man most likely to succeed Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai A. Bulganin if —as is expected—the Marshal is replaced when the Supreme Soviet (nominally, the Soviet Parliament) convenes tomorrow at Moscow.

Mr. Kirichenko, a hard-working Communist from the Ukraine, has the inside track for the top Soviet government post, according to Western diplomats here, who are predicting that Marshal Bulganin is on the way out after three years as Prime Minister.

Mr. Kirichenko long has been a close associate of Nikita S. Khrushchev, chief of the Soviet Communist party. A former First Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist party, he has been a member of the Presidium of the Soviet Communist party's Central Committee since 1954.

According to diplomatic sources here, there no longer is any question as to whether Marshal Bulganin is being eased out. The only thing in doubt about the matter, they say, is whether the official announcement will be made tonight, tomorrow or Friday.

According to one report circulating here, Marshal Bulganin's ouster was decreed officially today at a Moscow meeting of the Communist party's Central Committee. According to this report, his successor has been chosen.

Diplomats noted that Marshal

See BULGANIN—Pg. 5, Col. 1

Bulganin

(Continued from page one)

Bulganin's name was not included on the official Soviet list of guests at a dinner in Moscow for United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold. The Moscow radio, reporting on the dinner—given by the Swedish ambassador—listed Mr. Kirichenko as attending.

So far as is known here, Marshal Bulganin has not attended any official functions in Moscow for about two weeks. Mr. Hammerskjold has not seen him while in Moscow for talks with Soviet officials.

There has been no word from official Soviet sources at Moscow that any change in top government personnel is impending.

Parliament Meets Today

By Barrett McGurn

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

MOSCOW, Mar. 26.—The fifth Supreme Soviet will meet here tomorrow, with the personal position of Mr. Khrushchev as Communist party leader and of the party itself as the country's controlling minority in the firmest condition since the death of Josef V. Stalin in 1953.

According to Mrs. Ekaterina A. Furtseva, the only woman in the fifteen-member Communist party Presidium, the often-routine Supreme Soviet meeting will be "important" this time, since it follows four years of political, economic and scientific gains by the Soviet Union.

Resignations Customary

Prime Minister Bulganin and his government will submit the customary resignation and, according to Deputy Prime Minister Anastas I. Mikoyan, "may or may not" have the resignations accepted.

Whatever Marshal Bulganin's fate, it is clear he no longer has the standing he did several years ago when his name was linked with that of Mr. Khrushchev in the famous "B and K" traveling team for trips abroad.

In addition to Mr. Kirichenko, Frol R. Kozlov, Premier of the Russian Republic, the Soviet Union's largest constituent republic, is rated by diplomats as a possible successor to Marshal Bulganin. Mr. Kozlov is a member of the party Presidium and is closely linked to Mr. Khrushchev.

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Alexei I. Kirichenko, who may succeed Nikolai A. Bulganin as Prime Minister of Russia.

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Communist Party - Russia

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(RUSSIA)
MOSCOW--THE SUPREME SOVIET TODAY OUSTED BULGANIN AS PREMIER AND ELECTED COMMUNIST PARTY HEAD NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV TO REPLACE HIM. IN HIS DUAL ROLE, KHRUSHCHEV BECOMES RUSSIA'S MOST POWERFUL MAN SINCE THE DEATH OF JOSEPH STALIN.
BULGANIN FORMALLY SUBMITTED HIS RESIGNATION TO THE FIRST JOINT SESSION OF THE NEWLY-ELECTED SUPREME SOVIET THIS AFTERNOON IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CONSTITUTION.
P. A. LOBANOV, SPEAKER OF THE SOVIET OF THE UNION (UPPER HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT), READ BULGANIN'S RESIGNATION FOR HIM.
THEN, INSTEAD OF BULGANIN'S NAME BEING PROPOSED FOR RENOMINATION AS IS THE USUAL CUSTOM, KHRUSHCHEV'S NAME WAS PRESENTED.
THE 63-YEAR-OLD UKRAINIAN WHO ROSE TO THE TOP OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IN THE FEW SHORT YEARS SINCE STALIN'S DEATH WAS ELECTED BY ACCLAMATION.
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52 APR 4 1958

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

0-19 (Rev. 10-29-57)

Today in World Affairs

Submissive Mood Seen Gaining Ground in West

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, Mar. 25.—What the world wants more than anything else nowadays is a period of happiness and security. Instead, it is getting a heavy dose of gloom and insecurity.

The cures proposed are a symptom of the times. The mood toward the Communists is rapidly becoming in many Western countries one of submissiveness and acceptance. A prominent newspaper publisher on the conservative side in England, for example, openly advocates "peace at almost any price."

David Lawrence

This was the mood before World War II, and it gave Hitler his principal basis for encouragement. The Nazi dictator thought he would have a pushover and hence started a war on Poland that became a big war.

Reds Making Rapid Strides

Today the Communists are making rapid strides throughout the world. They are benefiting by the disunity inside the Western countries and the naive acceptance of the idea that a "summit" conference with the Kremlin dictatorship will bring peace with disarmament, lower budgets, and the ease and comforts of an enjoyable existence. What really is lacking is the courage to face reality.

There is little evidence of a spirit of sacrifice or even of faith in ideals among many of the leaders of political thought here and abroad. Any one who, like Secretary Dulles, sticks to his convictions is condemned as "inflexible" or "idealistic." The times, it is said, call for a "deal," even with gangsters.

Winning "Cold War"

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union is winning the "cold war." From the Far East to the Midle East and from the Arab countries clear across North Africa to Morocco, the Communist apparatus is gaining ground by penetration and political infiltration. Puppet governments everywhere proclaim their new "nationalism," but the inside facts show they are stooges of the Kremlin.

England and France have been weakened from within by Communist strategy, which capitalizes on the political ineptitude of leaders who put party interests above their country. West Germany's government is being undermined by political groups playing the Communist game.

In America, President Eisenhower's leadership in world policy is constantly assailed by his political opponents, thus affording the men in the Kremlin the encouragement they want as they continue their plotting and scheming in the Far East and Southeast Asia as well as in the Middle East. Communist agents and their pawns are active everywhere in propagandizing points of view that are, by coincidence, always taken up by various political groups in this country who seem unaware of or indifferent to the fact that what they do is giving the Communists their main hope of producing inaction by the United States in world affairs.

Hope for Isolationism

The truth is that the Soviets see American opinion swinging sooner or later either to isolationism or to "peace at any price." They feel that, by persistent pressure, European opinion will be frightened into refusing the use of missile bases to American forces. This would naturally mean a withdrawal also of American troops from Europe. Then the puppet governments directed by Moscow could take over the whole of Western Europe without firing a shot.

The naivete of many people in the West is amazing. Communist influences are permitted to flourish. In America the Communists have gone underground but they are as active as ever, and the Department of Justice knows it. People in America and England, moreover, are being scared, for instance, by a constant propaganda against nuclear tests, despite official information which shows the vital need for such tests and the scientific evidence which indicates that the slight damage done is far outweighed by military necessity. Now the drive is on to stop testing altogether irrespective of any real guarantees against violations by the Soviets.

It is startling how many people in Congress and in the Parliaments of the Western

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Would are ready to accept the Soviets' word despite their breaking of numerous pledges heretofore, despite the war the Communists waged in Korea, and despite the bribery and espionage which have enabled the Soviet Union virtually to take over the Middle East, substituting its own imperialism for the much-condemned "colonialism" of the past.

On Tax Reduction

In the midst of such a dangerous international situation, the politicians not only are fighting each other on Capitol Hill about international issues but they seem eager to make the domestic situation worse by unsound schemes of tax reduction—involving a budget deficit of from ten to fifteen billion dollars—which could do more harm than good.

Unity and patriotism among the bickering legislators—in Washington, London, Paris, Rome and Bonn—and a spirit of sacrifice throughout the democracies could give the rulers of the Kremlin pause and frustrate their conquest of bigger and bigger areas. But a self-centered populace seems never to see until it is too late that a nation cannot be strong unless it is united and ready to face the enemy unflinchingly. Appeasement means war, and internal divisions encourage the aggressors. Will history repeat and the experience of the 1930s be duplicated? The economic recession then was cured only by war and at what a price in human lives!

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These Days . . . . .

By George E. Sokolsky

What's Russia's Rush?

A15

JOHN FOSTER DULLES' press interview in which he lambasted the Russian attempt to hoax the United States and the world over the summit conference must raise the question as to the cause of Russia's anxieties on the subject. What is the rush?

Sokolsky

Do the Russians intend to make war upon us if we do not agree to their terms? If so, what is peace? If not, why push anything so hard that what is to be a mechanism to settle issues becomes a cause for conflict?

If the Russians are not issuing an ultimatum in advance of a war, does Khrushchev need the summit conference to solve some internal problem that is moving toward a climax? No such crisis is in sight, although it is not to be believed that Khrushchev could have pushed Molotov, Kaganovich and Zhukov into obscurity without some measure of danger to himself.

On this, no information is thus far available. There is considerable wishful thinking among some Americans that the counter-revolution in the Communist world is just around the corner and there are even those who would make a distinction between the Russian government "which is our enemy" and the Russian people "who are our friends," but I can see no evidence that the Russian people—a very loose designation — have a policy that is distinct from that of the Kremlin.

HOWEVER, something is cooking in the Communist world and one can only go on searching for a clue.

From the broadest standpoint of history, the Soviet universal state requires a prolonged rest from both war and diplomacy in order that its victories since 1945 may be consolidated, assimilated and made permanent. If Khrushchev wishes a summit meeting to obtain recognition for the fruits of the revolution, he is going about it the wrong way. For he is engendering resistance by his tactical moves. What, for instance, did he expect President Eisenhower to do when the Russians objected to a Foreign Ministers' Conference because they disliked John Foster Dulles?

Mr. Eisenhower could not repudiate Dulles without impeaching his own Administration; he could not dismiss Dulles at the behest of a foreign power without causing an uproar in the Nation.

IF KHRUSHCHEV wants peace it can be accomplished without a summit conference or a foreign ministers' meeting. It can be accomplished in the Disarmament Committee of the United Nations. Why does not Khrushchev use existing machinery? Why does he need to create new machinery? Is it because new machinery is more melodramatic? As peace is what everybody wants, why does Khrushchev need to create a dramatic atmosphere to surround discussions of peace?

Khrushchev's penchant for the dramatic does stir things up from time to time, but the world is a bit weary of being on the constant qui vive for a new sensation. It would like a bit of peace and quiet, a decade or more of reconstruction and rebuilding.

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U. S. Reds—Bloody But Unbeaten

Comradeship Is Fatal

Last of Eight Articles

By REP. FRANCIS E. WALTER

Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities

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PRESENT-DAY leaders of the international Communist empire, in the course of their careers of murder and terror, have deliberately destroyed more men, women and children than populate the Eastern United States. Despite the long history of Soviet treachery and deceit which lies in full view of the civilized world, we find ourselves being subjected once more to the sweet persuasion which seeks to lead us into comradeship with men whose real intents are best observed in their

AN INQUIRER SPECIAL REPORT

broken promises and lust for power.

In recent months the emphasis has been on "coexistence" and "disarmament" conferences. Now the demand is for a "summit meeting" at which President Eisenhower and the heads of the governments of the Free World would sit down with the bosses of the Iron Curtain countries to end the cold war.

We may well wonder what new and bitter hoa . awaits us. The plausibility of Nikita Khrushchev and his colleagues, coupled with the eager willingness of many quarters of the free world to believe them, appear to have rebutted common sense and our own experience.

Who are these Communist leaders with whom our representatives would meet at the "summit"? The Committee on Un-American Activities has ex-

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amined their careers searchingly. We believe a study of these men will demonstrate beyond doubt the character of Communism's masters and the hopelessness of attempting to negotiate with them as if they were men of good faith. Here they are:

* * *

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV: As First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Khrushchev two years ago denounced the dead Josef Stalin as a vicious murderer and terrorist. A few years earlier, Khrushchev was hailed as "the faithful disciple and companion-in-arms of Comrade Stalin."

Khrushchev's rise to power in the party coincided with the notorious purges of the mid-1930's. He actually played a leading role in the mass terror of that period. Stalin sent him to the Ukraine to carry out the party purge there. He is, as a result, one of the most hated men in the Soviet Ukraine today.

In carrying out his assignment, he was as systematic as he was ruthless. He openly boasted that "we have destroyed a considerable number of enemies, though not all."

A salient feature of his record is his relentless onslaught against independent farmers. His rise to power was accompanied by the betrayal and the physical destruction of his closest associates. At the helm of the party, he lost no time in undermining and finally ousting Georgi Malenkov and Vyacheslav M. Molotov, his political rivals in the collective leadership, and in establishing himself in Stalin's fashion as the master of the Soviet.

Khrushchev is the sworn enemy of the democratic form of government. He reviles the United States as being devoid of political freedom and economic stability and ruled by a handful of greedy capitalists who enslave the working people.

His fanatical belief in the superiority of the Communist system leaves no doubt in his mind that, whether there be peace or war, the ultimate Communization of the world is certain.

To obtain this objective, Khrushchev displays versatility and flexibility in selecting the device he considers most effective and promising at the moment: Nuclear blackmail, subversion, propaganda, interference in the domestic affairs of other states, or exploitation of anticolonial and nationalist feelings in Asia and Africa. All these expedients serve the single-minded goal of Soviet aggrandizement and of accelerating the march of Communism.

* * *

NIKOLAI A. BULGANIN: The Premier of the Soviet Union is a familiar figure, whose mild manner, well-groomed appearance and carefully barbered goatee has reminded casual observers of a professor or a German bandmaster.

It is well to remember, however, that Bulganin began his career as an efficient officer of the Cheka, the initial version of the Soviet Secret Police. It was the main instrument of the Red terror, waged by the new Bolshevik rulers against real and imaginary opponents of the Communist regime.

Bulganin played a conspicuous role in plotting against freedom in Poland and Czechoslovakia. In the summer of 1944, Bulganin was instrumental in the decision to refuse military assistance to the Polish patriots in Warsaw, who had risen in arms against the Nazis.

Rude to subordinates, he tolerates neither criticism nor opposition, in spite of his recurrent protestations of belief in "peaceful coexistence" between the United States and the U.S.S.R., Bulganin remains an implacable foe of American democracy, which he accuses of predatory and aggressive designs.

Like other Kremlin chiefs, Bulganin is bent on the disruption of the Western alliance as the initial step toward the destruction of the American way of life. Both during and after the Stalin regime, he took a leading part in plotting Communist strategy against the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

* * *

WALTER ULBRICHT: Exerting practically unlimited power as head of the Communist Party in East Germany, Walter Ulbricht also holds the title of First Deputy Premier in that Soviet puppet government. He represents a dangerous and relentless enemy of America and all it stands for.

A founder of the German Communist Party in 1918, he managed to survive Hitler, the purges under Stalin, the postwar executions of East European leaders and Khrushchev's anti-Stalinist campaign.

His hour of triumph came in April, 1945, while Berlin was in flames and the battle for the city was raging. Ulbricht was flown in from Moscow to set up the German civilian government.

There are few fields of life in East Germany in which Ulbricht has not imposed subservience to the Soviet Union. He has ordered

servile imitations of Russia in the fields of science, linguistics and education, the theater, architecture and sports. He has made the organization of the East German state a miniature replica of the Soviet Union.

The magnitude of discontent with his regime became evident with the revolt of East Berlin in June, 1953. Ulbricht suppressed it ruthlessly with Soviet armed power.

His pro-Sovietism is surpassed only by his anti-Americanism. He has distorted history to paint America as the villain on the world stage. Regardless of talk of "peace" and "peaceful coexistence," Ulbricht's goal remains unchanged: The Communization of all of Germany as a decisive step toward the Communization of the whole world.

* * *

JANOS KADAR: Communist Party head in Hungary and, until recently, Premier of that country, Janos Kadar is a Communist Quisling for the Kremlin and a master of the doublecross.

He is a man of ambition but no integrity; of a personal drive but no character, of natural political skill but devoid of high intelligence. So loyal is he to Communism that after 32 months of imprisonment and torture under one Red regime, he became the willing servant of the Kremlin in the reconquest of Hungary in November, 1956.

In November, 1956, when Hungary attempted to throw off the Soviet yoke, Kadar set up a Soviet puppet government and "invited" Russian tanks into Budapest. Some 32,000 persons were killed and parts of the capital reduced to rubble in smashing Hungary's bid for freedom. At the height of the counterrevolution, Kadar justified the brutal treatment of his countrymen:

"A tiger cannot be tamed by bait. It can be tamed and forced to peace only by beating it to death."

* * *

WLADYSLAW GOMULKA: First Secretary of the Communist Party in Poland, has managed, by making a few concessions to workers, peasants and the Catholic Church, to head off a Polish repetition of events in Hungary.

But while his "road to socialism" may differ slight from the Russian road, it is still Communistic. Gomulka has made that point abundantly clear.

He denies being a "national Communist," a term he calls an American invention. As proof, he notes that his program includes the main aims of every Communist Party.

1. Seizure of power by Communists; 2. Establishment of a Communist dictatorship; 3. Nationalization of industry, and 4. The promotion of international Communism in foreign affairs.

His present power dates to 1956, when he staged a comeback after falling into disfavor in 1948. Stubborn, relentless, he is fanatically devoted to Communism, although it has brought his country insoluble problems. He is struggling with opponents within his own party; whether he will survive as Poland's leader, only time will tell.

* * *

MAO TZE-TUNG: Chairman of the People's Republic of China, less than a year ago he announced a new freedom for Communist China:

"Let a hundred flowers bloom and let a hundred schools of thought contend," he suggested generously. Some Chinese took him seriously—and faced a new wave of terror.

It was Mao who proclaimed the People's Republic in October, 1949. The fiction of China's "disassociation" from Russia was shattered with his signing of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Pact in 1950 in Moscow.

He never makes a speech in which he does not pay tribute to the U.S.S.R. At Stalin's order, Mao sent vast Chinese armies to fight Americans who were resisting Communist aggression in Korea.

To crush resistance at home, Mao ordered what he called "mass shock," in which 12,000,000 Chinese—according to Communist figures were wiped out. He has conducted a "hate America" campaign for years and still refuses to account for American soldiers missing in the Korean War. As part of his drive, he has indorsed defiance of the United Nations, atrocities against prisoners of war, violation of the Korean truce and subversion throughout Southeast Asia.

* * *

CHOU EN LAI: Premier and, until recently, Foreign Minister of Communist China, Chou appears affable in his personal relations. In this he resembles his boss, Mao Tze-tung. His past has been that of a fanatic and dedicated Communist and the basic pattern of his policy — a combination of force and deceit — has been evident for years.

In foreign policy, where Mao has given him a relatively free hand, Chou has operated with the same combination. His record in Korea is particularly sordid.

Defying the United Nations, which branded Red China as an "aggressor," Communist China fought against the American and U.N. armies for nearly three years. When Communism lost the war, Chou became one of the instigators of the false accusation that the United States had used "bacteriological warfare" in Korea.

Under the armistice terms, Red China promised to return captured prisoners of war; instead Chou used them in an insidious game to barter American lives for U. S. concessions. His promise not to increase armaments in North Korea was violated almost from the beginning of the truce.

Lately, he has switchd again to deceit. At the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, Chou made a dramatic offer to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the Formosa question with the United States. But it soon developed that the only basis on which he would negotiate was the immediate surrender of the island to the Communists.

* * *

There we have some of the leaders with whom we are asked to negotiate a peace. We must remember we are not dealing with partners but with adversaries dedicated to accomplish our destruction with every ruse and subterfuge which they have used successfully in enslaving almost half the world.

The End

REC- 24

Ex-Soviet Agent Predicts Revolution by Russians

BY IRENE POWERS

Nikolai Khokhlov, former Russian secret service agent, told the Chicago Woman's club yesterday that revolution in Russia is inevitable, with or without the help of the west.

Khokhlov

"It is the Russian underground, not the United States, that the Communist party leaders fear as their No. 1 enemy," Khokhlov asserted.

Religion Revived

He said the war, with its terrible privations and hardships, had welded the Russian people together, bringing about a great religious revival despite the powers of an atheistic government. Contempt for the government is widespread, he said, and critics have become increasingly outspoken.

Khokhlov said he received his first awakening when he saw records showing that 30 million Russians were held as political prisoners, whereas, Red party membership numbered only 7 millions. It is a popular American misconception that the generation of Russians who have grown up under the communist regime do now know or care what freedom is, he said.

"The desire for freedom is innate," he declared, "and you can't stop anyone from thinking. Even the school children can see, when they read the history of the revolution, that the revolutionaries who plotted the end of the czarist regime had more freedom than any have who hold anti-communist ideas today."

U. S. Dims His Hopes

His personal dealings with American government officials have dimmed his high hopes of liberation from the west, he said. In explanation, Khokhlov told about American delays in acting on a promise to give his wife and infant son political asylum in the United States embassy in Moscow that cost him his family. They disappeared, he said, and no word has been heard from them. Two official inquiries in Washington have failed to bring a response, he said.

Khokhlov, who defected to the west four years ago, urged Americans to distinguish between the Russian people and their government. If the United States would withdraw recognition from the government for its "crimes against humanity," the cause of Russian freedom would be greatly furthered, he said.

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Reds Put Membership In World at 33 Million

Paper Lists 75 National Parties; Russian, Chinese Totals Missing

By Barrett McGurn

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

MOSCOW, Feb. 7.—The Soviet Army newspaper "Red Star" said today that there are now 33,000,000 Communist party members in the world.

The paper said that there are seventy-five national Communist parties in all. It listed those with a "mass" character as Italy's with 1,800,000 card carriers; Indonesia's, with 1,000,000 party members; France's, with a voting support of 5,000,000; India's, with 155,000 members; Finland's, with a voter following of 20 per cent of the electorate, and the British, Brazilian and Argentine parties.

[John Gates, former editor of the New York "Daily Worker," who resigned from the American Communist party Jan. 10, said at the time that the party's membership had dwindled to 7,000 "and is still declining."]

Figures Missing

"Red Star" did not mention membership figures of the huge Soviet Communist party or that of Red China.

However, an indication of the forces working at the direction of the all-powerful Soviet party was provided today by "Pravda." The party newspaper said that in Moscow alone, 300,000 "agitators" will be at work during the next few weeks getting voters into a proper spirit for indorsement in March of the one slate of candidates who will be elected to the Supreme Soviet (Parliament). Moscow has a population of 4,839,000.

"Red Star" accompanied its figures with a long editorial on the duties of Communists throughout the world. The editorial was the latest in a series denouncing national communism as a grave deviation and demanding that Communists everywhere look to Moscow for guidance.

The Red Army organ made plain to Communists of the world that they must prepare for more struggles. Capitalism is "perishing" under the impact of anti-colonialism," the paper said, but "it would be wrong to say that it will die automatically without resisting, without putting up a hard fight."

Communism

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These Days . . . . .

By George E. Sokolsky

Earl Browder and America

EARL BROWDER was for so many years the leader of the Communist Party of America and that party was so influential under his leadership that his lectures at Rutgers University on "Karl Marx and America" are worthy of more than passing attention.

Sokolsky

The very first paragraph of the introduction sets the case:

"The theories of Karl Marx provide the basic concepts and ideas for the intellectual life of about one third of the world's population. Among another one third they exert a strong influence. Only in America has the direct influence of Marxism declined since the war."

In some respects, one might ask, has not the direct influence of Karl Marx declined more rapidly in Soviet Russia than in any other part of the world? Surely, there is no room in Marx's philosophy for the imperialism of Soviet Russia, a system adapted from the Prussian Treitschke who conceived the system of satellites for the emerging German empire of the Kaisers. Also, Marx never favored the restoration of autocracy in Russia, the autocracy of such a one as Ivan the Terrible, as practiced first by Stalin and now by Khrushchev. Also, it might be suggested for discussion whether Marx could ever have believed in the total subordination of the individual to the state, even temporarily, a system so characteristic of Leninism or of the condition of permanent war which Stalin and his successors developed as their means of statecraft.

BROWDER, to a degree, answers my queries in the following language:

"Leninism and Stalinism are not so much a further development and unfolding of Marxist theory as they are the consequence of a Marxist dilemma—that of men compelled by circumstances, and against their own long-held intellectual convictions, to undertake to build socialism in one of the most backward countries, while the most advanced of industrial nations remain capitalist. Lenin did not see and embrace this dilemma in 1917, when he led in the adoption of socialism as the practical program of the Russian revolution.

"Lenin, as all Russian Marxists of that time, regardless of other or later divergences, understood the Russian revolution as a prelude or trigger to the Socialist revolution in Western Europe and in particular Germany, in which Russia would join as an important but subordinate part . . ."

Lenin was undoubtedly astounded by the Bolshevik success in Soviet Russia, but even more by the failure of the industrial workers of Western Europe and America to respond to his success by calling general strikes and resorting to revolutionary acts in a joyous response to the proletarian revolution in Russia. I recall that at the moment of the Russian revolution, the Smolny was full of talk of what was going to happen throughout the world, but nothing happened. Big Bill Haywood, on whom the Bolsheviks depended in the United States, was in prison here. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg were unable to develop a Bolshevik revolution in Germany and before long the split between the German and Russian parties became notorious.

BROWDER'S freedom from Communist Party discipline has undoubtedly opened his mind to the errors of a system of which he was so long a servant. However, it must be remembered that as the proponent of American exceptionalism, he was the author of nationalistic communism which Tito adopted and is now abandoning. Long before the Communists kicked Browder out of their party, his insistence upon American exceptionalism indicated a break with the Kremlin hierarchy. Only World War II delayed his expulsion for heresy.

His excommunication dramatically established the fact that the American Communist Party was not controlled by Americans; it was a branch of the Kremlin under some kind of ideological control by the Frenchman, Jacques Duclos.

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O.C.R - Russia

UP121
(ECONOMIC)

A GOVERNMENT REPORT WARNED THAT RUSSIA'S NEW ECONOMIC OFFENSIVE HAS MADE CONSIDERABLE HEADWAY TOWARD SUBVERTING FREE GOVERNMENTS AND UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

THE REPORT, PREPARED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT, ESTIMATED THAT IN THE PAST THREE YEARS RUSSIA AND HER COMMUNIST SATELLITES HAVE GIVEN THESE COUNTRIES NEARLY $1,900,000,000 (B) IN ECONOMIC AID.

THIS AID HAS BEEN DESIGNED TO PROMOTE RUSSIA'S "EXPANSIONIST AIMS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM," THE STUDY SAID. IT ADDED THAT MANY OF THE COUNTRIES ACCEPTING SOVIET HELP HAVE FAILED TO SEE THE DANGERS OF RUSSIAN INFILTRATION AND SUBVERSION.

A COPY OF THE REPORT WAS MADE AVAILABLE TO THE UNITED PRESS BY NON-ADMINISTRATION SOURCES.

THE STUDY SAID THAT RUSSIA HAS BEEN FACED IN RECENT YEARS "WITH UNFAVORABLE PROSPECTS FOR CONQUEST IN EUROPE" AND HAS BEEN "FRUSTRATED IN (ITS) RELIANCE ON DIRECT SUBVERSION TO EXPAND (ITS) INFLUENCE OVER OTHER AREAS." THEREFORE, I SAID, THE COMMUNIST BLOC TURNED TO ECONOMIC PENETRATION OF INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES IT WISHED TO SUBVERT.

MAJOR EMPHASIS HAS BEEN GIVEN IN THIS ECONOMIC OFFENSIVE BY RUSSIA TO THE NEW NATIONS IN ASIA AND AFRICA "STRUGGLING FOR NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION AND ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT."

THE STUDY ESTIMATED THAT THE SOVIET BLOC NATIONS HAVE GIVEN ECONOMIC AID TO LESS DEVELOPED FREE WORLD COUNTRIES AS FOLLOWS:

AFGHANISTAN, 145 MILLION DOLLARS; CAMBODIA 22 MILLION DOLLARS; CEYLON, 20 MILLION DOLLARS; EGYPT, 480 MILLION DOLLARS; INDIA, 270 MILLION DOLLARS; INDONESIA, 110 MILLION DOLLARS; NEPAL, 13 MILLION DOLLARS; SYRIA, 280 MILLION DOLLARS; YEMEN, 10 MILLION DOLLARS, AND YUGOSLAVIA, 465 MILLION DOLLARS.

THE STUDY SAID THE SOVIET BLOC ALSO HAD DISTRIBUTED AN ESTIMATED 70 MILLION DOLLARS IN ECONOMIC AID TO OTHER COUNTRIES NOT IDENTIFIED.

"THE ACCEPTANCE OF SOVIET CREDITS CARRIES WITH IT CERTAIN IMPLICATIONS OF WHICH THE RECIPIENT COUNTRIES ARE NOT ALWAYS CLEARLY AWARE," THE REPORT SAID. "THE SOVIETS CERTAINLY ARE NOT MOTIVATED BY ANY ALTRUISTIC DESIRE TO AID ECONOMIC PROGRESS."

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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VISTAS IN SCIENCE

By THOMAS R. HENRY

Russia's Work in Brain Physiology

Some of the most notable Russian scientific contributions in this generation have been in brain physiology.

This has been following the lead of the undoubtedly great Ivan Pavlov—discoverer about 40 years ago of so-called "conditioned responses."

If a dog is kicked it will growl. If a red light is flashed in its face simultaneously with each kick eventually it will growl at the sight of the light alone without any kick. For the rest of its life it may even growl or snarl at the sight of anything red.

An enormous structure, speculative and otherwise, has been built on this apparently simple discovery. It seems much more simple now than it did when Pavlov first announced it. It has been expanded by the more materialistic psychologists and psychiatrists all over the world, especially in the United States, to explain about every abnormality of animal or human behavior. The conditioned response can be dragged by the tail into about any queer situation ever heard of. Pavlov's work was a revelation from on high for most psychiatrists who don't believe in an "On High." At that, there unquestionably is a lot to it.

Basis of Brainwashing

The point here is that it gave the Russians a big push in the brain physiology field. Some of the most notable of the Soviet biological reports, now being translated through the American Institute of Biological Sciences here, deal with work in this line.

It is, by the way, probably the foundation of all brainwashing techniques. Pavlov, of course, is a posthumous Communist.

Just now, it appears from Doklady, journal of the Soviet Academy of Sciences being translated for the first time by the American Institute of Biological Sciences here, the Russian physiologists are interested primarily in the effect on conditioned reflexes of various kinds of electric currents sent through the brain. A significant finding is that of the intimate association between the cerebral cortex, the top of the brain which is the seat of all conscious action, and the "little brain," or cerebellum, known to be the organ of equilibrium but whose full functions are somewhat uncertain.

The conditioned reflex studies, however, show a profound effect of cerebellum on cerebrum, according to a report of Dr. N. N. Livshitz of the Soviet Institute of Biological Physics. He sent ultrahigh-frequency currents through the cerebellum, taking care that the cerebrum was unaffected.

The effects varied greatly from dog to dog, he found. They apparently depended on the innate personalities of the animals. Some were calm and restrained, some clever and some stupid. By and large, in the calm, intelligent dogs already established conditioned responses were strengthened. In the excitable and stupid they were weakened.

More important, however, was establishment of an apparent strong association between the cerebellum and the visual lobe of the cerebrum at the back of the brain. Visual reflexes were most affected.

Effects Spread

The effects appeared to spread over the entire top of the brain. They were far more general than could be produced by any direct electrical stimulation of the cerebral cortex itself. In the latter case the effects appeared quite localized.

Activity of the brain cortex, as evidenced by the ability of various parts to take and hold vital stains which the Russians consider a good index, can be influenced greatly by continuous loud sounds, according to a report by Dr. A. V. Zhirmunsky of the Pavlov Institute. It would be presumed, he said, that brain changes due to sound would be most pronounced in the temporal lobes of the brain, just over the ears, where sound stimulations are received and shunted over various pathways. Actually the greatest effects seemed to be on the parietal lobe, where are located centers for voluntary movement. Here the stain absorption was greatest. This was substantiated by the observed greater motor activity of the mice during the period of stimulation.

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C.P. Russia

filed

UP15
(SOVIET)
MOSCOW--ONE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S TOP LEADERS WAS DISPATCHED TODAY TO THE STRATEGIC SOVIET CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN, APPARENTLY ON A TROUBLE-SHOOTING MISSION. Communist
N.I. BELYAYEV, A MEMBER OF THE PARTY'S RULING PRESIDIUM AND A PARTY SECRETARY AS WELL, WILL BECOME FIRST SECRETARY OF THE LOCAL KAZAKHSTAN PARTY. USSR.
BELYAYEV'S PRIOR ASSIGNMENT AS A SECRETARY OF THE U.S.S.R. PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ENHANCES THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HIS DISPATCH TO KAZAKHSTAN, THE LARGEST OF THE SOVIET REPUBLICS OUTSIDE RUSSIA PROPER AND ONE OF THE RICHEST IN RESOURCES.
APPARENTLY HIS NEW MISSION INVOLVES TROUBLE SHOOTING. NO EXPLANATION WAS GIVEN IN TODAY'S SOVIET PRESS ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE INCUMBENT FIRST SECRETARY, I.D.YAKOVLEV, AND SECOND SECRETARY N.I. ZHURIN. Former
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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

0-19 (Rev. 10-29-57)

Red Letter Tyranny Days Cited

Christmas Well Marked On the Soviet Calendar

By Herbert A. Philbrick

"As the Christmas season approaches, in each human heart there is a deep concern for others."

Philbrick

Thus opens a clever Communist appeal for "amnesty" once directed to soft-hearted Americans. Fully recognizing that the Christmas season indeed does have a strong emotional and sentimental appeal to most people, the Reds are ever ready to increase their "peace" propaganda during December.

Unforunately, the Communist line is picked up by some well meaning pacifist groups, who do not realize that the Reds have grotesquely twisted the appeal for "peace among men of good will" to mean a great deal more.

For the Communists, a "peaceful" attitude on our part is made to mean that we lower our resistance to evil, that we compromise our principles, that we abrogate our moral and ethical codes, and that we condone Communist brutality—all in the name of brotherhood. We are called upon to have "compassion" for the Soviet bosses—but we are expected to ignore and to betray the victims of Communism.

A Christmas Reminder

A sharp reminder of this was included among the Christmas cards in my mail, a card signed by the "Political Prisoners of the Soviet Orbit." Dr. Bela Fabian, chairman of the Federation of Hungarian Former Political Prisoners, said that it was sent to a long list of Communist bosses in this country, and behind the Iron Curtain.

From the front of the card, gaunt faces stare blankly from behind a criss-crossed pattern of barbed wire, with the bitter greeting: "We wish you a Christmas as merry as ours." Inside the card there is a Christmas tree, hung with chains, decked out with the weapons of war and oppression, topped with a bright red star, with an appropriate greeting to the "henchmen of our nation."

If there are those who may be shocked by the bitter tone of this Christmas greeting, it can be only that they have no conception of modern Soviet slavery. A review of events which have taken place in the Soviet Empire during the Christmas season may contribute to a better understanding of Communism.

"Cheka" Established

For example, it was in December, 1917—just five days before Christmas—that the infamous "Cheka" was established by the Bolshevik dictatorship. Felix Dcherzhinski became its first chief. Later known as the GPU, the NKVD, and now the MVD, the Red secret police system has surpassed everything in the written history of torture, brutality, murder and slavery. Slavery is "legal" in the Soviet Empire, with an elaborate "corrective labor codex" of Red law which meticulously sets forth the conditions of slavery.

At this time of Christmas, when great stress is placed upon the meaning of the family, it is well to point out that in Soviet slave labor camps, family life is illegal. Clause 47 of the Corrective Labor Codex sets forth that 'in the places of detention men must be accommodated separately from women and juveniles from adults."

With typical Communist compasison, Clause 46 of the codex states, "Women detainees may have with them their children up to the age of four." Escaped prisoners have testified that even this rule is not always followed, and that nursing babies have been torn from the arms of their mothers sentenced to slavery.

"No Man Is Free"

In the Red Empire, no man is free, even though he is not technically behind barbed wire. On Dec. 20, 1938, a "work book" requirement was extended to every worker in the Soviet Union. The work book contains a record of his previous employment, fines, dismissals and the like, along with the reasons for such dismissals. No worker can quit his job of his own accord. To do so is to be a "deserter" subject to ten years of slave labor.

Whether working or not, every Soviet citizen is rigidly controlled. It was in December, 1932, that the Council of People's Commissars re-established "internal passports," which had been universally hated in Czarist time and which had been abolished by the 1917 revolution as a "police instrument for the oppression of the masses."

The shackles of slavery were tightened still further in December, 1936, when the "Stalin Constitution" was ratified by the Supreme Soviet, which "unified" the captive and slave nations under the Red banner. The Stalin Constitution is still in effect today.

At Christmas, when reverence is expressed for human life, it is well to note the record of Communist destruction of lives, as well as liberties. The record of Soviet murder is so long as to fill volumes. It was

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on the day before Christmas in 1952 that West German policeman Herbert Bauer was killed by agents of the NKVD when he tried to prevent the Soviet kidnaping of a man and two women from the French sector of Berlin.

Organized Slaughter

In the same month and year within the Soviet orbit itself, organized slaughter was systematically carried forward. In Prague, with typical Communist Christmas spirit, the Soviet gauleiters executed Rudolf Slánski, Vladimir Clementis, Otto Fischl, Joseph Frank, Ludwig Freyka, Bedrich Geminder, Rudolph Margolius, Bedrich Reicin, André Simon, Otto Sling and Karel Svab. They had been convicted one week before of "treason, sabotage and espionage."

Such slaughter is a continuous process in the Soviet paradise. Going back more than twenty years, we find that it was in the Christmas season that sixty-five men and one woman, most of them Latvians, Finns and Poles, were arrested in Leningrad as "white guard terrorists"; they were tried, convicted and shot in one day. The so-called trials were unannounced, and held in closed session; the defendants were not represented by counsel.

Red victims include not only the anti-Communists, but the anti-Fascists as well; it was in December of 1949 that André Bajcsy-Zsilinszky, a leader of the Hungarian resistance against the Nazis, was executed by the Communists.

Communists Not Immune

Nor have members of the Communist apparatus themselves escaped the deadly Christmas spirit of Communism. The record shows a long list of prominent Communists who have been executed during December.

Perhaps the most revealing attitude of the Communist toward Christmas is shown by the fact that it was in December, 1948, on the very day after Christmas, that the Communists arrested and subsequently tortured Cardinal Josef Mindszenty, charging him with a whole series of crimes, such as "spying, treason, black market dealings" and others. Again, the list of ministers and clergymen who have been liquidated over the years during December in the Soviet Union would take many columns.

In the face of this record, it seems incredible that there are those appeasers and collaborators in our midst today who would have the United States submit, in the name of Christmas spirit, to the brazen demands of the Soviet Union.

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These Days . . . . . By George E. Sokolsky

By What Men Live

THE AGE-OLD argument continues as to what causes men in various countries to rise in revolution, to battle their rulers, to go to war. Americans are pleased to believe that the struggle in the world today is between the poor nations and the rich nations, between low standard of living peoples and higher standard of living peoples, and that all human problems can be solved by raising purchasing power, so that they eat more, are better housed and better clothed. Then there will be peace on earth, good will to men.

Sokolsky

It is an easy solution, a pleasant thought and upon it one can take a brandy. But it runs counter to all history, for the explosive power in all this world of man has not been bread, but ideals, beliefs, ways of life, concepts of eternity, hunger for liberty. It has always been the austere people who have been capable of enormous sacrifices, perhaps because they had nothing to lose but their lives. It was the kumiss-drinking Mongols under Genghis Khan and the Sans Culottes army of Napoleon, impoverished by the French revolution but believing in liberte! egalite! fraternite! who set out to conquer mankind, just as today the Soviet world marching under the banners of Marxism-Leninism accepts austerity as a norm of life to achieve the universality of mankind.

IT WAS NOT a higher standard of living that sent Christians to the catacombs or into the crusades; it was when Christians secularized their God and paid homage to material existence that they lost empires. We are being told today that all that is necessary to put an end to war and revolution is for the United States to provide more aid, to abolish customs duties, to increase European and Asiatic purchasing power and then the Asiatics and Africans will be happy and will wave the American flag on the Fourth of July.

Into all this also must go the abolition of the Dutch, French and British empires for which the compensation is to be a little more aid and a little more dependence for Europeans and more independence for the newly intensified nationalistic countries of Asia and Africa.

There is no evidence in history that men are willing to live by bread alone and Soviet Russia is ample proof, over 40 years, two frightful wars and a devastating revolution, that something more than bread, something of the spirit, must be fed the human soul. People may be misled, often to their own disadvantage, but they follow not so much him who gives bread as him who demands sacrifices for a cause, as Winston Churchill proved even in our own generation when he offered nothing but blood and tears and high taxes.

AMONG THE moderns of Russia was a priest, Father Yelchaninov, who was born in 1881 and died in exile in Paris in 1934. He made a tremendous impression on the religious thought of the orthodox church. In fact, during the 1905 revolution, he belonged to the "Christian Brotherhood of Struggle," a revolutionary organization. After the Communist revolution, he was a leader of the Russian Christian student movement in exile. I quote the following from Father Yelchaninov's writings as an example of the thinking of the Russian people, even in our times:

"We live in a farm house, between 250 and 300 years old; low ceilings with heavy beams, a chimney, fortress-like walls. In place of the early hearth, there is an iron stove, but even this—especially on a wet day—gives a real sense of home, of coziness, of something long-desired. I think a real feeling of home can be had only by people who have lived in such nests as these in their own houses, with the real, living fire of a hearth and a smoky ceiling. What special attraction can be offered by our modern 'home'—a flat, one of a thousand other flats which are all alike, with central heating, electric light, water pipes instead of a well or a fountain, a lodging devoid of all special characteristics, which can be easily exchanged for another . . ."

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THESE DAYS:

Soviet Russia's Privileged Class

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

IT IS an old rule of nature that birds of a feather flock together. The sociologists called it "community of kind" which makes it a bit more obscure but it is the same idea. The Communists harped upon the idea of a classless society, one in which all men would be economically equal; but long before Karl Marx, Thomas Jefferson wrote the doctrine of political and social equality into the Declaration of Independence.

SOKOLSKY

The Russians had a most unusual opportunity to establish a classless society because in the 1917 revolution, all the upper classes, royalty, the nobility, the bureaucracy, the upper and lower middle classes were either killed or ran away. Remaining were the proletarian factory workers, the peasants and the unpropertied intellectuals.

The squeezing out of the lower middle class in Russia was so obvious during 1917-18 that it has remained for me an everlasting caution. It started with the inflation when money ceased to have any value. The lower middle class, storekeepers, bank clerks, lawyers, doctors, school teachers, etc., had their equities in money or in stocks or bonds. When money lost value, their equities were wiped away and they possessed only their clothes and perhaps a few trinkets, some furniture and similar small possessions.

At first, they tried to sell these personal belongings for money, but as the value of the money faded away, they wanted to barter. In time, they became part of the proletariat, seeking jobs in the government and the brighter ones getting into the Communist Party.

Here the old rule of community of kind began to function. The party became a class. Those who belonged to the party had special privileges. In time, those who won the Order of Lenin had extraordinary privileges. A government or a party official had specific privileges depending upon his job or rank. A Stakhanovist, that is, a high speed worker, came into privilege.

In a word, a privileged class developed and that class had gradations similar to an aristocracy. At the apex stood the Secretary of the Communist Party —~~Stalin,~~ Malenkov, Khrushchev.

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A Growing, Changing Society

To repeat, the sociological rule of community of kind asserted itself. Milovan Djilas, who is in prison in Yugoslavia for discovering that Communism has produced in each country where it operates, a privileged society, wrote in his book, "The New Class":

". . . Human society cannot be compared to species of animals or to inanimate objects; it is composed of individuals and groups which are continuously and consciously active in it, growing and changing."

Then he said:

". . . contemporary Communism does not deny the existence of an objective or unchanging body of laws. However, when in power, it acts in an entirely different manner toward human society and the individual, and uses methods to establish its power different from those its theories would suggest.

"Beginning with the premise that they alone know the laws which govern society, Communists arrive at the oversimplified and unscientific conclusion that this alleged knowledge gives them the power and the exclusive right to change society and to control its activities. This is the major error of their system."

Actually the Communist society in the short period of 40 years has transformed a graded society based upon land tenure and birth into a graded society based upon political relationships and the holding of particular positions. In the former, at the apex, stood an autocrat, the Czar; in the latter stands an autocrat, the Secretary of the Communist Party. In the former, the ultimate rank was a quality of birth; in the latter it is achieved by machinations and struggles within the party which could include murder and exile.

Each system based itself upon the will of a Deity. The Czaristic system of primogeniture was assumed to exist by divine right; the Communist system is based upon a twisted and tendentious reading of Marx and Lenin and the authority of Democratic Centralism. As Djilas says:

"Marx's revolutionary ideas, which were conditional and not universally applicable, were changed by Lenin into absolute and universal principles . . ."

Lenin is regarded as the Aristotle of the revolution. Actually, he was a pedantic revolutionist who had little understanding of such countries as the United States and Great Britain. As Djilas says: "Almost nothing remained of original Marxism." In fact, today, little remains of Leninism. Soviet Russia is as stratified a society as Czarist Russia was.

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The New Class in Communism

By George E. Sokolsky

IT IS AN OLD RULE of nature that birds of a feather flock together. The sociologists called it "community of kind," which makes it a bit more obscure, but it is the same idea. The Communists harped upon the idea of a classless society, one in which all men would be economically equal; but long before Karl Marx, Thomas Jefferson wrote the doctrine of political and social equality into the Declaration of Independence.

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Then he said:

". . . Contemporary communism does not deny the existence of an objective or unchanging body of laws. However, when in power, it acts in an entirely different manner toward human society and the individual, and uses methods to establish its power different from those its theories would suggest.

"Beginning with the premise that they alone know the laws which govern society, Communists arrive at the oversimplified and unscientific conclusion that this alleged knowledge gives them the power and the exclusive right to change society and to control its activities. This is the major error of their system."

ACTUALLY, the Communist society, in the short period of 40 years, has transformed a graded society based upon land tenure and birth into a graded society based upon political relationships and the holding of particular positions. In the former, at the apex, stood an autocrat, the Czar; in the latter stands an autocrat, the Secretary of the Communist Party. In the former, the ultimate rank was a quality of birth; in the latter it is achieved by machinations and struggles within the Party which could include murder and exile.

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Russ Unrest Blocks War, Says Ex-Red

Despite the sputniks, the Soviet Union need not be feared by the outside world at present. So says a former Soviet officer who defected.

This man, once a captain in the MVD or secret police organization of the Soviet Union, told the Executive Club of Chicago:

"Internal revolt threatens the Soviet world. Marshal Zhukov and many army officers now oppose the Communist party regime. The country is not in a psychological position to make successful war on any outside state."

The speaker was Capt. Nikolai E. Khokhlov, who gave up to anti-Soviet forces in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1954 rather than murder one of their leaders.

SURVIVED POISON

Khokhlov, though only 34, is bald as a billiard ball and wasted by a poisoning attempt upon his life. He appears nearer 60. He told 1,500 listeners:

"Nikita Khrushchev is not the all-powerful man he appears to outsiders. He has had to give up great parts of his power to the 300 Communist party secretaries who comprise the central committee."

Khokhlov described these secretaries as akin to state governors in the U. S. He said that Krushchev, who inherited the mantle of power once worn by Joseph Stalin, has had to rip it to shreds to hold his job in the U.S.S.R.

WEAKENING POWER

As Khokhlov sees it, two factors forced Khrushchev to give up power:

1—There was a crisis in party ranks, following Stalin's death and desanctification, as youth turned away from party discipline in droves.

2—There was and is a growing instability in Communist party power among the satellite states which the Soviet Union has conquered.

Khrushchev, as Khokhlov interprets events, called in members of the party's central committee when he wanted to dump Molotov, Malenkov, Shepilov and Kaganovic. Khrushchev told the others:

"It is a question of whether those men take power or you keep it in your hands. Which do you prefer?"

Khokhlov said Khrushchev thus kept power in the party, but at a tremendous loss of the personal power which Stalin's successors might have kept.

Then, a few weeks ago, Khrushchev gave up another chunk of power in the same manner in order to accomplish the dumping of Marshal Zhukov.

Khokhlov traced events leading to this dumping:

"There has been a growing spirit of revolt within the Soviet Union. Zhukov may have taken no part in it, but its leaders felt they could turn to him as a man friendly with the West. Now, he's out of the picture."

Khokhlov spoke in sadness as he described what he termed the innocence amounting to stupidity of the American intelligence men to whom he surrendered.

THEY WOULDN'T BELIEVE

The defecting Russian agent indicated that he couldn't convince the men—who, he said, believed too much in their own reports—that he was what he said he was. They stalled and stalled, he said:

"Until I knew that if they stalled any longer, my wife and child would be picked up in Moscow by Russian secret police. Sure enough, by the time the Americans believed me, my family had disappeared."

As Khokhlov interprets events within the Soviet Union today, the worst that could possibly happen to the regime is happening: There is revolt among the writers, Khokhlov said:

"In this country, with your freedom of the press, you cannot understand the importance in the Soviet Union to writers, critics and artists. The Hungarian revolt last year actually started with the writers."

SPURNED MEETING

Khokhlov said this revolt among the writers crystallized in Moscow just a few days ago when the writers, assembled in convention upon call of the Communist Party, stayed away from a meeting at which they were to be reprimanded.

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SOME TYRANTS RIDE HIGH

Today is the 40th anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik revolution, and the Moscow tyrants and their comrade slave-drivers from the satellite countries are making the most of it.

Nikita Khrushchev

Khrushchev brandishes his sputniks, once again challenges the United States to divide the world with him, and may uncork some new scientific marvel today.

Meanwhile, the Russian Communist Party's 190 million or more slaves live as meagerly as ever. Their masters' scientific achievements must be just about as satisfying to the slaves as was the sight of the pyramids to the slaves of ancient Egypt, whose blood and toil built those mighty monuments to tyrants.

The grimmest irony in the whole current Moscow wingding is that Nikolai Lenin and Leon Trotsky, when they pulled their 1917 military coup, did so with promises to make Russia the freest and happiest country on earth. The peasants were to get the farm lands; the army, police and bureaucracy were to wither away; free elections were to be held periodically.

Once on top, Lenin and Trotsky forgot these promises. Presently Maxim Gorky, an old friend of theirs, was calling their government "an autocracy of savages."

It goes on being the worst despotism in many centuries.

For all of Khrushchev's friendly leers at us, world Communism still relentlessly plots our destruction. Khrushchev voiced this ambition as recently as two months ago, when he told some Western visitors: "We will bury you."

The Red tyrants are riding high just now. But the betting still looks good that liberty will eventually bury Communism — deep.

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BOSS IN RUSSIA?

The case of Georgi K. Zhukov, until a few days ago Russian Minister of Defense, is more important for what it reveals about the Moscow dictatorship than for its personal drama. Who outside the Communist countries cares whether Khrushchev, Zhukov or some third person rules Russia? The fact is that forty years after Lenin overthrew the Kerensky Government the Russian state has not, in the words of Marx, "withered away"; there has been no progress toward the prediction of the ineffable Lenin that "the mass of the population will rise to independent participation, not only in voting and elections, but also in the everyday administration of affairs."

The Government of Russia is not a dictatorship of the proletariat but a dictatorship over the proletariat; it is a dictatorship of a far smaller number of persons than those who ruled Russia in the days of Czar Nicholas; it is, to sum up, one of the supreme hypocrisies of all history.

This might not be our affair if whoever rules in Moscow did not threaten, as Khrushchev does, as Stalin did, as the overpraised Lenin himself did, the peace of the world. The "proletariat" of Russia has conquered a broad belt of territory in the heart of Europe, has inspired and abetted reactionary wars in Korea, Vietnam and elsewhere, and is now pursuing a policy of force and treachery in the Middle East and North Africa. Surely this is not what the "workers of the world" to whom Marx and Engels appealed more than a century ago would have desired.

Of course this diabolical policy is not the product of the Russian "workers" or of the "proletariat" of any part of the world. It is the product of a dozen, a half dozen men, perhaps at times a single man. Moscow yesterday downgraded Zhukov for trying to destroy Communist party control over the armed forces. Actually, the whole Russian adventure, after forty bloody years, has lost whatever idealism it may once have had. Today it is primarily a raw fight for power, just as was the case when Caesar took Rome and Napoleon took France.

Consider again the case of Marshal Zhukov, who is probably alive today because he was in Spain in 1937 when the power-drunk and insanely egotistic Stalin purged the old Russian Army. A gifted if completely ruthless soldier, Zhukov would have been a popular hero after the Second World War in any country but Communist Russia; he vanished into comparative obscurity because Stalin was jealous of him. Now, as it seems, another dictator is jealous. Jealous, perhaps, of those very qualities that would be useful to a real democracy but are dangerous in a make-believe democracy.

This we do know: the Russian "proletariat," the "workers" and peasants for whom the revolution of November, 1917, was presumably consummated, have had no say as to what might happen to Zhukov; they have had no say as to who shall be master in Russia. The "democracy" of Russia, as of every Communist country, is a cynical sham. Neither Russia nor any other country calling itself today a "people's republic" is a republic or is ruled by the people. This is the nightmare into which the Marxian dream has decayed. Perhaps even the purest Marxianism would breed tyranny, for control of all the means of production by the state or community would always mean control by a few individuals, some of whom would be weak, some corrupt, some wholly evil. But today's Moscow has gone beyond the necessities: it is a throwback into a barbaric oriental despotism.

And this is what really concerns the rest of us, for barbarians with this generation's lethal weapons threaten the continued existence of civilization. Who wins this round in Moscow means little if the system remains unchanged.

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Stern Verdict Predicted in Zhukov Case

Red Paper Says Party Leadership Has Aired Matter

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ROME, Oct. 31 (Thursday) (AP)—L'Unita, Italy's official Communist newspaper, reported today that the Soviet Communist Party leadership has aired the Zhukov case and it predicted a "severe verdict."

The paper published a dispatch from its Moscow correspondent, Giuseppe Boffa, saying the Soviet Party Central Committee Presidium completed Tuesday night a 2-day discussion of the case of ousted Defense Minister Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov.

Boffa often has been ahead of other Moscow newsmen with stories of the Kremlin moves. Presumably his dispatches, which must clear the censor, have official Soviet sanction.

Boffa said the Committee adopted a number of resolutions which will be published, illustrated and discussed in Party assemblies, but released nothing to the press.

The paper hinted that Zhukov may be found guilty of trying to set himself up as a military overlord.

[One of the charges against Zhukov is believed to be that he attempted to thwart indoctrination of the armed forces by Communist Party political commissars.

[Red Star, the daily newspaper of the Soviet Defense Ministry, today called on the Soviet Army and Navy to rally round the Communist Party, Reuters reported.

[As quoted by Tass news agency the paper appealed to commanders, political officers, and Party members in the Army units to make daily efforts to achieve a steady rise in the political consciousness of all ranks. It said they should make the forces live the great life of men of ideology, rally the ranks around the Communist Party, and strengthen the ties with the people.]

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'Severe Verdict' Seen on Zhukov

Italian Paper Hints Of Link to Napoleon

ROME, Oct. 31 (AP).—Italy's Communist Party organ today predicted Russia's top leaders would issue a "severe verdict" against Marshal Georgi Zhukov and hinted he would be accused of "Bonapartism."

The Moscow correspondent of the paper, L'Unita, said the ruling presidium of the Communist Party Central Committee had completed a two-day session on the case of the ousted Defense Minister Tuesday night.

The dispatch, by Giuseppe Boffa, suggested that Marshal Zhukov, like Napoleon, had wanted to advance from command of the armed forces to fulfill a "political ambition perhaps unlimited."

Censor Clears Dispatch

Mr. Boffa said the presidium's decisions would be published and discussed in party assemblies. The Moscow press and radio still have made no mention of Marshal Zhukov beyond the bare announcement of his ouster, however.

L'Unita dispatch was cleared by Soviet censorship. Communist reporters have been able to get more information by the censors than other Western reporters.

Mr. Boffa's dispatch agreed with reports in other Communist papers in the West that Marshal Zhukov was removed because he opposed party political activity within the military forces. But Mr. Boffa wrote he had learned the presidium also took up the "personal case" of the marshal, which was interpreted as having to do with his ambitions.

Army Paper Urges Unity

Western diplomats in Moscow were reported still without further word on the Zhukov case since Nikita Khrushchev said Tuesday night the marshal would get a new job in due time.

Meanwhile, the Soviet army newspaper Red Star urged military men to "rally more closely around the Communist Party and strengthen their relations with the people."

The editorial, broadcast by Moscow radio, followed similar ones in the Soviet military press calling for party support.

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Zhukov to Get New Job, Gay Khrushchev Says

Soviet Chief, at Turkish Embassy Party, Calls Peace Chances Better in Mideast

LONDON, Oct. 30 (AP).—Nikita S. Khrushchev last night brushed off reports of a Kremlin showdown battle with Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov and announced the ousted Soviet defense minister will receive a new post.

While the Western world buzzed with rumors of a struggle between Mr. Khrushchev and Marshal Zhukov in prolonged meetings of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, the ebullient party chief turned up at a Turkish Embassy reception and told reporters:

"We have not decided on a new job for him (Zhukov) yet, but he will have one according to his experience and qualifications.

"I saw Marshal Zhukov today. I spoke to him. He was in good health."

As to Marshal Zhukov's new job, Mr. Khrushchev said:

"You will not hear about it tonight."

(A Vienna newspaper suggested yesterday that Marshal Zhukov might be made Military Attache to Outer Mongolia, the limbo to which V. M. Molotov was consigned after he was purged in June.)

Wilson Resignation Cited

Asked about reports that the 125-member Central Committee had been in session off and on since Marshal Zhukov's removal was announced Saturday, Mr. Khrushchev shrugged and told correspondents:

"You are making up those reports yourselves."

Mr. Khrushchev and Premier Nikolai Bulganin compared Marshal Zhukov's removal with the recent resignation of United States Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson.

"It's all the same," they said. "There is no difference."

The comparison being made by Western diplomats was more dramatic. They recalled the Central Committee meeting last summer when Mr. Khrushchev had a showdown with V. M. Molotov, Georgi Malenkov and Lazar Kaganovich.

Tide Reversed

The tide then reportedly was flowing against Mr. Khrushchev in the 15-member Presidium, a sort of executive body for the General Committee, but was reversed when the full committee was called into session. Mr. Molotov, Mr. Malenkov and Mr. Kaganovich were banished from high party circles.

An announcement had been expected after reports that the Central Committee had been in session all Monday night and Tuesday morning. But there was none.

Reports in London said the announcement would tell of Marshal Zhukov's removal from the Presidium, which he joined as a full member four months ago. There was speculation

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that he would be replaced by the new Defense Minister, Marshal Rodion Malinovsky.

Some Moscow correspondents of Communist papers in the West said Marshal Zhukov had hampered the work of party political workers in the army, the party spies who report directly to Mr. Khrushchev's party organization on army officers and men. Moscow newspapers since the marshal's ouster have stressed the role of the party as organizer and leader of the army as well as of the rest of the Soviet Union.

Khrushchev Talkative

In turning out for the Embassy observance of the Turkish national holiday, the Soviet leaders continued their recent practice of not dodging public encounters even in highly dramatic periods. Mr. Khrushchev, Marshal Bulganin, Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan and Marshal Ivan S. Bagramian—the Soviet commander on the Baltic in World War II—stayed for more than an hour.

Mr. Khrushchev was expansive and talkative.

He toasted Iran, Turkey, the

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Soviet Union, "the alliance in World War II against Hitler" and the Soviet earth satellite, which he described as "a symbol of peace."

Then he declared:

"Let him be damned who thinks of war. Let him be damned who wants war. He who wants war, let him fight alone."

The party chief, who has been accusing the United States and Turkey of planning an attack on Syria, said the situation in the Middle East now looks better.

'A Little Way Toward Peace'

"You can say it has gone a little way toward peace," Mr. Khrushchev said, adding that his very presence at a Turkish reception could be interpreted as a gesture of peace.

A correspondent asked if this turn had developed since October 27. That was the date of the Turkish national elections, and the Soviet press had been predicting that Turkey was planning an aggressive move against Syria immediately after that date.

Mr. Khrushchev looked grim for a moment. Then he broke into a laugh and responded:

"It started sometime before that."

Marshal Zhukov was removed from his post the day before the Turkish elections.

For all the talk of war over Syria, Mr. Khrushchev commented: "The more there is talk of war, the less likely war becomes."

He went on:

"Turkey and the Soviet Union are neighbors. When Turkey gets warm, a cool wind from the Soviet Union meets a warm breeze from Turkey and as a result there is a moderate climate between us."

This is in sharp contrast to recent vehement denunciations of Turkish intentions by Mr. Khrushchev and the Soviet press.

Bagramian Gives Views

Marshal Bagramian, the only top military officer present, said of Marshal Zhukov: "All I know is that he is in Moscow and has no desire to go abroad."

Then, turning to the international situation, Marshal Bagramian added:

"When there are elder brothers and younger brothers in a family, the elder ones agree and the younger ones do not quarrel any more, but I must emphasize that elder brothers must not agree at the expense of younger brothers."

Did this, he was asked, imply that Marshal Zhukov should have gone to the United States because the United States and the Soviet Union are "elder brothers?"

"Yes, but Dulles didn't want him to go," Marshal Bagramian said.

This referred to a disputed invitation some months ago for Marshal Zhukov to visit Washington.

A reporter asked Marshal Bagramian if the United States invited Marshal Zhukov now, would he go?

"Times have changed," was Marshal Bagramian's reply.

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New Blow Reported for Zhukov

Rumors Hint He Is Also Out Of Party Post

Would Be Political Disgrace; Other Shifts Indicated

LONDON, Oct. 28 (AP).—Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov has been fired from the presidium (politburo) of the Soviet Communist Party, according to unconfirmed reports circulating in Moscow and reaching London and Paris today.

The report, completely unconfirmed, circulated among Western diplomatic missions as other reports spread that Soviet Communist Party leaders were rushing to urgent conferences in Moscow.

Spokesmen at the Soviet Embassy here declined comment on the reports.

Marshal Zhukov, relieved as Defense Minister last Saturday, was appointed to the presidium after the party's Central Committee last June. He had been a candidate member since February, 1956.

The presidium rules the party, and thus the Soviet Union.

New Shakeup Seen

...e party's secretary general, Nikita S. Khrushchev, was reported calling the signals in Moscow for announcement of a new political shakeup.

Being pushed out of the party presidium could mean political disgrace for the World War II hero, conqueror of Berlin, who became a letter-writing friend of President Eisenhower.

The reports reached the French Foreign Ministry in Paris and some Western diplomatic missions in London. Word that leaked through Moscow's telephone lines to the West indicated the Russian capital was buzzing with the same information. Censors were blocking Western correspondents in their efforts to report on the situation.

While the world speculated about the future of Marshal Zhukov, an important change in the Soviet political setup was clearly emerging.

Hierarchy Changes Hinted

One Western diplomat with a pipeline to Moscow said Party bigwigs were meeting and implied that through Mr. Khrushchev is secure it is possible there will be changes in the hierarchy.

The Party leaders appeared to be cleaning house to create a vacancy—possibly to make a new place for Marshal Zhukov.

The Foreign Office in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, where Marshal Zhukov visited recently would not comment or speculate on the Russian war hero's future. But sources close to the Soviet Embassy in Belgrade predicted he might become a deputy premier.

Diplomatic observers in Belgrade said an article in today's Pravda indicated a conflict raging in the party presidium. They noted, as have others, that the article, calling for unity, is similar to one published just before V. M. Molotov, Georgi Malenkov and L. M. Kaganovich were ousted.

One diplomatic source in

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Belgrade suggested Mr. Khrushchev might be trying to rally the central committee behind him after being outvoted in the ruling presidium.

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Communist Papers See No Zhukov Promotion

ROME, Italy, Oct. 28 (AP).—The Moscow correspondents of Italy's Communist-line newspapers today rejected speculation that Soviet Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov had been relieved of the defense ministry for a promotion.

One of the Communist reporters even linked Marshal Zhukov with aspirations to revive the "cult of personality"—the one-man rule typified by Stalin.

Giuseppe Boffa, the correspondent for L'Unita, the official Italian Communist paper, wrote that theories Marshal Zhukov would be promoted "apparently must be completely discarded." On the other hand, he added, there was no real indication as to what would happen to him.

This was somewhat of a reversal for L'Unita. It had carried this headline over an earlier story: "new high task for Marshal Zhukov?"

No Higher Post Seen

Augusto Livi, the correspondent for Il Paese, a pro-Communist paper, also wrote that Marshal Zhukov apparently would not get a higher post, and went further:

"In evident controversy with Zhukov's position, there are reports of reaffirmation among the directing elements of the government against any resurrection, in any form, of the 'cult of personality.'"

Il Paese's headline over the story was even more specific. It said:

"The discharge of Zhukov is considered definite . . . to Zhukov may be charged an attempt to resurrect in his favor the 'cult of personality' . . ."

It was presumed here that both Boffa and Livi had some Kremlin coaching before sending their stories, which passed through Soviet censorship. The correspondent's stories seemed to hint that Marshal Zhukov was feared as a rival to the party boss, Nikita Khurshchev.

In the West a host of theories about Marshal Zhukov's fate kept even the best informed experts on Russia puzzled. Soviet censorship prevented Moscow correspondents from sending some interpretations of his removal.

Diplomats in London suggested that there soon might be more changes in the Kremlin.

They said Mr. Khrushchev seemed to have tightened his hold by removing his strongest potential rival for power. Significance was attached to the curtness of the Soviet announcement that the popular 61-year-old Defense Minister had been "relieved." The Russians usually say "relieved for other duties" if another job is in prospect.

Sir David Kelly, British Ambassador to Moscow from 1949 to 1951, told the Sunday Times in London:

"Even if Marshal Zhukov is not in complete disgrace, his removal from the military command is a most serious step for Khrushchev to have taken."

Party Discussion Due

In London, the Communist Daily Worker said the central committee of the Soviet Communist Party was expected to discuss Marshall Zhukov's removal today.

"While there is no official or even unofficial information available," the Daily Worker said, "it seemed Zhukov was not slated for promotion."

Other Communist newspapers in West Europe took the line that Marshal Zhukov would receive another high post, but the Moscow correspondent of l'Humanite, organ of the French party, appeared to retreat somewhat from that interpretation.

One dispatch from the French correspondent, Pierre Hentges, said "there is every reason to believe" Marshal Zhukov was taking up other important tasks. He hinted the marshal was being delegated to try to arrange talks between top Soviet leaders and his wartime friend, President Eisenhower.

Later Mr. Hentges wrote that the reason for Marshal Zhukov's dismissal would not be announced until after a meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee. He said the committee would meet in Moscow in a few days and added: "International public opinion will not be delayed in being informed of the reasons which led the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet to take such a decision."

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GTON DAILY NEWS, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1957—25

Eleanor Roosevelt's Day

'A Communist Cannot Be Anti-Semitic'

DETROIT, Oct. 8—One of the questions I submitted to Mr. Khrushchev, after the recording of the interview was ended, was about his general attitude on the Near Eastern situation and the treatment of the Jews in the Soviet Union, as well as some of his statements on the State of Israel.

Mr. Khrushchev seemed very anxious to have us understand that a communist could not be anti-Semitic. Communism was opposed to all discrimination for reasons of race or religion, and if a member of the Communist Party were known to be anti-Semitic no one would shake hands with him.

CITES MARX

Inasmuch as Karl Marx was a Jew, continued Mr. Khrushchev, how could we believe that any communist would be anti-Semitic? And his own son, who was killed in the war, he told us, had been married to a Jewess.

Jews in the Soviet Union, he went on, were given all opportunities for education and for securing positions. He then said that the Soviets had voted for the creation of the state of Israel, but at present he felt Israel must change its policies and be less aggressive.

I suggested that the Soviet Union had given the arms to Syria which had been one of the reasons for the sense of insecurity in Israel and therefore for their show of aggression.

POLICY

He flared up and said there were 80 million Arabs and about one million Israelis, so if Israel continued her present policy she will be destroyed.

Who attacked Egypt? he asked. Wasn't it Great Britain, France and Israel?

I at once answered that he would have to separate the attitude of Israel from that of Britain and France. Israel had been told for a year by the Egyptians that when they were ready and fully armed by the Soviets, the Egptians would drive the Israelis into the sea. Thus the action of the Israelis was in the nature of self-defense, because they could not wait until the build-up against them was completed.

Proof of the build-up had been found in the Sinai desert when the Israelis had captured over $50 million worth of military materiel provided by the Soviets or their satellites.

Mr. Khrushchev dodged this. Then he turned to me to say how stupid he thought the assertion was that anti-Semitism existed in the Soviet Union. Didn't I know there were many Jews of high rank in the Soviet Army, including a Jewish general, and that there was a Jew buried inside the Kremlin wall?

I thought I would adopt his tactics of attack at this point, and said: "In any case, sir, it is very difficult for any Jew to leave the Soviet Union if he happens to want to go and settle in Israel or even to visit it."

"I know," replied Mr. Khrushchev without hesitation; "but the time will come when everyone who wants to go will be able to do so."

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'Fight to End' Vowed By Pope on Communism

By Charles W. Ridley

VATICAN CITY, Oct. 5 (AP)—Pope Pius XII said tonight the Roman Catholic Church will battle atheistic communism to the bitter end, using "the weapons of Christ."

"The church of Christ does not dream of abandoning the terrain to its declared enemy, atheistic communism, without a fight," the pontiff said in a major speech to 2500 delegates of the Congress of the Lay Apostolate.

He stressed the need for them to enter the entertainment and publication fields to spread "Christian principles."

The 81-year-old Pope drove to Vatican City from his summer residence at Castel Gandolfo outside Rome for the audience in St. Peter's Basilica.

Yielding to his advisers, the Pontiff read only the introduction and conclusion of his 5000-word address in order to conserve his strength. The full text was circulated later among the delegates. As it was, the Pope spoke for 30 minutes, and the end issued greetings to delegates from many of the 92 nations represented in their native languages.

The Pope said the lay apostolate had two main functions: To conserve and conquer in the name of God.

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Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Journal-American
N. Y. Mirror
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N. Y. Times
Daily Worker
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- ___ For Your Info
- ___ For appropriate action
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Mr. Rosen
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Miss Gandy

Pages 2 and 3

L. B. Nichols
Room 5640, Ext. 691

From the desk of
GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
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WEEKLY SUNDAY NIGHT BROADCAST OVER
AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY STATIONS

By George E. Sokolsky, September 22, 1957

GOOD EVENING. THIS IS GEORGE SOKOLSKY TRANSCRIBING ON THE FORCES AND EVENTS OF THESE DAYS. BUT FIRST MAY I PRESENT OUR ANNOUNCER FOR A MOMENT.

Syria at the United Nations

Soviet Russia has broken out of the Black Sea and has a fleet in the Mediterranean. This week, the Kremlin Black Sea fleet arrived at Latakia in Syria undoubtedly as a demonstration of strength, as a propaganda device for the entire Arabic world, but also as a challenge to the United States and the NATO powers.

As Secretary of State John Foster Dulles made clear in his speech before the General Assembly of the United Nations, Soviet Russia is setting up a base in Syria for the conquest of Europe, Africa and Asia.

Realistically the Russians recognized the enormous success of their effort to drive the British out of Egypt and the Middle East. This they accomplished with the aid of the United States, the State Department preferring the dictator, Nasser, to a rational solution of the Suez Canal problem which would have been internationalization. Also realistically, the Russians have recognized that Nasser is a man of straw who can only maintain himself in power as long as he has outside support and that being utterly without principle, he will bargain between Soviet Russia and the United States to see where he can get the most. They have therefore devoted themselves more to Syria than to Egypt, more to Communist Party organization than to trading with a dictator.

Perhaps one reason why Shepilov was first deprived of his Ministry of Foreign Affairs and then exiled was because he made the error of centering his hopes upon Cairo rather than on Damascus as Khrushchev is now doing. At any rate, the diversion of Syria from an independent nation to a militaristic satellite of Soviet Russia imperils the peace of the world. It means that Turkey, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Israel must be on a permanent war basis, wasting their wealth and manpower in a period of reconstruction.

Khrushchev has pretty well established his anti-Semitism. He has removed all Jews from high office in the Russian government. Undoubtedly, the removal of both Kaganovitch who is a Jew and Molotov whose wife is a Jewess is a sop to the Syrians whose foreign policy is oriented upon the destruction of Israel. It reminds one of the time that Stalin removed Litvinov from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and relegated him to oblivion to please and placate Hitler with whom he was then entering upon an alliance.

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On the other hand, there can be no question but that Russia's success has frightened India and has, in a measure, been negated by the overwhelming landslide of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer in West Germany which has lessened the Soviet's prestige throughout Europe.

64 OCT 4 1957

Khrushchev shows himself to be as much an empire-builder as Stalin was and a more dangerous one because he is working in a period when economic conditions throughout the world are perilous and when the frightful cost of armaments is impoverishing every nation. What Khrushchev apparently hopes to achieve is a universal depression resulting in the collapse of all substantial capitalistic and even socialistic governments, thus paving the way to chaos, anarchy and the world revolution.

The seriousness of the moment was emphasized by John Foster Dulles in a speech before the United Nations in which he called upon that body to enter upon a discussion of Soviet imperialism in the Arabic world, particularly in Syria.

There can be no question but that the General Assembly of the United Nations can do this under its charter and that it is morally bound to do it because of the dangers of war inherent in this situation. However, now that the United Nations has a membership of 82, the Afro-Asian groups, usually led by India, can so confuse the situation as to waste an entire session debating whether there should be or should not be a debate on the subject of Russia's imperialism in Syria. Thus nothing would happen but an endless array of orators, one worse than the other. If all 82 make speeches, the Assembly will be suffocated by oratory and adjourn from carbon-monoxide exhaustion.

This then is the serious problem that confronts the entire world at this moment. It cannot be minimized. Those who attempt to minimize this situation must have an unholy objective in mind. In this connection, I want to read to you a part of a speech delivered by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, before the American Legion Convention at Atlantic City:

"...The influence of the subversive conspiracy has been almost unbelievable -- reaching deep into practically every walk of life. To gauge the effectiveness of this campaign, we need only to note the widespread and vociferous clamor raised whenever our government attempts to deal firmly in self-defense against the subversive threat.

"Certain organizations obviously dedicate their efforts to thwart the very concepts of security. They vehemently oppose methods to gain this security and it is obvious that their aim is to destroy it. They protest that they are fighting for freedom, but in reality, they seek license. They hypocritically bar Communists from their membership, but they seem to hate all persons who abhor Communists and Communism. They claim to be anti-Communist but they launch attacks against Congressional legislation designed to curb Communism. They distort and misrepresent and ridicule the government's security program. They lobby and exert pressure on the leaders of government both in the legislative and executive branches.

"Some such organizations are supported by tax-exempt funds. Others are infiltrated by a hard core of propagandists -- small but articulate -- whose real aims do not represent those of the hundreds of otherwise well-meaning Americans who are supporting such organizations. The recent campaign to throw open the files of the FBI is a case in point. The bland refusal to recognize the right of the public welfare and the proper use of common sense result too often in a prostitution of the law in favor of evil.

"Sadly, the cult of the pseudo-liberal, which is anything but liberal, continues to float about in the pink-tinted atmosphere of patriotic irresponsibility and remains strangely silent when another nation such as Hungary is pillaged,

plundered, and reduced to virtual serfdom by barbaric Communism.

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For many years, I have been warning my listeners and readers to the dangers and perils of Communist activity. At one time, such warnings were respected; during the Eisenhower Administration, they have lost much of their meaning. Anti-Communism has receded before the onslaughts of Modern Republicanism. The principal agencies for fighting all anti-Communist movements have been the A.D.A. and the Fund for the Republic.

It is now a good time to take up this fight again, with renewed ardor.

The anti-Communist movement has suffered from two weaknesses:

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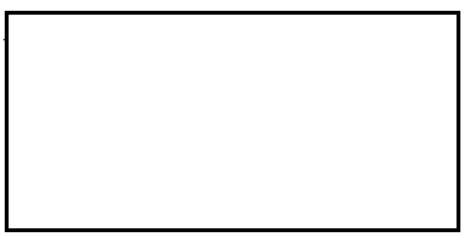

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Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

Syria at the United Nations

By George E. Sokolsky

Weekly Sunday Night Broadcast Over
American Broadcasting Co. Stations

(Sept. 22)

61-16-14

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Middle East Used As a Diversion

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

IT IS DIFFICULT to read a man's mind but it is becoming increasingly evident that Khrushchev employed the Middle East as a diversion to make it easier for him to achieve his bloodless purge within the Soviet world, in Russia, Hungary, Poland and East Germany. Within Russia, his success seems to have been complete. In Hungary he put down a revolt with a brutality rarely witnessed and the surprising fact is that world resentment has not been as great as it should have been. In Poland, he was not altogether successful. The East German situation remains liquid. His peace with Tito is tenuous.

Meanwhile, he has been able to rid himself of Molotov who opposed his Arabic policy, of Malenkov who opposed his anti-Semitism, of Shepilov, who had changed his mind about the Middle East, and of Kaganovitch, the last Jew in any position of power in Russia.

The Middle East adventure includes prospects of a universal war. This Khrushchev has apparently been willing to risk, but nobody can know for sure, on the assumption that the fighting would begin as a local, limited war, first involving Syria and Egypt as partners against Jordan, then against Israel, and bringing in Turkey and Iraq before Soviet Russia needs to be committed. It is doubtful whether Soviet Russia would regard it as necessary to act unless the United States stepped in or Turkey actually took Syria.

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Bureaucracy of Technicians

It is to be presumed that Khrushchev would prefer this not to be the universal war, but he needs a cover for his activities in the Soviet world, which under Stalin was forming into a universal state, but is actually now seething on the periphery.

Stalin had developed a bureaucracy of technicians, factory managers and such, watched by his secret police, who carried through his program. Khrushchev found that in 1956, the real opposition to him came from the technocrats led by Malenkov and Kaganovitch, and they nearly got rid of him.

Khrushchev is destroying the power of the technocrats, is elevating the party secretaries, and by a process of decentralization is breaking up the Moscow bureaucracy. Using the war scare, Khrushchev is following the classical lines of the rise to power of a dictator.

As long as British interest was paramount in the Middle East, Russia limited its activities to propaganda and infiltration. Two years ago, Khrushchev decided that British influence was gone and that it could not be revived. Also, following Leninist thinking, Khrushchev decided that in the competition between British and American capitalism, it would be the United States that would eventually push the British out of the Middle East, which more or less happened during the Suez crisis.

Every people boasts that it descends from the beginning of time and the apologists for each country find a historical basis for everlasting existence. Arab nationalism, in its current manifestations, is something very new and different from anything in the previous history of this people. Soviet Russia, however, had no difficult task in stimulating this nationalism for its fire was already burning, as it has throughout Asia since the beginning of this century.

America Rescued Nasser

Russia's principal means for establishing friendship has been the supply of arms to these countries. The politicians in each country were able to boast that there were no political strings tied to these various arms deals. This is probably true as in each of these countries, a Communist Party exists, fellow-traveller groups exist, and a large group of instructors and experts accompany each deal, many of whom are political agents, especially trained in the art of propaganda and mass articulation.

Much trouble could have been avoided if after the Sinai campaign, this country had not rescued Nasser. But to the surprise of all the world, the United States adopted a common attitude with Soviet Russia in the United Nations and Nasser was rescued. This, from an American standpoint, was a strange policy and no explanation thus far offered for it has been convincing. It came close to destroying NATO and the Baghdad Alliance.

The Russians supplied arms not only to Egypt but to Syria and Yemen. Syria is now completely dominated by Russia, even more so than Egypt. It is through Syria that the pipelines go which carry the oil from Iraq and other countries to the Mediterranean. Therefore, the inclusion of Syria in the Soviet Universal State imperils the whole of Western Europe.

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Are Reds 'Reversing' Purge Verdicts?

By Robert C. Tucker

A political scientist and writer on Russian affairs, Tucker went to Moscow in 1944 as an attache of the American Embassy and served there for eight years.

AN EPISODE of history came back into world news recently when the name of Marshal Mikhail N. Tukhachevsky received favorable mention in a Soviet newspaper. Tukhachevsky, former Deputy Commissar of Defense and first ranking professional officer of the Red Army, was executed on charges of high treason during Stalin's campaign of mass political murders and repressions known as the Great Purge of 1936-8.

The resurrection of his memory both redirects attention to that dark period and helps to clarify the still unfolding pattern of Soviet politics after Stalin, in which the rise of military influence is a notable feature and the assessment of the Great Purge a key issue.

There has been no official announcement by the Soviet government of Tukhachevsky's "rehabilitation." His name reappeared inconspicuously in a book review in the youth organ, Komsomolskaya Pravda. It referred to him, and also to Marshal Vasily K. Bluecher, another high victim of the Great Purge, as Red military commanders who played prominent parts in the campaigns of the revolutionary period of civil war. A eulogistic article about Bluecher had appeared some days earlier in the Soviet army newspaper Red Star.

All this raises the question whether certain forces within the Soviet regime are not pressing for an open and formal reversal of the official verdict of treason which still stands in the cases of Tukhachevsky and others. Eight other ranking Red Army generals were executed along with Tukhachevsky, and very large numbers of lower ranking officers suffered a similar fate in the aftermath of this affair.

It has been estimated that the Great Purge took a toll among the armed forces of about 35,000, or roughly half of the Soviet officer corps. This, incidentally, conveys some idea of the havoc which the mass repressions ordered by Stalin created in Soviet society at that time.

The circumstances surrounding the Tukhachevsky affair have long been a subject of speculation among students of Soviet history. There was no show trial in this case. Announcement of the execution of the eight army chiefs was preceded only by a laconic communique, dated June 11, 1937, which accused them of engaging in espionage and sabotage for an unfriendly power—meaning Germany—with the object of preparing Russia's defeat in event of war.

Stalin Was No Dupe

THE CHARGE of treasonable ties with the Germans was totally groundless. Nor were these military leaders pro-German in their political thinking, as has been thought by some, including Sir Winston Churchill.

Tukhachevsky himself is known to have been one of the strongest opponents of Nazi Germany in Soviet upper circles. The leading "pro-German" element in Moscow was none other than Stalin, as his later pact with Hitler showed. One of his motives in doing away with Tukhachevsky was to clear the path to that pact.

Former Nazi intelligence officers have alleged in postwar memoirs that the Germans deliberately plotted the destruction of the Tukhachevsky group by transmitting to Stalin faked documentary evidence of its clandestine dealings with German military circles. The aim, it is said, was to provoke him into doing just what he did, namely kill off the bulk of his high command and undermine the military strength of the Russian state.

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67 SEP 17 1957

Part of a Pattern

THAT some such operation was undertaken in Berlin is fairly clear. But that Stalin was duped by it in the manner supposed by the Germans is very far from clear. In fact, there is convincing indication that their efforts to undo Stalin's army chiefs were carried on with his knowledge and assistance, and indeed at his original instigation.

The Gestapo's operation fitted in very well with his own plans. Instead of exploiting Stalin's credulity, the Nazis were, it seems, exploited by his cunning to help him frame men whom he was determined in advance to destroy.

Stalin's purge of the Red Army was, after all, only a part of a much greater whole—his purge of the party and state and, more generally still, of Soviet society. A peculiar mixture of burning fanaticism and cold calculation governed his politics of the purge, as it does the similar actions of every true totalitarian fuehrer.

On the one hand, the blood purge satisfied his craving for personal vengeance against those who had ever opposed or belittled him in the past or were suspect of disloyalty to him in the present. On the other hand, he asserted, by his very public drama of vengeance, absolute autocratic control over the terrorized multitude permitted to survive. The Great Purge was Stalin's application of this pattern to Soviet society as a whole, particularly its upper strata.

Whether anything on the order of a formal conspiracy to overthrow him had evolved in higher Red Army circles was strongly doubted at the time by all the best informed foreign observers in Moscow. It still remains in question today, despite certain stories about a conspiracy which have been circulated. It is known, however, that a spirit of opposition to Stalin was brewing in senior officer circles all through the early thirties.

The army command was an elite element in the Soviet state, with a prestige based on services in the revolutionary period. The spirit of opposition to Stalin grew in response, first, to the terroristic collectivization of the Russian peasantry (the class which

See PURGE, Page E2, Column 3

PURGE, From Page 61

supplies most of the soldiers) and, second, to the early phases of the Great Purge. The misgivings of the army leaders were known in Soviet circles. Their feelings against Stalin were no deep secret.

This in itself was more than sufficient to activate his purge of the army. The aim was to wreak vengeance upon the seditious military leaders and at the same time to transform the directorate of the Red army into a mere organ of the new Stalin autocracy, a submissive instrument of his will in the one-person system with which he was supplanting the original one-party system created by Lenin.

He was fully prepared to pay a big price for this in terms of depletion of the army's strategic talent and damage to its morale and operational readiness. He wanted the army to be strong—but only as an army reduced to the role of a tool of his autocracy. Those abroad who were mystified by Stalin's willingness to injure Russia's defense potential at a time when war loomed on the horizon failed to reckon with this overriding concern, which stemmed from his pathological personality. To him, the strength of the Soviet state was secondary to the question of his absolute personal mastery of it.

HIS DEATH confronted his successors with a basic dilemma regarding the official appraisal of the Great Purge. Since Stalin himself was the inspirer and director general, his departure opened the way for a possible reassessment. The movement back toward the pattern of a one-party as distinguished from a one-person system further favored this. So did certain other factors, including the ambitions of individual political leaders, most notably Khrushchev.

There were, however, powerful reasons for caution. All of Stalin's close associates who survived his vendetta against Soviet society were involved in it as his active helpers. From this point of view, a cautious line was dictated. Would they not collectively condemn themselves as Stalin's accessories in the act of condemning him as the chief culprit? It was Molotov, evidently, who took the lead in advocating a line of restraint in reassessing the political past.

The oscillations of Soviet policy on the issue find explanation against this background. The high-water mark of condemnation of the Great Purge was reached in Khrushchev's secret denunciation of Stalin at the 20th Party Congress in February, 1956. The result was significant ferment in Soviet society, and questions about the past role of Stalin's former associates.

Unrest intensified in the satellite countries and finally exploded into the events which took place in Poland and Hungary in the fall. In response to all this, the pendulum of official policy in Moscow oscillated for a while back to the side of restraint.

IN DENOUNCING the Great Purge at the Party Congress, Khrushchev concentrated on its ravages in the ruling party itself. According to the text we have, he also mentioned "Stalin's annihilation of many military commanders" but without specifically naming Tukhachevsky or other high military victims.

In the spring of 1956, however, in the first flush of official "de-Stalinization," the Soviet historical journal made honorable mention of both Tukhachevsky and Blucher. After Hungary, when the pendulum of policy swung back, this trend stopped. The editors of the historical journal were officially reprimanded for going too far in de-Stalinizing Soviet history.

The recent new upheaval in Moscow, from which Khrushchev emerged victorious, marks a new swing of the pendulum — away from restraint. Now that Khrushchev has won out against his opposition in the Presidium of the party, a movement to rehabilitate the murdered military leaders, or some of them, appears to be gathering force again.

THE INFLUENCE of Marshal Zhukov and the military circles he represents is apparent in this. Speaking in Leningrad last July 15, Zhukov assailed the ousted oppositionists (Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich and Shepilov) for resisting "exposure of acts of lawlessness which were committed." His reference was obviously to acts

committed in the Great Purge.

The implication is that the oppositionists favored the policy of restraint. Khrushchev, on the other hand, was apparently prepared to abandon that policy if, by so doing, he could insure the support of the military element in his battle for political life with the opposition in the Presidium.

He was willing to sanction Zhukov's demand for "exposure" as part of the price for military support of his pretensions to continued ascendancy in the party. Another part of the price may have been his readiness to give special heed to the viewpoints of the military men in matters of Soviet foreign policy, particularly policy on disarmament.

WHAT IS the motive of Zhukov and his colleagues in pressing for rehabilitation of their old army chiefs? There is no evidence to suggest that they are driving to supplant the existing setup with a straight military dictatorship. Their attitude appears rather to be one of conservative loyalty to the present Soviet order. They evidently, however, have no wish and no intention ever to be reduced again to the role of a subservient instrument in a despotic one-person system such as Stalin's.

Their politics of rehabilitation grow out of this concern. The raising of Tukhachevsky from the political dead would give the living Soviet military leaders added assurance that there will be no more Tukhachevsky affairs in the future. Further, it would strengthen their claim to an elite position in the one-party state and to a certain professional autonomy in the management of its military affairs.

One might even speculate that it would be a way of validating a new concept of the Soviet dictatorship as a kind of partnership of the party and the army. This would become the manifest shape of things if, for example, Zhukov replaced Bulganin as premier.

What we are witnessing now in Russia is something unprecedented in contemporary history: the political evolution of a modern totalitarian one-person system after losing its One Person in time of peace. The situation is roughly comparable to that which would have prevailed in Germany had Hitler died or been put out of the way before 1939. The revival of the name of Marshal Tukhachevsky is one of many signs that no real stabilization of this situation in Russia has yet been reached. And none is yet in sight.

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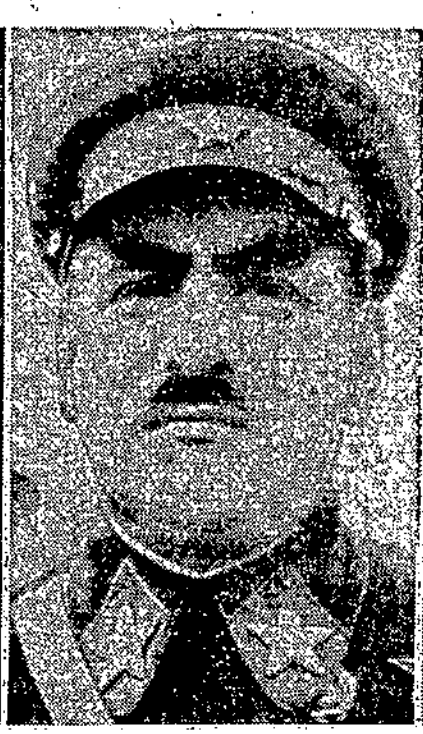
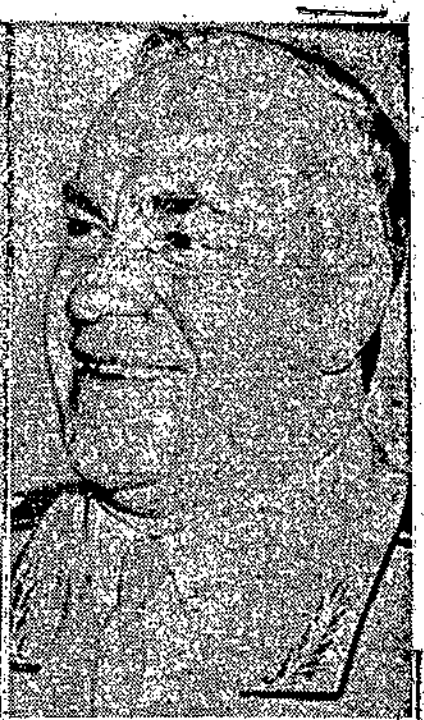
MARSHAL TUKHACHEVSKY
. . . a favorable mention



MARSHAL BLUECHER
. . . eulogized in Red Star



MARSHAL ZHUKOV
. . . their "rehabilitator?"

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THE WORLD
C-8 Sun., Aug. 25, 1957 THE SAN DIEGO UNION
SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

DIPLOMATS TAG UNKNOWN

Who Is Soviet Heir Apparent?

By BERNARD KAPLAN
The North American Newspaper Alliance

PARIS — The latest Western diplomatic reports tab a smooth-talking commander of Russian guerrillas in World War II as the man emerging as the No. 2 figure of the Soviet regime and the most likely heir apparent to Nikita Khrushchev, 64.

A top source in Moscow said the one to watch is neither Marshal Zhukov, nor Khrushchev's new traveling companion, Mikoyan. In the wake of the Kremlin shake-up which has sent most of the remaining "Stalinists" into limbo, the coming man is believed to be a rugged Communist in-fighter hardly known to the West: Mikhail Suslov, now second only to Khrushchev himself in the Communist hierarchy.

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SUSLOV, 55, IS THE YOUNGEST OF THE MAJOR figures surrounding Khrushchev. As second party secretary — Khrushchev is first — he now holds a position comparable to Khrushchev's at the time of Stalin's death. His rise since 1949, when he became editor-in-chief of Pravda, has been astonishingly rapid.

MIKHAIL SUSLOV
No. 2 In The Kremlin

While most foreign speculation concerning the succession to Khrushchev has centered around comparatively well-known figures like Zhukov and Mikoyan, Western diplomatic informants reporting back from Moscow strongly discount the possibility of either of these two rising to the peak of power.

Though Mikoyan is widely respected as a trade expert and outspoken anti-Stalinist, he lacks a personal following. In the rigorous, sometimes deadly, game of Kremlin power politics, he has been rated as little more than a substitute figurehead for Bulganin.

Zhukov's influence as spokesman for the Red army is not underestimated. Zhukov's prestige and support have been highly useful to Khrushchev, but, the experts say, he has not demanded nor received any real share of political power in return for it, even though he has been elected to the Presidium.

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THE REINS OF THE SOVIET state remain firmly in the hands of the Communist Party. And that means Khrushchev and Suslov.

Suslov is a Stalinist who made the leap to Khrushchev's bandwagon with icy imperturbability. Frenchmen got a rare glimpse of his determined, incisive manner of operating last year when he was dispatched to the French Communist Party Congress at Le Havre to squelch an incipient "National Communist" revolt against French party boss, Maurice Thorez.

Later, Suslov turned up in Budapest during the Hungarian revolt. His exact role there has never been revealed.

As the man responsible for the day-to-day management of the party, Suslov is hard at work strengthening and extending his own grip, if he is following the pattern set by his predecessors.

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Soviet '37 Trial Reversal Seen

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MOSCOW, Aug. 25 (AP)—Western observers predicted today that Soviet authorities would revise the 1937 treason trial verdict that sent Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky and seven other noted Soviet generals to face a firing squad.

The prediction followed the partial rehabilitation of the executed generals yesterday by the Soviet youth newspaper, Komsomolskaya Pravday.

The newspaper, for the first time since 1937, listed Tukhachevsky as one of the heroes of the Russian revolution who are worth emulation.

The late marshal, together with other top ranking Red Army officers, was tried and secretly executed in 1937, apparently as a result of what now appears to be fabricated evidence.

New evidence unearthed since Stalin's death apparently has established Tukhachevsky's innocence and led to his posthumous exoneration.

The postwar memoirs of Nazi intelligence agents have repeatedly said that Adolph Hitler planted evidence incriminating Tukhachevsky in order to discredit and weaken the Red Army.

The allegations that the marshal plotted with other senior officers to overthrow the Soviet regime reached the Russians through the late Czech President Edouard Benes, who learned about it from German diplomats.

Stalin accepted the Nazi charges at their face value and as a result purged the cream of the Red Army leadership in a spectacular trial.

It was understood here that Marshal Georgi Zhukov, now Soviet Defense Minister, was himself under a shadow after World War II, when he was exiled to a provincial command.

Zhukov was believed to have played a major role in the rehabilitation of the purged officers and their restoration to an honored place in Soviet history, as foreshadowed by yesterday's Komsomolskaya Pravda article.

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The People of Russia

An Interview With the Communist Party Leader of a Moscow Borough

Following is the fifth of a series of articles by the chief of The New York Times' bureau in Moscow on the private lives and jobs of Soviet citizens in eleven different occupations. Three articles appeared on Sunday, and one is appearing each day this week. They are based on interviews obtained recently in Moscow and other Soviet cities.

By WILLIAM J. JORDEN
Special to The New York Times.

Moscow.

Aleksei Nikolayevich Nikiforov is a Communist party official.

He is one of that relatively small but highly disciplined minority that runs the Soviet Union. For, though only 7,200,000 Soviet citizens belong to the party, that 3½ per cent of the population wields virtually complete authority over every important phase of life in the country.

As secretary of the party committee in the Stalin Borough of Moscow, he is something of a city councilman, party boss, father confessor, dictator and public servant to 300,000 people.

Big problems and small, everything from the political orientation of the people in his borough to a factory worker's disagreement with his wife, are likely to come to Mr. Nikiforov's notice and demand his attention.

It is up to him to listen to the complaints of the people living in his borough and to try to do something about them. It is also his responsibility to transmit to those in his borough the plans and policies of the top level of the party, to explain them and to arouse some enthusiasm among the people in support of them.

His job is not unlike that of political workers in any country. There is at least one important and obvious difference, however. There is no opposition down the street competing with Mr. Nikiforov for the people's attention and support. The one-party system, the Communist system, takes care of that.

Aleksei Nikolayevich is a tense, voluble man. His sharp, piercing eyes move quickly behind rimmed glasses. He is high-strung and nervous, though probably more so in talking with a foreigner than he would be at a party meeting. His conversation is filled

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with the clichés that are the special vocabulary of communism.

He was born 52 years ago in what was then St. Petersburg, now Leningrad. His father, who died in 1920, used to make piano strings in a piano factory. Aleksei's mother was a textile worker. She died in 1941.

Aleksei completed nine years of school. At the age of 16, he went to work in a plant producing transformers and generators. In 1927, he served two years in the Red Army. After his stint in the army, Mr. Nikiforov came to Moscow and went to work in a Moscow electrical goods plant. He studied at night and became an electrician.

Daughter in Aircraft Plant

At the Moscow factory he met a young secretary named Ilyena and married her. That was twenty-five years ago. They have two children. Their daughter Valentina, 23, was graduated from an aeronautical school and is working as an engineer-designer in an aircraft plant. Their son Yevgeni, 15, enters the last year of school this year.

Mr. Nikiforov, like most Communist officials, was reluctant to talk much about his private life. When I asked whether I might visit his home and meet his family, he said they were at their country house (dacha) and, in any case, he was too busy. When I asked what kind of apartment he had, he described it as "average," then went into a lengthy discourse about what the Government and party were doing to alleviate the country's serious housing shortage.

Aleksei Nikolayevich joined the Communist party at a relatively late stage, when he was 35 years old. But once in the movement, he progressed rapidly. He joined the party cell at the Moscow plant in 1940. The following year he was chosen to be first secretary of the cell's executive committee. Because of the size of the cell, the job of secretary was a full-time post.

He joined the Communist party as all its members must, through the recommendation of persons already in the movement. To join the party, you must have the endorsements of three persons who have been Communists for at least three years. They must have known the candidate for at least one year at his job and be familiar with him personally.

Reason for Joining Party

I asked Mr. Nikiforov why he had become a Communist.

"I decided to join the party as a matter of conscience," he replied. "I wanted to take part in the Communist construction of our country. Our party is and always will be in the vanguard of the workers' movement and of Communist construction. I wanted to be in it."

The New York Times (by William J. Jorden)

PARTY BOSS: Aleksei Nikolayevich Nikiforov is secretary of the Communist party committee in the Stalin borough of Moscow. His main task is "the political education" of party members and candidates for membership.

party. Since then, however, he has worked hard to make up for lost time. He said he read the works of Lenin and spent a good deal of time studying the party journals and the classic works of communism, even during the war. Later, he qualified for and was graduated from the Higher Party School run by the Communist party's Central Committee.

"Any person is eligible for membership in the party," Mr. Nikiforov said, "if he does not exploit labor, if he accepts the rules of the party and if he agrees to carry out party decisions. Admission is a highly individual matter. Not all who apply are admitted, only the best."

In small party cells, the members elect a secretary for one year. It is not a full-time job, however, and the man continues his regular work in addition to carrying out his party duties. In a large cell, such as an electrical goods plant, the membership picks a committee of from five to eleven members and that group in turn selects its own secretary.

The salary of a secretary of a party cell depends on the size of the cell and is fixed by the party's Central Committee. Mr. Nikiforov earned 1,400 rubles. He said he received 3,300 rubles as secretary of the Stalin Borough Committee. That is $330 at the tourist exchange rate, an extremely high salary by Soviet standards.

Salaries of full-time party employes are paid from the party treasury. Dues are paid by members according to their income. Mr. Nikiforov said party members earning less than 500 rubles pay one-half of 1 per cent as party dues. For those getting between 500 and 1,000 rubles, 1 per cent goes to the party. From 1,000 to 2,000, the rate is 2 per cent. And those earning more than 2,000 pay 3 per cent.

His main task is "the political education of members and candidate members." He must encourage the propagation of Marxist-Leninist theories. He must organize party work and enforce "standards of party behavior."

In a factory, he must be interested in production plans and do everything he can to encourage workers to fulfill their assigned norms. He must explain to them why they must work hard and what the ultimate goals of the party are.

During the recent upheaval in the upper echelons of the Communist party, when veteran leaders like Georgi M. Malenkov, Vyacheslav M. Molotov and Lazar M. Kaganovich were expelled from their positions of leadership, one of Mr. Nikiforov's jobs was to meet with party members and non-party workers to explain why the Communist party had acted as it had.

On a typical day recently, Mr. Nikiforov arrived at his office at 9 A. M., one hour earlier than usual, to meet with a delegation from a group of factories in his borough. The most important question they took up was the matter of releasing some factory labor temporarily to go to Siberia to help bring in the harvest on the newly developed grain lands.

Then he did some paper work and met a few callers from local party organizations. Later in the day, a secretary of the party cell and the deputy director of a factory came to ask him to appeal to the Moscow City Council to speed up the allocation of ground for new housing for workers. Mr. Nikiforov is a city councilman and also a member of the council's executive committee, which performs the functions of Mayor.

At 3 P. M. he went to a meeting of the city council, which discussed the problem of improving public transportation. The council members talked about measures to improve cleanliness in the city. The meeting lasted until 8 P. M.

Mr. Nikiforov said he rarely gets home early. Party officials from subordinate units in the borough frequently come to see him after the regular working day is over, at 6, 7 or even 8 P. M. There frequently are meetings at night.

In his spare time, when he can find it, the party official likes to go to the theatre or to hear good music. He is an avid reader.

"Even when I am very busy," he said, "I usually stay up reading until 2 o'clock in the morning."

He gets one full month of paid vacation. For the last two years he and his wife have gone to Carlsbad, Czechoslovakia, for their holiday.

Tomorrow: A visit with a teacher in Soviet Armenia.

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Little-Known Suslov Seen as No. 2 Russian

By BERNARD KAPLAN
North American Newspaper Alliance

PARIS, Aug. 19.—The latest Western diplomatic reports tab a smooth-talking commander of Russian guerrillas in World War II as the man emerging as the No. 2 figure of the Soviet regime and the most likely heir apparent to 64-year-old Nikita Khrushchev.

According to a top source from Moscow, the one to watch is neither Marshal Zhukov nor Khrushchev's new traveling companion, Mikoyan. In the wake of the Kremlin shake-up which has sent most of the remaining old "Stalinists" into limbo, the coming man is believed to be a rugged Communist in-fighter hardly known to the West: Mikhail Suslov, now second only to Khrushchev himself in the Communist hierarchy.

Fifty-five-year-old Suslov is the youngest of the major figures surrounding Khrushchev. As second party secretary—Khrushchev is first—he now holds a position comparable to Khrushchev's at the time of Stalin's death. His rise since 1949, when he became editor-in-chief of Pravda, has been astonishingly rapid.

MIKHAIL SUSLOV
Has Tight Rein on Party
—AP Wirephoto

Mikoyan Lacks Following

While most foreign speculation concerning the succession to Khrushchev has centered around comparatively well-known figures like Zhukov and Mikoyan, Western diplomatic informants reporting back from Moscow strongly discount the possibility of either of these two rising to the peak of power.

Though Mikoyan is widely respected as a trade expert and outspoken anti-Stalinist, he lacks a personal following. In the rigorous sometimes deadly, game of Kremlin power politics, he is already rated by experts as little home than a substitute figurehead for Bulganin.

Zhukov's influence as spokesman for the Red Army is not underestimated, but predictions in some quarters that eventually he might seek supreme power are regarded as widely off the mark by the most knowledgeable diplomatic observers. The Red Army leaders possess far more control over their own affairs than they did in Stalin's day and Zhukov, as their chieftain, wields influence outside of purely military circles.

However, this should not be exaggerated, these observers caution. Zhukov's prestige and support have been highly useful to Khrushchev, they explain, but the former has not demanded nor received any real share of political power in return for it, even though he has been elected to the presidium (formerly the Politburo).

Allows No Arguments

The reins of the Soviet state remains firmly in the hands of the Communist Party. And that means Khrushchev and Suslov.

Suslov is a Stalinist who made the leap to Khrushchev's bandwagon with icy imperturbability. Frenchmen got a rare glimpse of his determined, incisive manner of operating last year when he was dispatched to the French Communist Party congress at Le Havre to squelch an incipient "national Communist" revolt against the longtime French party boss, Maurice Thorez. Sinewy and soft-spoken, Su-

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slov put out the fire in nothing flat.

"He isn't the sort of man who expects arguments," a French Communist remarked later, "and he doesn't get them."

Later, Suslov turned up in Budapest during the Hungarian revolt. His exact role there has never been revealed. But observers believe him to be one of the main architects of the post-Hungarian Soviet policy in Eastern Europe—one which is turning out to be a neat blend of economic relaxation, together with a tightening of the political screws. Suslov was a leading official of the now defunct Cominform and is recognized as a foremost "authority" on Eastern European affairs.

A peasant and great Russian by origin, Suslov is every inch the complete party man, in case it is sometimes supposed that such types are disappearing in Russia. As early as 1918, he was a member of the Young Communists. He was educated at night schools for Communist workers; then specialized institutes, in time becoming an economics lecturer at Moscow University.

Varied Career

He has had one of the most varied careers of any top party official. Propagandist, administrator in the Urals at the time heavy industry was being established there, member of the party's central control commission.

During the last war, Suslov became commander of partisan fighters in the Northern Caucasus, where he was several times decorated for valor. In 1944, he was placed in charge of reconquered Lithuania—a highly sensitive post considering the hostility of the Lithuanian population—and was on his way up.

As the man responsible for the day-to-day management of the party, Suslov is hard at work strengthening and extending his own grip, if he is following the pattern set by his predecessors.

Both Stalin and Khrushchev, this was the path to success. They were content to toil obscurely but effectively while other leaders got the publicity. So is Suslov.

Many things have changed in Russia, but this still appears to be the surest road to power.

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The End for Molotov?

Suicide, if there is any truth in the rumors reported from Moscow, might be in character for Vyacheslav Molotov. After his recent fall from grace the long-time Foreign Minister had been in line for the new-style Soviet "retirement" as Ambassador to Argentina. Rumors of what happens in the Soviet hierarchy are of course cheap; and Molotov may still appear in Buenos Aires or be produced at some cocktail party or press conference to confound the story of his death. Nevertheless, his own unyielding quality, emphasized again in the attempted ouster of Khrushchev, lends the reports a certain credibility.

If so there will be some regret, certainly not at the loss of an advocate of what Molotov stood for, but that so able a negotiator should come to such an end. "Old Ironpants," as he was sometimes known to his diplomatic adversaries, aroused a reluctant but genuine admiration for his competence. He was the foremost practitioner of Mr. Dulles' dictum of looking after the interests of his country irrespective of friendship. He could be alternately brilliant and crude, and there was little camaraderie about him. But he won from Mr. Dulles an accolade, after the 1945 Foreign Ministers' conference, for "an adroitness which has been seldom equaled in diplomacy." Mr. Dulles wrote, in his 1950 book *War Or Peace*: "I have never seen personal diplomatic skill at so high a degree of perfection as Mr. Molotov's at that session."

Molotov was (or is) an Old Bolshevik of unusual durability who managed to hold on during the Stalin era even when his wife had been arrested; and he continued to reflect the hard Stalin policies in foreign affairs. The Yugoslavs, in particular, regarded him as their nemesis. He never seemed to accept the desirability of lessened tensions in the face of nuclear war; and at the 1955 Geneva summit conference, when the other Soviet chieftains were exuding "friendship," he appeared plainly disgruntled. When all the alleged plotters against Khrushchev had confessed to being nefarious beasts, Molotov had the courage to abstain and frustrate a unanimous vote in the Central Committee. The dismissed Molotov, Malenkov, Shepilov *et al* who supposedly were to be transferred to other duties have been at best poor life insurance risks. It would be ironic if Molotov had obtained a sort of revenge by a personal demonstration that the new system of "peaceful" treatment of political opponents does not work.

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U.S. Students Told Molotov Killed Self

Festival Youths Hear Story From Multiple Sources

LONDON, Aug. 12 (AP)—An American student who was in Moscow for the World Youth Festival said tonight he was told of rumors there that ex-Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov had committed suicide.

George Abrams of Newton, Mass., telephoned the Associated Press in London from Helsinki, Finland, and said he heard the story from several sources.

Abrams explained how he had mounted a box in Red Square and lectured on the American way of life, and went on:

"After one of my speeches I was taken aside by a man who talked to me for two hours. He said he was an intimate of Dmitri Shepilov (also a former Soviet Foreign Minister) and that he had heard Molotov had committed suicide. He said the rumors were prevalent all over Moscow and he thought they were true.

"The next day I was told the same thing by another man," he said.

"Two other Americans at the festival told me they heard the same story.

"Tony Quainton and Joanna Richardson, of Richmond, Va., told me they were told by a girl who said she was nursemaid in a home of a Soviet official."

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VICTOR RIESEL

Party Central Unit Real Soviet Ruler

MUNICH, Aug. 12.—Far be it for me to pry into the operations of our intelligence services. But I would have had to spend all my time in the great beer halls not to learn that our operatives had brought together in a large conference hall of the old German Museum the free world's greatest experts on Soviet Russia. Only the men in the Kremlin know more about the USSR than the Western experts who gathered here.

After long hours with some of them—including the specialists of Radio Liberation, which broadcasts 24 hours a day to Russia in 17 Soviet dialects—one amazing thought comes through:

INSIDE LABOR

NO ONE REALLY knows who is all-powerful inside the Kremlin—not even those inside the Kremlin.

Certainly, it isn't Zhukov and the Red army. The experts here point out that the Red army and Marshal Zhukov are, in effect, controlled by the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Marshal Zhukov, despite his popularity with the Russian masses, couldn't press a button and order troops to surround the Kremlin. He couldn't oust Comrade Khrushchev. The Marshal is Minister of Defense, but he cannot even fire any high policy-making official of the Soviet Defense Ministry without permission of the Communist Party Central Committee. He could not remove a high-ranking army marshal or an admiral of consequence without asking the party's okay.

THE POINT MADE here is that Marshal Zhukov is in the Presidium, the Communist Party inner sanctum, because he is a devout and active Communist. The fact that he holds military power is secondary.

It's secondary because Zhukov and all his men run second to the Zampolit.

This Zampolit is the political bureau of the army. Its grim officials are deputy commanders of every army unit. Co-commanders would be a better description. They can—and have—countermanded orders of the army and navy unit chiefs from the battalion level right up to generals and admirals. They don't owe their allegiance to the official commanding officer even if the c.o. is a Red marshal. They report directly to their own Zampolit superior officers.

Their supreme command, which has as much power in the Red army and navy as the regular fighting officer cadre, takes its orders from the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee Armed Forces Section. This section controls Zhukov. It could fire him tomorrow. True, it would have a fight on its hands. Zhu-

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kov would be hard to bounce, because he is popular as a Communist activist.

IF ZHUKOV, ON THE other hand, did try to order his troops into a political fight, these orders would and could be countermanded by the Zampolit officers in the Defense Ministry. These are the political commissars in the armed forces. Remember that they've been there, growing in power, ever since Stalin died. Is Zhukov joined with Khrushchev because he hated Molotov, Malenkov and Co., for they had helped Stalin exile him to the Odessa Military District. This would be equivalent to our having put Gen. Marshall in charge of Fort Ticonderoga and a Canadian border patrol after the war.

KHRUSHCHEV ALSO won support because he took the big guns away from the MVD, helped kill its chief, Lavrenti Beria, and eased up on political terror. The secret police force is there, of course—now called the KGB and run by Ivan Serov. But Tovarisch Serov keeps discreetly out of sight.

Without a tough secret police force, Khrushchev is not really the boss, either.

Actually, the real power, the experts says, rests in the Communist Party Central Committee with its hundreds of members. It just isn't being pushed around as it was in Stalin's days. It can even snap back at the top 11-man Presidium, which woos it constantly and is giving it more and more power in the districts from Leningrad to Vladivostok.

In other words, the gigantic Soviet Communist Party and its commissars with regional power are taking themselves seriously. They believe what they have been reading about a dictatorship of the proletariat—and no one man controls them yet.

There will be a dictator soon. But not all the experts will put their money on Khrushchev.

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0-19 (Rev. 9-7-56)

Soviet Leaders Demand Riddance Of 'Dogmatic Conservatism' in Party

MOSCOW, Aug. 1 (AP)—Old Bolshevik Klementi Voroshilov demanded today that Communist Party workers guilty of "dogmatic conservatism" be ousted.

Voroshilov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium—equivalent to President of the U.S.S.R.—made the demand in a magazine article. He thus contributed to a revived attack on the so-called anti-Party group recently thrown out of leadership. The group, headed by V. M. Molotov, Georgi Malenkov and Lazar Kaganovich, was accused, among other things, of "dogmatic conservatism."

Voroshilov urged speedy exposure to criticism of "all those who have lost contact with life, who persistently cling to outmoded forms and methods of party work, ignoring the interests of the developing Soviet state at this contemporary stage."

"Dogmatic conservatism," in the current Communist dictionary, is related to the methods of Stalin. However, it also has a bearing on the resistance within the Communist Party to Nikita Khrushchev's plans to revamp the Soviet economic setup. The renewal of the attack on the Molotov group is another indication that the struggle between the two factions in the Party has not yet been wholly resolved.

The renewal of the attack on the anti-Party bloc was signaled yesterday in a Pravda article by N. G. Ignatov, a member of the ruling Presidium of the Soviet Communist Party. Ignatov urged the ouster of paid Communist Party workers who are "infected with conservatism."

"It is necessary to get rid of such workers as soon as possible," Ignatov said. "They are afraid as of fire of anything new and progressive." He said workers guilty of conservatism "should be replaced by experienced cadres who have a sense of the new and who are able properly to organize Party enterprises."

He disclosed that since September, 1300 paid workers had been released by the Gorki Regional Communist Committee alone and indicated there had been shakeups elsewhere.

Czech Minister Fired In Cabinet Shakeup

LONDON, Aug. 1 (AP)—Communist Czechoslovakia today fired a Cabinet minister in its first government shakeup since Russia's ouster of "antiparty" Soviet leaders a month ago.

A broadcast by the official Czech news agency Ceteka said President Antonin Zapotocky relieved Minister of Heavy Engineering Jan Buka of his duties and replaced him with Josef Reitmajer, minister of foundries and ore mines.

No reason for the shakeup was announced.

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(CAUTION: ADVANCE LEWIS COLUMN FOR RELEASE TUESDAY, JULY 23, A.M. P.M. PAPERS. MUST NOT BE PUBLISHED BEFORE THAT DATE.)

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WASHINGTON REPORT

BY FULTON LEWIS,JR.

(C) 1957, KING FEATURES SYNDICATE, INC.

WASHINGTON, JULY 22--The Supreme Court's decision in the Watkins case, crimping the authority of Congressional Investigating committees, has opened delicious vistas for certain lower-court judges to vent their leftist predilections.

Among the first to do so is Luther Wallace Youngdahl, 61-year-old Federal judge for the District of Columbia and former galloping liberal Republican Governor of Minnesota.

Named to the bench by President Truman in 1951, he since has established himself as one of the most liberal judges in these or any other parts. Among his dubious rulings was one in 1953, when he dismissed four key counts on the seven-point perjury indictment against Owen Lattimore, two of which were reinstated later -- to Youngdahl's disenchantment -- by the Court of Appeals. He chafes, painfully,under upper court discipline.

His present opus has to do with Seymour Peck, a New York Times newsman, convicted of contempt of Congress. The decision is a heavy-handed attack on the Senate Internal Security Committee in particular and on investigations of subversive activities in general.

Peck told the committee he was once a member of the Communist Party, but quit in 1949. A jury convicted him of contempt, however, for refusing to tell about fellow-Reds during the time he was in.

On the basis of the Supreme Court's Watkins decision, the Court of Appeals set aside that conviction, and returned the case to Youngdahl, with instructions to re-try it, or require the government to get a new indictment.

Youngdahl did neither. He asserted his independence by disregarding the instructions and finding Peck not guilty -- which precludes any new trial.

His 17-page opinion justifying this gratuitous verdict might well have been lifted from the anti-anti-Communist lexicon of Americans for Democratic Action or the Fund For The Republic.

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It is based on the concept that Communism, at the time Peck belonged to the party, was just another domestic political movement (he concedes, grudgingly, that "the Communist movement now constitutes a criminal conspiracy," but fails to specify when its character changed); that it is unconstitutional to question a newspaperman about such "political beliefs"; and that it is up to the courts to determine whether Congressional committee inquiries are pertinent and proper.

Throughout its history, Communism has been a conspiracy aimed at overthrowing this government and establishing a Soviet America. Only knaves or fools have ever believed otherwise.

Nowhere can Communists find a more effective outlet for their propaganda than the constituted media of news distribution.

"To inhibit the freedom of thought and association of newspapermen is to infringe upon the freedom of the press," says Youngdahl.

Also the following garble: "Courts do not invade the legislature preserve. They do not tell the Congress what it may investigate or how it must proceed. They merely insist that individuals not be punished for actions which are not legally punishable."

Other parts of the opinion are larded heavily with references to the necessity for Courts to "be zealous to guard against any unnecessary infringement of" the freedom of speech and press guaranteed by the First Amendment.

An only possible translation of what he says is "I am not telling you what to do or how to do it; you just do it as I say."

If Congressional and executive investigating agencies have to maintain their surveillance of the Communist movement the way Youngdahl says, the traditional American Republic is not long for this world.

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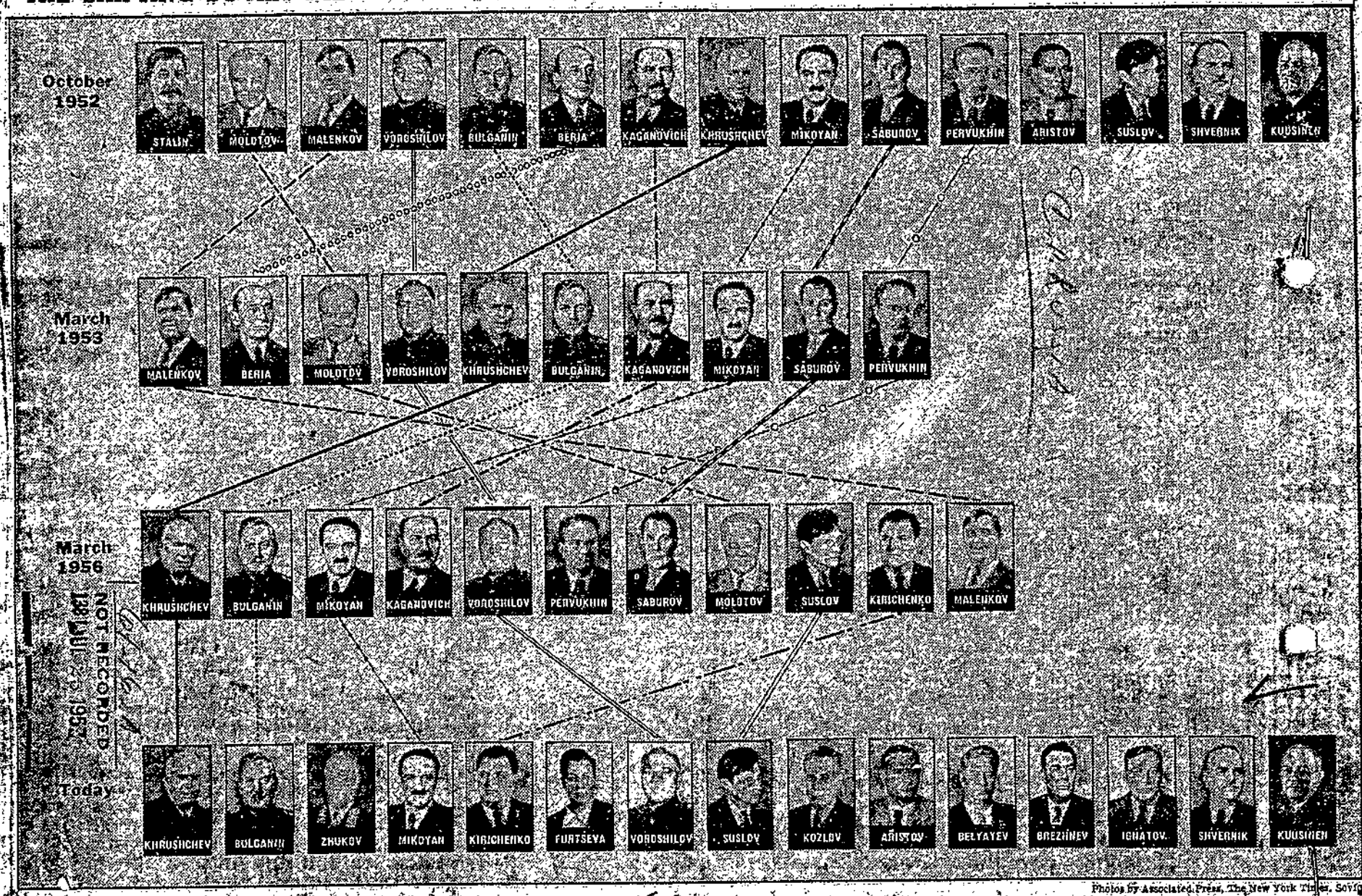
THE SHIFTING SOVIET HIERARCHY—COMMUNIST PARTY PRESIDIUM AT FOUR STAGES OF RECENT HISTORY



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Photos by Associated Press, The New York Times, Sovi

The size of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist party has varied over the years. All members at each of four stages are pictured above, except for the 1952 Presidium; this included twenty-five men, of whom the leading fifteen are shown. Stalin died March 5, 1953, and Beria was purged on June 26. Aristov, Suslov, Shvernik and Kuusinen were dropped after the death of Stalin but have since been elevated again. Order of precedence on today's Presidium is based on best information available here.

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other names. He really isn't a thrush at all in the ornithologist's lexicon. He belongs to the family of mimidae, the mimics, and he is cousin of the mockingbird, the catbird and various other lesser known songsters.

Mr. Thrasher is a slim, long-tailed bird with a nervous air and a jaunty look. He is as long as a robin but not as paunchy. His back and head are a light cinnamon brown; his cheeks and belly are sandy-white streaked with flecks of brown and he has sandy-white bars on his wings. His long tail is busy. He usually nests near the ground.

But it's his voice that makes the thrasher distinctive. He can sing almost anything, and usually he does. Morning and evening are his favorite times to sing, particularly now. His notes, often flute-like, sometimes like those of a piccolo, occasionally suggest those of a violin. He can do almost all the vocal tricks that a catbird can and many of those characteristic of a mockingbird. But he doesn't jeer as the catbird does. And he repeats his songs, phrase by phrase, as he goes along. That's his trademark, as it were. That and his enormous energy and his vocal enthusiasm. He's a good neighbor, eats beetles by the score, and pays his rent with song. Who could ask more of any bird?

Topics of The Times

Lesson for Despots

Mao Tse-tung's advice to the Chinese Communists to "let a hundred flowers blossom" has already suggested to Secretary Dulles that this may be a trick to get certain "flowers" to lift heads that could be conveniently cut off. Something like that may very well happen, confirming one of the oldest devices of despots. One such despot is remembered in ancient history. An inquiring stranger came seeking information on how to be a successful dictator. The old despot said noth-

Fiery Run, Va.

The World Seen From a Higher Place

By JAMES RESTON

FIERY RUN, Va., July 6—A health director in this Blue Ridge Virginia county (Fauquier) reported this week that a small mouse, which presumably had been watching television, attacked a little girl and her full-grown cat.

According to Dr. Thomas Lee Allman, the girl was treated for rabies, but both mouse and cat survived, and the incident is recorded here as a reminder that things seem to be changing.

The mice in the world are no longer doing what the cats say. The Soviet Union is having trouble with the peasants and the students and with Poland, Hungary, and the other communistic mice elsewhere.

The United States is appeasing Japan and West Germany. France is under attack in Algeria and the British are being nibbled to death in the Middle East.

It is a curious paradox, for the big nations have never had more power, yet they have never had more trouble with the small nations they have the power to crush, and the voices of little people, crying for peace, are forcing the big governments to pay attention.

Almost everywhere the moderates and the extremists are in noisy contention, as usual, but the point is that lately the extremists—those who want to use extreme action to achieve their objectives—have been losing. And the moderates—those who are prepared to make accommodations with the opposition—are prevailing.

Comparative Moderation

Khrushchev is no mouse, and in our terms he is certainly not moderate, but compared to the hard-faced Stalinists whom he attacked

4-572 (3-29-55)
STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: 7-18-57

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FROM : [redacted]

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages A5762-A5765

Congressman Long, (D) Louisiana, extended his remarks to include an address entitled "Communism in the Caribbean," by Ambassador Manuel de Moya Alonzo, delivered before the Commonwealth Club of California, in San Francisco on April 5, 1957. The references to Mr. Hoover, contained in this address, were contained in an earlier memorandum.

Communist Infiltration

Communist party - CARIBBEAN ISLANDS

Original filed in: 66-1731-1357

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EX-104

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 7-17-57 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

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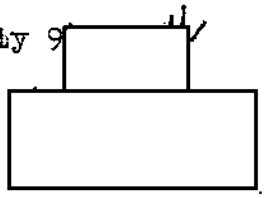

These Days:

Old Bolsheviks Are
New Purge Victims

By George E. Sokolsky

(NY Journal American, July 9 [redacted]

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And now everyone who made the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 has been removed. The sons have taken over and have driven the fathers away.

And so the Revolution reaches a new stage, a revolution without revolutionists. The technicians have taken over, those who risked nothing but know how to organize and to manage. So there are those in Washington who are still speculating on the prospect of something good coming out of this internal revolution in Russia, a quarrel within the Presidium over policy, a quarrel that forced Khrushchev to show his hand, to show that he only down-graded Stalin because he intended to be like Stalin, a single master who would tolerate no dissent. Since the Russian Revolution established the Bolshevik regime, one man has ruled. There were, of course, contests for power, but the winner usually killed off those who challenged him.

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And so Russian history goes its course. Always a despot seizes power and soon he sits on the throne of Ivan the Terrible ~~and men die~~ because despots always prefer new crews of younger men, without rank or title, who can remember to be grateful for small favors and who will show no independence. Why should we bail these rascals out? Why should we help them out of their difficulties by making compacts with them?

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UP15
(RUSSIA)
MOSCOW--A NATIONWIDE CAMPAIGN FOR THE EXPULSION OF THE MOLOTOV GROUP FROM THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY -- THE POLITICAL KISS OF DEATH FOR THE DISCREDITED "OLD GUARD" LEADERS -- GAIED GROUND TODAY.
THERE WERE SOME DEMANDS FOR EVEN "MORE SEVERE MEASURES" AGAINST V. M. MOLOTOV, GEORGI MALENKOV, LAZAR KAGANOVICH AND DMITRI SHEPILOV IN PUBLIC "INDIGNATION" MEETINGS. THE DEMANDS WERE NOT CLARIFIED FURTHER.
NEWSPAPERS REPORTED PARTY RALLIES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY HAD CALLED FOR THE EXPULSION FROM THE PARTY OF THE FOUR, WHO WERE STRIPPED OF THEIR GOVERNMENT AND PARTY POSTS FOR "ANTI-PARTY" ACTIVITIES.
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THE LENINGRAD SPEECHES BY SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY SECRETARY KHRUSHCHEV AND PRESIDIUM MEMBER NIKOLAI SHVERNIK COUPLED WITH THE REPORTS OF MASS MEETINGS CONDEMNING THE FALLEN LEADERS HAVE AROUSED "ANGER AND INDIGNATION" AMONG SOVIET PEOPLE EVERYWHERE, THE OBSERVERS SAID.
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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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Communist Party - Russia

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N.Y. JOURNAL AMERICAN

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THESE DAYS:

Old Bolsheviks Are New Purge Victims

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

AND NOW everyone who made the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 has been removed. The sons have taken over and have driven the fathers away. Lenin, Trotzky, Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev are dead and now Molotov and Kaganovitch have been driven out and put under house arrest and possibly they too will be dead before this appears in print. Malenkov is also removed, perhaps because he reminded Khrushchev too much of Stalin. They were comrades, Malenkov and Khrushchev, comrades in the immediate entourage of Stalin. Malenkov was Stalin's secretary and Khrushchev was Stalin's executioner in the Ukraine. But then, so were Caesar and Brutus friends, friends, until Brutus stabbed Caesar and gave Marc Antony the opportunity of delivering a wonderful funeral oration.

And so the Revolution reaches a new stage, as revolution without revolutionists. The technicians have taken over, those who risked nothing but know how to organize and to manage. I once heard a man say that Khrushchev did not represent Marxist idealism. By that he meant that Khrushchev is a practical man who will meet whatever situation arises on a pragmatic basis. But that has always been the Bolshevik position: it is a pragmatic, materialistic method of life which ignores all the ideals of humanity and depends upon science, force and power. Karl Marx despised idealists as unscientific and unrealistic and so did Lenin and Stalin. Idealism has never played a part in the Bolshevik Revolution.

Talks Tough When Drunk

What an American might regard as idealism is the adherence to a belief which for long periods seemed not to get anywhere. But now it is strictly business and the new Czar of all the Russians, the master, the dictator, the autocrat, the party boss wears a grey flannel suit like a Madison Avenue huckster and he does a show for the Columbia Broadcasting television. And he drinks vodka and Russian champagne (phui) like a peasant on a holiday and when he is drunk, he talks tough and frightens half the world—the other half that he has not yet mastered. He can frighten them because he has the bomb, too.

So there are those in Washington who are still speculating on the prospect of something good coming out of this internal revolution in Russia, a quarrel within the Presidium over policy, a quarrel that forced Khrushchev to show his hand, to show that he only down-graded Stalin because he intended to be like Stalin, a single master who would tolerate no dissent, no difference of opinion, even when those who differed had always, up to now, been his superiors in service, in revolutionary activity, in risk and sacrifice, in historic stature.

Since the Russian Revolution established the Bolshevik regime, one man has ruled. First it was Lenin, then it was Stalin; now it is Khrushchev. There were, of course, contests for power, but the winner usually killed off those who challenged him. Stalin killed off nearly all the old Bolsheviks. Among the handful that remained, Molotov and Kaganovitch were the most consistently successful in remaining alive and in office. Molotov handled Stalin's foreign affairs; Kaganovitch handled all the big industrial operations. Molotov was a hard-bitten Bolshevik who found little to smile about in this life; Kaganovitch was Stalin's brother-in-law and a Jew besides, the only Jew remaining in the upper echelons of the Russian government.

An Outspoken Anti-Jew

Khrushchev, among his other vices, is an outspoken anti-Jew and supports the Arabs against Israel. He has also extirpated Jewish cultural institutions wherever he has been able to. So there is no reason why he should permit Stalin's brother-in-law and a Jew to boot to survive.

And so Russian history goes its course. Stalin lessened the days of Lenin; Khrushchev lessened the days of Stalin. Always a despot seizes power and soon he sits on the throne of Ivan the Terrible and Catherine the Great and men die because despots always prefer new crews, crews of younger men, without rank or title, men who can remember to be grateful for small favors and who will show no independence.

Why should we bail these rascals out? What is happening shows that there is plenty of trouble in Russia. Why should we help them out of their difficulties by making compacts with them? Why should we do anything to help Khrushchev, the butcher of the Ukraine, or Zhukov, the butcher of Hungary?

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These Days . . . . . By George E. Sokolsky

The Last Bolsheviks

AND NOW everyone who made the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 has been removed. The sons have taken over and have driven the fathers away. Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev are dead and now Molotov and Kaganovitch have been driven out and put under house arrest and possibly they, too, will be dead before this appears in print. Malenkov is also removed, perhaps because he reminded Khrushchev too much of Stalin. They were comrades, Malenkov and Khrushchev, comrades in the immediate entourage of Stalin. Malenkov was Stalin's secretary and Khrushchev was Stalin's executioner in the Ukraine. But then, so were Caesar and Brutus friends until Brutus stabbed Caesar and gave Marc Antony the opportunity of delivering a wonderful funeral oration.

Sokolsky

And so the Revolution reaches a new stage, a revolution without revolutionists. The technicians have taken over, those who risked nothing but know how to organize and to manage. I once heard a man say that Khrushchev did not represent Marxist idealism. By that he meant that Khrushchev is a practical man who will meet whatever situation arises on a pragmatic basis. But that has always been the Bolshevik position: it is a pragmatic, materialistic method of life which ignores all the ideals of humanity and depends upon science, force and power. Karl Marx despised idealists as unscientific and unrealistic and so did Lenin and Stalin. Idealism has never played a part in the Bolshevik Revolution.

What an American might regard as idealism is the adherence to a belief which for long periods seemed not to get anywhere. But now it is strictly business and the new Czar of all the Russians, the master, the dictator, the autocrat, the party boss wears a gray flannel suit like a Madison Avenue huckster and he does a show for the Columbia Broadcasting television. And he drinks vodka and Russian champagne (pfui) like a peasant on a holiday and when he is drunk, he talks tough and frightens half the world—the other half that he has not yet mastered. He can frighten them because he has the bomb, too.

Since the Russian Revolution established the Bolshevik regime, one man has ruled. First it was Lenin, then it was Stalin, now it is Khrushchev. There were, of course, contests for power, but the winner usually killed off those who challenged him. Stalin killed off nearly all the old Bolsheviks. Among the handful that remained, Molotov and Kaganovitch were the most consistently successful in remaining alive and in office. Molotov handled Stalin's foreign affairs; Kaganovitch handled all the big industrial operations. Molotov was a hard-bitten Bolshevik who found little to smile about in this life; Kaganovitch was Stalin's brother-in-law and a Jew besides, the only Jew remaining in the upper echelons of the Russian government.

Khrushchev, among his other vices, is ~~outspoken~~ anti Jew and supports the Arabs against Israel. He has also extirpated Jewish cultural institutions wherever he has been able to. So there is no reason why he should permit Stalin's brother-in-law and a Jew to boot to survive.

AND SO Russian history goes its course. Stalin lessened the days of Lenin; Khrushchev lessened the days of Stalin. Always a despot seizes power and soon he sits on the throne of Ivan the Terrible and Catherine the Great and men die because despots always prefer new crews, crews of younger men, without rank or title, men who can remember to be grateful for small favors and who will show no independence.

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Wash. News
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N. Y. Herald Tribune
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The Khrushchev Revolution

By George E. Sokolsky

Weekly Sunday Night Broadcast Over
American Broadcasting Co. Stations

(July 7)

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I was in Russia in 1917 and 1918, during the Kerensky period and after the Bolsheviks took control, and I can witness to the fact that the masses of the Russian people understood the Bolsheviks better than they did Kerensky. The theory that Khrushchev is swinging from the Stalinist line is nonsense. The unnamed Washington experts who hand out this sort of stuff know that they are trying to soften up the American people to accept new agreements with Soviet Russia which are unnecessary for our national welfare but which politicians believe will strengthen those in power. Khrushchev kicks the reputation of Stalin in the mud, only to strengthen his own position as Stalin's successor.

Khrushchev will now be as much a master as Stalin was. He has achieved his autocratic position much faster than Stalin did, but, then, Stalin was dealing with the giants among the Bolsheviks. Khrushchev is dealing with men whose spirit has been broken by Stalin and who have become accustomed to the slavery of autocracy. So now they have a new autocrat. Does it make much difference to them what his name is?

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GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

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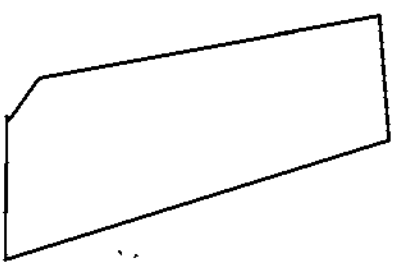

WEEKLY SUNDAY NIGHT BROADCAST O
AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY STATIONS

By George E. Sokolsky, July 7, 1957

GOOD EVENING. THIS IS GEORGE SOKOLSKY TRANSCRIBING ON THE FORCES AND EVENTS OF THESE DAYS. BUT FIRST MAY I PRESENT OUR ANNOUNCER FOR A MOMENT.

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The heroes of Russian history, such persons as Peter the Great, Ivan the Terrible and Catherine the Great were autocrats, despots who ruled by their own right and their own power. Succession was hereditary but included murder. Loyalty was not so much to the country as to the ruler. "The Little Father" ruled by divine right.

No people ever gets far from its traditions. Whenever an effort was made to establish a different type of government in Russia, it failed. During the 1917 Revolution, Prince Lvov attempted to establish a Democratic-Republican type of government, modelled perhaps after the British, but he failed. Alexander Kerensky sought to establish a nationalistic-socialist government with a written constitution and he failed. What Lvov and Kerensky tried to do was alien to the people of this sad country who did not understand anything but autocracy.

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In a word, instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Soviet Russia became a dictatorship of the Communist Party, through an oligarchy of executives

called the Politburo and dominated by one man, whose most treasured title was Secretary of the Party. The device used to achieve this end was called Democratic Centralism by which was meant that while the Politburo has the absolute say in all matters, it rises from the bottom in the sense that delegates are elected to various types of Soviets and from them comes this top group.

Analyzed strictly, the device was a return to Czarism and Stalin was as absolute as any Czar. He exercised personally life and death powers over every individual within his country and over the Communist Party members outside of Russia, even those within the United States. He ruled by murder.

Stalin chose as his successor Georgi Malenkov who had long been his secretary. Malenkov was to serve both as the head of the party and as the head of the government. He was apparently not capable in the Russian sense because in a few days Nikita Khrushchev pushed him aside as First Secretary of the Party, taking that position for himself. Malenkov was too soft.

For some psychological reason, it is difficult for the Western mind to grasp that whoever bosses the Communist Party controls the Russian government. Therefore while the State Department and the White House were giving out ridiculous statements about a new and milder Russia, statements which were based upon such absurdities as that Khrushchev's de-Stalinization proved that Russia had changed or that President Eisenhower's friend, Marshal Zhukov, might be the big man -- an absurdity which Khrushchev quickly dispelled by pushing Zhukov out of the limelight -- the fact was, from the very beginning of the post-Stalin period that Khrushchev is the boss and that there is no other.

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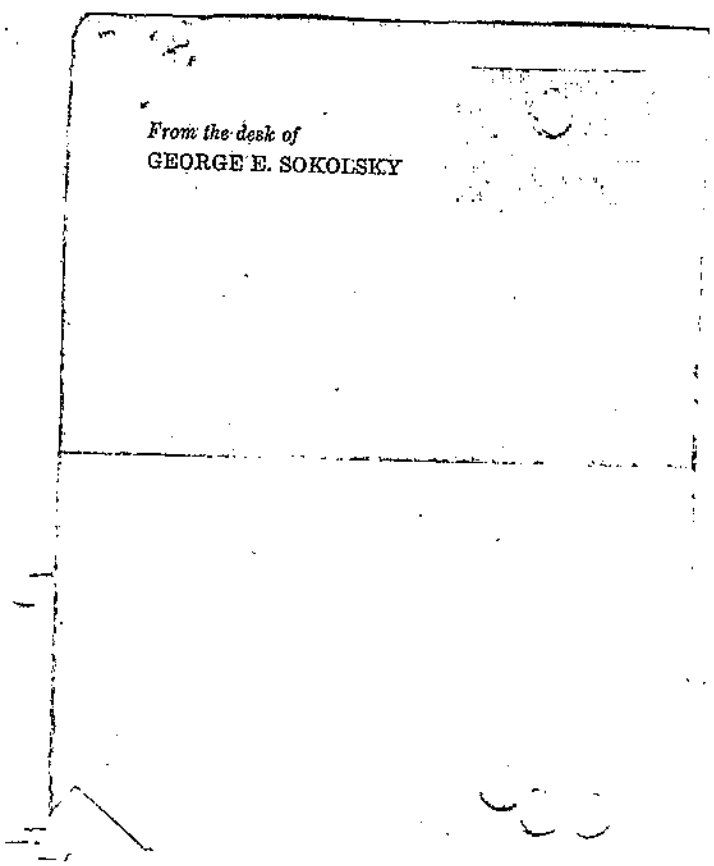
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6-19 (Rev. 9-7-56)

REVIEW OF THE WEEK

Soviet Shakeup:

Victory for Khrushchev

In the Soviet Union, the top echelon of government is known as the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament). But in actuality, the real governing body of the Soviet Union and to a great extent of world communism, is another Presidium—the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Thus it was understandable last week that significant changes in the membership of the party's Presidium captured the attention of the world. Into the Communist limbo went:

Vyacheslav M. Molotov, First Deputy Premier, Minister for State Control and former foreign minister, an "old Bolshevik" respected and feared as a "pro" by diplomats of the world for many years, was fired from the Presidium and the Central Committee, and dismissed from his government posts.

Lazar M. Kaganovich, Stalin's personal protege and a staunch Bolshevik theoretician and "activist."

Deputy Premier Georgi M. Malenkov, first Soviet Premier after the death of Dictator Josef Stalin, once considered a relative "liberal" within the Soviet Communist hierarchy.

Dmitri Shepilov, who served briefly as foreign minister a few months ago and who had been considered then to be close to Nikita Khrushchev, the First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party and hence boss of the nation.

There were other ousters and demotions. Maxim Z. Saburov, Minister of Heavy Industry, lost his post and his Presidium seat. Mikhail G. Pervukhin was demoted to alternate member and fired from his job. Four new members were added to the Presidium.

The Seat of Power

In any Communist country, the man who wields the real power is the party's First Secretary. It was in this position that Josef Stalin consolidated his personal dictatorship, and ruled without serious challenge from 1927 to his death in 1953.

Stalin clinched his hold on the Soviet Union in 1927, when the Central Committee's Politburo (predecessor to today's Presidium) voted to oust Leon Trotsky, who with Nikolai Lenin had masterminded the coup by which the Bolsheviks seized power in 1917 from the Kerensky provisional government, and Gregory Zinoviev, another of the pre-revolutionary Red leaders. During the dictator's long and bloody reign, he used the Central Committee to make and break men, never relaxing his hold.

Fully aware of the importance of the post of First Secretary the members of the party's Central Committee on Stalin's death saw to it that the responsibility for the time being was to be "collective" with no one man holding all the strings that were Stalin's.

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See Page 4

There was but one man on the Central Committee who might have held power enough to bid for the succession. He was the bespectacled Lavrenti P. Beria, Minister of State Security and chief of the dreaded Secret Police. Either Beria did not consider his powers adequate, or he waited too long to use them. In a swift stroke, his erstwhile colleagues with the support of the Soviet Army arrested him, charged him with high treason and numerous other crimes, and had him shot.

With Beria gone, the leadership of the Central Committee was shared among the other top prelates of communism, with Nikita Khrushchev, as First Secretary, being "first among equals."

By last week's moves, Mr. Khrushchev let the world and the Russians know that he was indeed first. Despite the setback he and his group had suffered when the "Stalinists," led by Comrades Molotov and Kaganovich, gained a transitory advantage when the Hungarian revolt of last autumn brought a savage Stalin-style Russian response, Mr. Khrushchev, with the undoubted support of the Army, cleaned his committee of "disruptive and anti-party influences" and relegated his opponents to a fate still uncertain.

The fired leaders had, it was charged, sought by intrigue and open opposition to disparage Mr. Khrushchev's ambitious plan to step up agricultural production, particularly attacking as impossible the drive to equal or surpass American output of meat and dairy products. They were also accused of attempting to sabotage the conduct of foreign affairs.

In the Communist scheme of things, differences of opinion on matters of major or minor importance can be freely spoken until the ruling body (the Presidium) has spoken. From that moment on, the decision is unassailable. Deviation, in the form of open criticism or objection, is deadly error. Punishment can range from expulsion from the Party—an extremely serious matter—to death in the dim cellars of the Lubianka or the drab courtyard of a provincial prison.

Under Stalin, the roster of those condemned to outer darkness and to death was long. The three top men whose careers were so abruptly ended last week (the action, according to the official Soviet statement, was decided upon at a special meeting of the Central Committee from June 22 to 29) were parties to many of those condemnations. So, for that matter, were many of their rivals. But there were signs that this time, unlike the Stalin era, the culprits would at least remain alive.

World Reaction

To the world outside the Iron Curtain, the shakeup was cheering. Except for some wishful thinkers, there was no great amount of optimism that the departure of the Stalinist die-hards would signal any significant change in over-all Communist aims. But there was an obvious sense of relief, particularly in Washington, that the immovable Molotov and the tenacious Kaganovich would no longer be influencing the Kremlin's policies.

Most diplomats familiar with the workings of the devious Communist system predicted that the changes would mean a renewed, all-out drive for the Khrushchev-Bulganin "peaceful coexistence" policy. Few expected any major changes in Soviet attitudes toward the rest of the world, but most agreed that a generally friendlier pose would be struck, that the traditional air of suspicious hostility would be modified, and that the Soviet "peace" campaign would be increased immensely—a possibility more worrisome to many Western diplomats than the brusque, wide-open belligerence of a Molotov or a Vishinsky. (See article by Fred Theroux on page A-23.)

In the satellites, reaction to the Moscow shift came swiftly.

Romania promptly ousted two leading Stalinists—Miron Constantinescu and Josif Chisinevsky. In Belgrade, Marshal Tito's government, the original thorn in the Stalinist side, made no attempt to hide its open jubilation. In Warsaw, where Wladyslaw Gomulka has led a precarious "national communism" against the Stalinists for a year despite the bitter objections of the Molotov faction, there was joy unconfined.

East Germany praised the action dutifully, but there were some doubts that Walter Ulbricht, East German party leader and a Stalinist, was entirely happy despite his party's communique hailing the ending of "this slanderous campaign against Comrade Khrushchev."

In Budapest, the regime of Janos Kadar saw new hope that the events in Moscow would at last bring stability to the Hungarian Communist government, resting on Russian bayonets since last fall. Only in Czechoslovakia, where Stalinism has so far been unchallenged, was there silence.

Pravda's Comments

The announcement of the Central Committee upheaval was made in a short-wave broadcast on Radio Moscow hours before the Soviet people themselves were told of the changes. The broadcast quoted in full the resolution of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee firing the disgraced "anti-party group."

Next day, Pravda devoted columns of its slender space to a long, repetitive editorial entitled "Unshakable Unity," in which, with a lavish use of Communist jargon, the people of the Soviet Union willing to flounder through the verbiage could learn of the reasons for the switch.

Western observers were particularly impressed with one paragraph of the Pravda editorial. Its tone seemed to partake of the heresies of Tito and Gomulka:

> "The sectarians and dogmatists do not understand . . . the policy of peaceful coexistence to struggle for friendship between peoples . . . detached from the life of the party and the country, these people are the captives of backward ideas. They fail to see the new situation, display conservatism, stubbornly cling to outdated forms and methods of work and reject what is born of experience . . . They would like to lead the party back to these wrong methods of leadership which were condemned by the 20th Party Congress (at which the Stalin 'cult of the personality' was condemned by Mr. Khrushchev. Ed. note)."

Disarmament: Our Proposal

If the major changes in the Kremlin's leadership really strengthen the "peace and coexistence" drive Mr. Khrushchev says he sponsored over the objections of the ousted men, the United States was quick to propose a demonstration.

The State Department yesterday called Moscow's attention to the great opportunity to prove its peaceful intentions at the current disarmament conference meeting in London.

Last Tuesday Harold E. Stassen, the President's special assistant for disarmament, formally proposed a 10-month ban on nuclear weapons testing. The short-term ban would be tied to an agreement to halt the manufacture of such weapons, and would require agreement on the establishment of monitor inspection stations in the territories of the signatories.

Soviet Delegate Valerian A. Zorin, expressing pleasure that the proposal had at last been made, promised a reply as soon as Moscow had studied the details. Understandably, preoccupation with other important matters has so far prevented a Russian decision.

When it comes, Western delegates expect a general acceptance of the test ban, but an insistence that the suspension be for a longer period. The Soviet Union

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has already proposed a two or three year moratorium on testing, with inspection, but without a halt in production of nuclear weapons.

In making the American proposal to the United Nations Subcommittee on Disarmament, Mr. Stassen was careful to work out all details in advance with Britain, France and Canada, and presented the plan as a four-power package. Previously, the American delegate had been criticized in London and in Washington for a reported tendency to deal directly with Mr. Zorin, leaving the other Western nations in the dark.

One factor reportedly delaying progress in the London disarmament talks was removed a week ago when West German Chancellor Adenauer agreed to creation of a European inspection zone that would include Germany. The Chancellor was emphatic in denying that Bonn had in any way obstructed the London talks, despite West German fears that an accord would tend to perpetuate the present division of Germany.

Presidential Comment

At his press conference Wednesday, President Eisenhower reiterated his belief that the "psychological and political effects" of agreement on a limited test suspension justified the scientific disadvantage involved. Mr. Eisenhower in effect denied that he was now less enthusiastic about a nuclear test suspension since Atomic Energy Commission Chairman Lewis L. Strauss and three top nuclear scientists had told him it was now possible to make a hydrogen bomb that was 95 per cent "clean," or free of radioactive fallout.

There continues to be determined opposition inside the administration to any major arms cut agreement with the Russians. But the proposal submitted Tuesday in London is reportedly "acceptable" to the opposition (said to be spearheaded by Mr. Strauss and Admiral Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff) because its limited extent would not interfere significantly with the nuclear weapons program. Additionally, assurances have been given the military that full-scale work will go on in the race to create an effective intercontinental ballistics missile, and smaller tactical nuclear weapons.

On Friday, Mr. Stassen urged the Soviets to join in a dismantling program. He suggested that the United States and Russia cut down on their existing stockpiles of atomic and hydrogen bombs, transferring the fissionable material in them to industrial uses.

test proposal, part of the Tuesday offer to suspend testing, was carefully qualified. Mr. Stassen, apparently in an effort to reassure Western Europe that United States retaliatory capacity would not be weakened, said that "substantial nuclear weapons capacity" would be retained. A second qualification would permit the conversion of existing bombs to other types of weapons, such as missile warheads, or the refabrication of existing "dirty" bombs into "clean" models.

Testing Continues

While negotiations inched forward in London, American atomic scientists and military units went ahead with their testing program on the Nevada desert. There was speculation that the AEC was pushing hard for achievement of a "clean" bomb and was testing atomic "triggers," designed to be comparitively free of fallout. While the scientists rocked the West with spectacular blasts, troops in the test area tried out tactics developed for atomic ground warfare.

The "clean" bomb prospect brought an observation from Mr. Eisenhower that he would consider sharing the know-how, if achieved, with other nations, including the Soviet Union. And perhaps to emphasize his own conviction that the "clean" bomb was near reality, he declared he was ready to invite other nations to make their own measurements of radioactive fallout at the site of the next test of an American hydrogen bomb.

The President's suggestion that "clean" bomb-making techniques be made available to the Soviet Union brought a cool reaction in Congress. Legislation would be required under the Atomic Energy Act, to permit any such sharing of information. Senate Minority Leader Knowland expressed doubt that Congress would ever agree to give information on weapons to the Russians. Representative Holifield, Democrat of California, called the suggestion "a complete reversal of our national policy and security."

Mr. Eisenhower also revealed last week that the United States was making available, under existing law, an additional 59,600 kilograms of uranium 235 for peaceful uses. About half was to be earmarked for sale or lease in the United States for nuclear power projects; the other half for nations with which the United States has concluded agreements for co-

Civil Rights Bill: 'Discussion'

Southerners in the Senate don't like to use the word "filibuster" to describe their unique weapon against legislation they oppose. They prefer to say that they plan a "full discussion of the issues" and leave it to their listeners to decide whether the "discussion" will continue until the Senate, exhausted and pressed for time, must turn to other matters.

Last week the outlook for one of those "discussions" grew as Southerners gathered for a last-ditch fight against the administration's civil rights bill. The Dixie forces, led by Senator Richard Russell, Democrat of Georgia, warned that quite a few Senators would have a lot to say when the bill comes up.

Senator Russell, with the air of a man who knows his cause is doomed but is determined to fight to the last, challenged the civil rights proponents Tuesday on the Senate floor to arrange a national referendum on the issue. The distinguished Georgian called the House-passed bill "the most cunningly devised and contrived piece of legislation I have ever seen." He compared it to the stringent laws enacted after the Civil War, when a Reconstruction Congress tried, as he put it, to "put black heels on white necks."

The Southerners object particularly to a provision of the bill which would permit the Attorney General to seek injunctions against anyone depriving another person of civil rights. Contempt cases arising from such injunctions would be decided not by a jury but by a Federal judge—a procedure which opponents have attacked as a denial of a basic American right.

President Eisenhower, at his Wednesday press conference, gave some solace to the embattled Southern bloc. For the first time, he appeared willing to consider amendments to the civil rights bill, although he rejected the Russell suggestion that the merits of the measure be put to a Nation-wide popular referendum.

Mr. Eisenhower said the bill, as submitted by the administration and passed by the House, simply sought to prevent anyone "illegally from interfering with any individual's right to vote . . ." But the President went on, "I find that men, men who are highly respected in their States and the Senate, have suddenly made statements, 'this is a very extreme law, leading to disorder,' and all that sort of thing. This, to me, is rather incomprehensible, but I am always ready to listen to anyone's presentation to me of his views on such a thing."

Sets Off Rumors

Construed as an invitation to Senator Russell to visit the White House to plead his cause, the President's remarks sparked reports that the administration was willing to back off from the civil rights program. There was the inevitable dark talk of a "deal," just as there had been a week ago when the Hells Canyon Federal dam bill won in the Senate by virtue of a few Southern votes.

But there was no evidence to back up the rumors. Senator Russell, when told of the President's press conference statement, said only that "I should be glad to meet with him in any circumstances he might prefer, alone or with others as he might wish." This seemed to leave the matter up to Mr. Eisenhower for the time being, and the Southerners went on with their strategy sessions.

As preparations for the Senate battle neared completion, preparations for another episode in the civil rights controversy were being made in Knoxville, Tenn. Tomorrow the trial will begin there of 16 persons charged with violating a Federal judge's order against interfering with the integration of the public schools. A jury will sit on that trial, and its reaction and verdict can be expected to figure in the Senate debate on the civil rights bill. (See story by William Hines on Page A-23.)

Supreme Court: Counterattack

The furor created by the recent series of Supreme Court decisions limiting the investigative techniques of Congress, placing checks on police questioning of unarraigned suspects, and opening FBI files to defendants in certain circumstances resulted in House action Tuesday. The Judiciary Committee created a special subcommittee "as a matter of highest urgency" to study the recent decisions with an eye to corrective legislation.

In the Senate, a bill sponsored by Senator O'Mahoney, Democrat of Wyoming, limiting disclosure of FBI files to "relevant information" as determined by the trial judge, was approved speedily by the Senate Judiciary Committee. A similar measure has won House Committee approval. The measure, backed by the administration, is designed to prevent "raw and unevaluated" secret material from informers and confidential agents from public disclosure. Attorney General Brownell, testifying for the bill, said it was needed to meet "a grave emergency" that might result in cutting off intelligence sources and perhaps endanger the lives of informers.

House Minority Leader Joseph P. Martin a week ago called the high court's decision on Congressional investigating committees "crippling." He contended also that the decision on the FBI files in the Jencks case was "very inimical to the country."

But the sharpest attack on the Supreme Court came from Senator Bridges, Republican of New Hampshire, who called the high tribunal "this ultra-liberal, politically motivated court." His prepared statement called the court "deplorably prone to short-circuit established legislative processes . . ." and hinted strongly that legislation to curb the powers of the court was in the offing. (See story by Philip Yeager on Page A-23.)

In another aftermath to a recent Supreme Court decision, John Stewart Service was restored Wednesday to his post as Foreign Service Officer, Class 2, by order of Federal District Judge James W. Morris.

Mr. Service, long a target for attack by the late Senator McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, was fired in December, 1951, by former Secretary of State Dean Acheson under a new law permitting the heads of Government departments to fire any employe when they deem it to be in the interests of the Nation. He had been cleared six times previously of loyalty charges, but Mr. Acheson dismissed him after a Loyalty Review Board post-audit had found "reasonable doubt" of Mr. Service's loyalty. The Supreme Court ruled that Mr. Acheson acted illegally.

The Budget: A Surplus

In January, 1956, when he proposed his budget for fiscal 1957, President Eisenhower predicted that the Government would end the year in the black by $435 million. In last January's budget message, the President took a new look at the fiscal 1957 outlook and forecast the much more substantial surplus of $1.7 billion.

Last Sunday at midnight, fiscal 1957 ended. It will take some time to complete the bookkeeping, but when all is said and done, the surplus will turn out to be right around one billion dollars, midway between the estimates.

Perhaps more interesting than the amount of the surplus has been the tremendous increase in the overall figures involved.

In his original fiscal 1957 budget proposals, the President forecast Federal revenues of $66.3 billion and expenditures of $65,865,000,000. But by last January, just a year later, these figures had increased substantially. Estimated income, $70.6 billion; estimated expenditures, $68.9 billion.

In the final summing up, income is expected to fall only slightly short of that January estimate. Spending, however, is expected to exceed the January prediction by better than $500 million.

By turning in a surplus for the second consecutive year (the fiscal budget was in the black by $1.6 billion), the Eisenhower administration can boast of a feat not performed since the depression began. The next task is to try to make it three in a row. In submitting his budget for fiscal 1958, which began last Monday, the President forecast a surplus of $1.8 billion—which would make it three in a row comfortably. But that prediction, too, can be expected to be revised downward—perhaps drastically—before the books are closed.

Congress marked the first week of the new fiscal year by moving ahead one more step on appropriations for defense, largest item in the fiscal 1958 budget. The Senate passed its $34.5 billion version of the bill, which is more than $900 million over the House-passed version but $1.5 million below administration proposals. The measure now goes to a House-Senate conference for an ironing out of differences. (See story by David Koonce on Page A-24.)

Girard Case: To the Top

The United States Supreme Court will sit tomorrow to hear arguments on the constitutionality of the status of forces agreements with foreign nations where American armed forces are stationed.

The high court's consent to the unusual post-adjournment session emphasized the concern felt in the administration over the issue.

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Attorneys for an American soldier stationed in Japan—Specialist 3/c. William S. Girard—have challenged the status of forces agreements as unconstitutional and morally wrong. They acted to prevent Japanese courts from trying the soldier, accused in the death of a Japanese mother of six. Federal Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy, asked by the Girard lawyers for a writ of habeas corpus, on June 18 ordered the Army not to deliver the soldier to Japanese custody.

In bringing an immediate appeal and urging the Supreme Court to act without delay, the Justice Department warned that the McGarraghy decision in the Girard case, if upheld, would endanger the entire American overseas bases program. Status of forces agreements provide that armed forces personnel accused of crimes committed while off duty will be tried in the civil courts of the host nation, subject to specific reservations.

Hells Canyon: A Setback

The Democratic proposal for a high Federal dam at Hells Canyon on the Snake River in Idaho, where the Idaho Power Co. has already begun work on the first of three low-level dams, met a setback in the House last week. Already passed in a swift surprise move by the Senate, the bill came up against a 15 to 12 vote to kill it in a subcommittee of the House Interior Committee.

The House group's action, taken reportedly after heavy White House pressure had been exerted in an attempt to head off the necessity of a Presidential veto, appeared certain to slay the bill. But there remained a slim chance that the full Interior Committee might, by a close margin, vote to take up the Senate-passed measure.

The next move for the Federal dam backers will be an attempt to get the two subcommittee Democrats who voted with the Republicans on the move to table the bill to reverse their stands in the full committee.

Global Quest: IGY Begins

The International Geophysical Year was ushered in at midnight GMT last Sunday (8 p.m. EDT) for 18 months of world-wide scientific study of the earth and its universe. Almost as if by arrangement a huge explosion on the sun filled the upper atmosphere with particles and electrical disturbances, causing radio blackouts.

In what President Eisenhower called "one of the great scientific adventures of our time," scientists of 64 nations—political differences ignored—began a series of tests and measurements in 11 major fields of science. Instruments and testing stations have already been established all over the globe, from the South Pole to the Arctic, on mountain tops and remote islands.

Highlight of the year will be the launching of man-made satellites to encircle the earth, gathering data unobtainable otherwise. Both the United States and the Soviet Union plan to launch such satellites, but no definite dates have been set.

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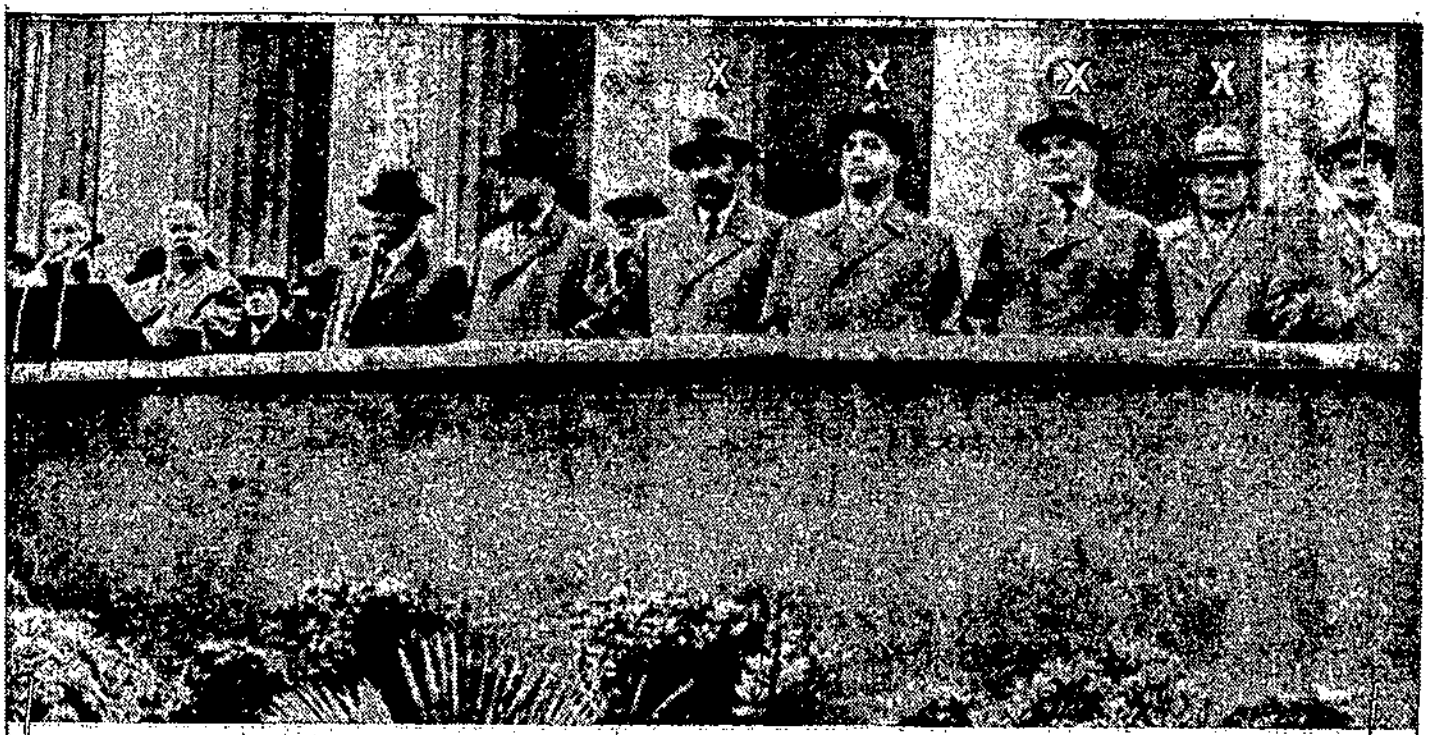
'DOUBLE-HAUNTED'—Soviet leaders, in throes of housecleaning, are harassed by external problems, too.



—Associated Press Wirephoto

UICK CHANGE—A month ago the Soviet leadership lined up like this at a Moscow fair. From left are Messrs. Khrushchev (at micro-hones), Voroshilov, Bulganin, Kaganovich, Malenkov, Molotov, Saburov and Mikoyan. Last week four marked 'X' were ousted in shakeup.

0-19 (Rev. 9-7-56)

Zhukov's Rise

One of the more fascinating aspects of the latest political purge in Moscow has to do with the rise of Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov, Soviet Defense Minister. The rise has been fairly steady ever since the death of Generalissimo Stalin, who in the late 1940s refused to let him visit America and assigned him to obscure military commands that took him completely out of the limelight as a possible rival.

This obscurity remained in force until Georgi Malenkov, who had become Premier in 1953 when the old tyrant passed away, suddenly "resigned" in 1955 to yield office to Nicolai Bulganin. Thereafter, under the new "collective leadership" featuring Nikita Khrushchev as "first among equals," Marshal Zhukov was restored to prominence and elevated to the posts of Defense Minister and alternate member (nonvoting) of the 11-man Presidium of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. The elevation spoke for itself as a measure of two significant things: (1) His striking upward movement on the Kremlin's ladder of personal prestige and (2) the Red Army's growing influence on the internal politics of the USSR.

And now Marshal Zhukov is higher on the ladder than ever before. At any rate, while Messrs. Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov have fallen to new depths of disgrace, he has soared to full membership in the all-powerful Presidium, the Soviet Union's top echelon of dictatorship, where apparently his voice and his vote will henceforth be exceptionally strong. In fact, according to some expert readers of the tea leaves of Russian politics, there are signs that he must be reckoned with today as his country's No. 2 leader, ranking just below Mr. Khrushchev. And by the same token, because he is a tremendously popular war hero in the USSR, and because the military seems to be rather solidly behind him, it is plausible to assume that the Red armed forces—which are reputed to be relatively conservative and leery of hotheaded Communist zealots—are likely to play an unprecedentedly big role in the shaping and control of Moscow's policies.

All this lends extra interest to past speculation about the contest for power within the Kremlin. The speculation, which events seem to have confirmed, has centered on the idea of a split existing between the Stalinists led by Mr. Molotov and the so-called anti-Stalinists led by Mr. Khrushchev. At the moment the latter group appears to have scored a complete triumph. But what if the triumph is actually less than complete? What if the inner Soviet struggle continues? What if new forces develop, or old ones revive, to challenge the revamped "collective leadership"? In such circumstances, given some fresh internal deadlock or political crisis, might not the situation tempt the Red Army to establish a military dictatorship?

This possibility, even though it may be very remote, underscores the significance of Marshal Zhukov's rise. Moreover, leaving aside all such considerations, his new prominence raises other interesting and perhaps promising questions. And not the least of these is whether his past close and friendly association with President Eisenhower might not have a wholesome effect on Soviet relations with the United States and the West in general.

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Communist International

MEANING OF THE SHAKEUP

A New Phase But No 'New Russia'

By FRED THEROUX

The dramatic upheaval inside the Soviet Union's top hierarchy—the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party—marks the beginning of a new phase in the development of the Soviet system. But it is unlikely to mean any sharp or radical shift in the system's general direction.

The ouster of Vyacheslav M. Molotov, "Old Bolshevik" former Foreign Minister; Georgi M. Malenkov, named Premier on the death of Josef Stalin, and Lazar M. Kaganovich, First Deputy Premier and brother-in-law to the late dictator, on charges of disruptive hostility to the Communist Party, is in the curious political tradition of the party. Since the Bolsheviks seized power in 1917, wings and factions in its ruling body have contended over high policy matters. When they lose, they are out. Under Stalin, they were frequently also dead.

Close observers of the Moscow developments since the death of Stalin foresee these probable results of the Presidium shakeup:

- A more influential role for the Red army in future political decisions.
- Greater flexibility in foreign policy.
- A new and generally softer relationship with the Communist satellites—but no nonsense like free elections or self-determination.
- A greater emphasis than ever on "coexistence," with encouragement of cultural exchanges with other nations and more good will journeys by Nikita Khrushchev and Premier Nikolai Bulganin.
- A stepped-up drive to raise living standards inside the Soviet Union through increased agricultural and industrial production.

Mr. Theroux, a member of the staff of The Star's Sunday Editorial Section, specializes in foreign affairs.

'No 'New Russia'

But hopes in the West that the triumph of Party Chief Khrushchev and his supporters over the "old guard" Stalinists led by Molotov will mean a new Russia are probably unjustified. There is nothing in the history of the Soviet Communist Party, or in the records of the Khrushchev group, to support the idea that any major departure from the established Communist techniques is in prospect. In Comrade Khrushchev's own words, communism will be dropped in Russia "when a shrimp learns to whistle."

Communism, however, like all revolutionary movements, must change as events make changes necessary or expedient. The Reds are quick to change the party line whenever they see the need.

Often the change has been a complete reversal, so swift as to leave the Communist Party organizations in non-Communist nations out on an ideological limb. Such was the case in 1939, when

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The Worker
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Molotov and Stalin shocked the world by signing a nonaggression pact with Hitler's Nazi Germany.

But the present case involves no shock, nor even surprise.

Long-Term Dissension

Dissension among men of the Red hierarchy has been apparent since the death of Stalin in 1953. The departed dictator had been careful to see to it that no one individual in the Soviet command ever attained stature enough to become an heir-apparent.

The "collective leadership" was the result and the naming of Georgi Malenkov as Premier was a compromise appointment, in no way indicating that Mr. Malenkov was top man. Lavrenti Beria, as head of the secret police, was eliminated quickly by his colleagues as a menace.

As the maneuvering inside the Presidium went on, the existence of two general groups became plain—the "Stalinists" led by Mr. Molotov and the advocates of a slow-down in Communist revolutionary policy led by Mr. Khrushchev. Each side scored temporary victories, as evidenced by official statements and actions. For example, the "liberal" group won when Malenkov was replaced as Premier by Mr. Bulganin, a political marshal on cordial terms with the Red army and with the Khrushchev school.

One result of the change was the Geneva "summit" conference of 1954 and the benign beginning of "peaceful coexistence." But the Stalinists won the next round, for in the Big Four conference called right after Geneva the dour Molotov yielded not an inch.

Take a New Tack

The Khrushchev-Bulganin policies of friendlier relations with the satellites, permitting a greater degree of nationalism inside the satellite Communist regimes, were anathema to the Stalinists. The dramatic flight of the entire Presidium from Moscow to Warsaw last fall, when Wladyslaw Gomulka gained ascendancy over the hard-core Stalinists in the Polish party, demonstrated the extent to which the issue had concerned the hierarchy.

Here again the Khrushchev wing carried the day. Poland's new "national communism" was permitted to go on with cautious reservations. Similar movements were countenanced in Hungary and Romania. But Hungary went too far, and the resultant revolt and its suppression almost dumped the Khrushchev group from power.

The Hungarian uprising showed clearly the divergent elements present in the collective leadership of the Kremlin. It also pointed up clearly the fact that the balance of power in the ruling Presidium was held by the Red army, in the person of Marshal Georgi Zhukov, hero of World War II.

From October 26, when the streets of Budapest first erupted in violent revolt, until November 4, when the tanks and guns of the Red army clanked across the Danube, was 10 days. It took that long for the decision to be made inside the Kremlin, and it was the Soviet Army that swung the balance toward armed intervention.

An Isolated Instance

There were predictions then that Hungary's uprising had been Khrushchev's undoing. But it quickly became apparent that the army's support of the Stalinist group was confined to the Hungarian crisis alone, the deciding factor being strictly military. Allow no potentially hostile force to establish itself on Russia's borders. In other matters, even including the continued sufferance of Gomulka's "national communism," Marshal Zhukov offered no opposition to the Khrushchev program.

Some strong indications of the stability of the Russian Communist regime may be observed in the days and weeks ahead, when the popular reaction to the Molotov-Malenkov-Kaganovich ousters becomes known. All have their followers and each has built up some degree of personal popularity—Malenkov particularly, through his efforts to ease the rigid restrictions on the peasantry.

If the discrediting of the erstwhile leaders rests where it is, or as may turn out to be the case further steps are taken to punish them, the world will know how secure the new Khrushchev leadership feels itself to be.

0-19 (Rev. 1-11-60)

Kozlov Gets Top Post In Shakeup

Soviet Announces Sweeping Change In Leadership

By Henry Shapiro
From News Dispatches

MOSCOW, May 4 (UPI) The Soviet Union tonight announced a major shakeup of key Government and Communist Party posts which saw First Deputy Premier Frol Kozlov promoted to the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

It was the first reshuffle of the Soviet heirarchy since the expulsion of the "anti-party group" in June, 1957.

The changes grew out of parallel meetings held today by the Party Central Committee and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet—the government apparatus.

With his promotion, Kozlov joins eight other party secretaries under First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev.

Khrushchev is expected to make a major foreign policy address before the Supreme Soviet ("parliament") when it meets Thursday, and Western diplomats quoted him as saying that he will have something "stupendous" to say regarding the forthcoming East-West summit conference in Paris.

Junior Ruling Group

The Central Committee of the Party is the ruling body of the Soviet Union, the repository of ultimate power. All major decisions on policies are framed in the Secretariat and all important Soviet leaders since Nikolai Lenin have come from the Secretariat.

The Secretariat is the inner ruling group of the Party Presidium, which is the highest organization of the Central Committee.

Kozlov, who visited the United States last summer, was released from his old post as First Deputy Premier and the job was given to Aleksei Kosygin, chairman of the State Planning Commission.

Nikolai Mikhailov was replaced as Minister of Culture by a woman, Ekaterina Furtseva, who was dropped as a secretary of the Central Committee.

The shakeup was not considered by informed sources to be a purge, such as the one in 1957 when former Premiers Georgi Malenkov and Nikolai Bulganin and other key men were charged with illegal attempts to change Party leadership and policy.

No Charges Involved

There have been no charges or suggestions of any criminal intent or any anti-Party activity made against any of

See SOVIET, A5, Col. 1

the leaders removed from their posts in this reshuffle.

The removal of two Presidium members, Alexei I. Kirichenko and Nikolai Belyaev, had been a foregone conclusion since January when they were appointed to minor party posts in southern Russia.

Belyaev was criticized by Khrushchev last December for negligence in gathering the rich harvest of Kazakhstan Province of which he was then Party secretary. But there was no suggestion of bad faith or opposition to Party politics.

The criticism of Belyaev's inefficiency and inadequate organization.

Kirichenko's fortunes had appeared to be on the slide since January when he was moved out of the bright political arena of Moscow to a small job as Secretary of the Party Central Committee in the Ukraine District of Rostov on the Don.

He is an Old Guard Red who had once been mentioned as a possible successor to Khrushchev.

Kirichenko also automatically relinquished his post as a secretary of the Party's Central Committee. There was no mention of a new job for him.

Competent observers explained the shakeup in terms of Khrushchev's efforts to achieve greater efficiency in government and party operations by eliminating deadwood and promoting younger men to key posts.

At the 21st Party Congress last January, Khrushchev announced he would do just that.

Kosygin, an expert in the field of engineering and economics, is one of the younger and more competent men who has had much experience in Soviet leadership. He was a member of the Presidium before Stalin's death but was later downgraded by the Soviet leader.

He, along with Nikolai Podgorny and Dmitri Polyansky were given Presidium membership in today's move.

Polyansky is regarded as a comer. He is relatively young—born in 1917, the year of the revolution—and is personable and on the rise.

He has been Chairman of the Party Central Committee of the Russian Republic, whose territory comprises two thirds of the whole of the Soviet union.

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LETTERS TO THE STAR

Reds in Korea

Congratulations on your fine editorials recently on the Korean situation. It is heartening, amidst the Communist-inspired propaganda against Syngman Rhee, to have such a sane and reasoned presentation.

One cannot help wondering if Secretary Dulles had lived whether the State Department would have attempted publicly to discipline President Rhee; or, for that matter, if it would have departed from past custom by meddling in the internal affairs of South Africa however much it might disagree with the policies of the government of that country; or, on the other hand, if it would have accepted so meekly the deliberate insults from the Castro regime, the mistreatment of American citizens and the confiscation of their property by a Communist-influenced dictator, not to mention the wholesale butchery of political prisoners by that bearded beatnik.

It would seem that the rebellion in South Korea is largely inspired by Communists. And it is significant that here, as in the South American countries where outrageous attacks were made against the Vice President of the United States on his official visit, university students were the stooges used by the Communists. The extent to which thousands of students lend themselves to such use presents a strong argument for retaining the loyalty oath now required of students desiring financial assistance from this country's taxpayers. But it should be recognized that some one is indoctrinating these impressionable young people with communistic ideas. Would it not be well to require the loyalty oath of the professors as well as the students?

E. McLean Johnson.

USA

On Demonstrations

In a recent letter Mr. Haywood said that "whatever else may be said of them, the present evidences of social and mental maturing and of activated convictions on the part of today's collegians are a reassuring promise of a better world tomorrow."

"Mass demonstrations" are revolutionary in nature. Regardless of their motives, they are always "activated" and are always in support of someone's "convictions." They are, however, for the most part, emotionally "activated." Therefore, in a country where legal means are provided to protect one's rights, it would seem that such demonstrations deny, rather than confirm, evidence of social and mental maturing, and portend little "reassuring promise of a better world tomorrow."

If force prevails, there will be no need for lawyers, for there will be no rights to defend. J. Edgar Hoover tells us that the Communists have a special disdain for lawyers—perhaps that is why! It may be timely to question whether there is a conspiracy.

Helen M. Burton.

USA

b6
b7C

FILE 5-

Communist International

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star A18
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
Date

APR 28 1960

EX-105

REC-54 61-16-A

NOT RECORDED
46 MAY 6 1960

64 MAY 11 1960

0-19 (Rev. 1-11-60)

Tolson ✓
Mohr
Parsons ✓
Belmont ✓
Callahan
DeLoach ✓
Malone
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Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
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Ingram
Gandy

Soviet Union Awards Lenin Prizes to 60

MOSCOW, April 22 (AP).—The Soviet Union has awarded its coveted Lenin prizes to more than 60 persons, including, Nikita Khrushchev's journalist son-in-law, Author Mikhail Sholokhov and Violinist David Oistrakh.

The prizes of 75,000 rubles each ($7,500 at the tourist rate of exchange are awarded annually on the birthday of Nikolai Lenin, leader of the 1917 Bolshevik revolution, who died in 1924. Today is the 90th anniversary of his birth, and the Soviet Union is giving it special attention.

Mr. Khrushchev's son-in-law, Alexei Adzhubei, got only 6,250 rubles. He shared with 11 others who accompanied Mr. Khrushchev on his trip to America last fall and wrote a book "Face to Face with America— a story about N. S. Khrushchev's visit to the United States."

Mr. Adzhubei is the editor of Izvestia, the Soviet government newspaper.

Sharing with Mr. Adzhubei were Oleg Troyanovsky, Mr. Khrushchev's American-educated interpreter; Pavel Satukov, editor of the Communist party organ Pravda; Culture Minister Georgi Zhukov; and Leonid Ilyichev, chief of the propaganda agency Agitprop.

Award for Novel

Mr. Sholokhov, the Don Cossack author whom Mr. Khrushchev also brought with him tto the United States, won a literary award for the first and second parts of his novel, "Virgin Soil Upturned." He was reported to have been pressured into rewriting the novel to conform to the party line but has denied the report.

Sergei Ilyushin, designer of the giant Ilyushin 18 turboprop airliner that carried Mr. Khrushchev tto the United States, also won a prize. He also was a member of the Khrushchev party.

Mr. Oostrakh is the Soviet Union's top violinist an dits biggest musical attraction abroad.

Film actor Sergei Bandarchuk, star of the Moscow film festival winner "Fate of a Man," also was honored.

The list of prize winners included scientists working in nuclear research and a group of five doctors for heart and blood vessel studies.

4 Physicists Honored

Four physicists won a prize for their studies of two belts of radioactive particles surrounding the earth's atmosphere. They were Sergei Vernov, Alexander Chudakov, Shmaya Dolginov and Nikolai Pushkov.

The radiation zones are known as the Van Allen belt after Dr. James A. Van Allen, of the State University of Iowa. Tass credited Mr. Vernov and Mr. Chudakov with discovering the furthermost belt of radioactivity after the launching of the second Soviet sputnik in November, 1957.

USSR

CP - Russia

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File 5 CDS

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star A4
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
Date APR 22 1960

EX 104

REC- 74 61-16-A
NOT RECORDED
46 APR 28 1960

62 APR 29 1960

0-19 (Rev. 1-11-60)

Central Research Section

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C.P. Russia

579,000 Added To Soviet Party

MOSCOW, April 21 (UPI) The Soviet navy newspaper, Soviet Fleet, reported today that the Communist Party admitted 579,000 new members last year, the largest number since the war. Total now is approxiately 9 million. This is larger than at any time in Soviet history.

The paper said the Party now comprises a larger representation of farmers than before, although industrial workers still make up the dominant group. The total Soviet population is 220 million.

The Communist Party is still made up of the elite, requiring special qualification for membership.

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file C.P. Soviet Union

The Washington Post and Times Herald B-4
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
Date 4/22/60

61-16-A
NOT RECORDED
167 APR 26 1960

STAT

REC 53

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Mr. Rosen
Mr. Callahan
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Malone
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
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How Much Longer Can Khrushchev Hold Up?

Punishing global junkets have put a severe strain on Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's temper, stamina and—perhaps—his heart.

CLIPPING FROM THE
N.Y. World-Telegram & Sun
EDITION 7th Sports Final
DATED 4/9/60
PAGE 4
FORWARDED FBI SIX DIVISION
Editor: Roy W. Howard

[redacted]

EX-102

61-16-A.
NOT RECORDED
46 APR 21 1960

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REC 53

57 APR 27 1960

Travels Undermine Health Of Aging Premier; Four on Possible Successor List

Nikita Khrushchev is a "classic candidate for a heart attack," says Christopher Dobson, just back after 14 months as the only British reporter in Moscow. In the following article, the newsman gives an up-to-the-minute picture of what's likely to happen if the Soviet premier dies.

U.S.S.R.

By CHRISTOPHER DOBSON.

London Evening Standard.
Special to World-Telegram and Sun.

B. APPROX. 1894

LONDON, April 9.—Nikita Khrushchev is old and tired and wan.

The Soviet Premier will be 66 next month. He faltered under the broiling Indonesia sun during his Asia trip. He is still weak from the grippe that has laid half of Moscow low and is weary from his junket around France—the latest of his physically punishing tours.

U.S.A.

He is overweight, has a foul temper and drives himself much too hard.

Death may well come to Khrushchev tomorrow, even without the help of the many thousands of Ukrainians, Letts, Lithuanians, Poles and Hungarians who would be delighted to boost him on his way.

What then? Who takes over? Who will step into Khrushchev's galoshes? What happens when Khrushchev goes to form an unholy trinity in communism's calendar of saints with Lenin and Stalin?

These questions are never discussed in Russia's newspapers. And any reference to them in Moscow foreign correspondents' stories is removed by the censor.

But now I am out. I can write of things that I know and have seen. And this I believe is what will happen when Khrushchev dies.

No one man will become boss of Russia immediately. A committee will be formed to present a brave and united front while the struggle for power goes on in the Kremlin offices and the guarded dachas of the leaders in the outskirts of Moscow.

U.S.S.R. - U.S.A. MAICO

First Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan will be one of the committee. The shrewd Armenian horse-trader has seen it all.

Above all, he is a great survivor. He survived a firing squad when he was a young rebel. He survived the Stalin purges. And he backed the right side when V. M. Molotov and Nikolai A. Bulganin turned on Khrushchev.

U.S.S.R.

Mikoyan will lend all his great knowledge of the technique of survival to the committee.

Who else? I foresee curly haired Frol Kozlov, pudgy Nikolai Ignatov, tough Averky Aristov maneuvering for power under the cynical dark eyes of Mikoyan.

They are all modern Communists. They were all boys when the revolution was fought out. They are all party men. They are all Khrushchev supporters. And—need it be said?—they are all ruthless.

But just one mistake and they are out of the race. Kozlov is certainly in favor with Khrushchev at the moment. He has come to the fore with a tremendous burst. He has visited Asia and America to pave the way for Khrushchev and to report back to his leader. He is a first deputy premier and it is probable that he would be named chairman of the committee to run Russia when Khrushchev dies.

Smooth and personable, with Mikoyan's help he could hold the party together. But is he strong enough? I think not.

Aristov is the tough guy. It was he who ushered the Communist party's deputy leader, Alexei I. Kirichenko, into exile and traveled with him to introduce him to his new job of making tractors.

Is Aristov strong enough? Probably too strong. The new party aristocracy certainly do not want a return to purges.

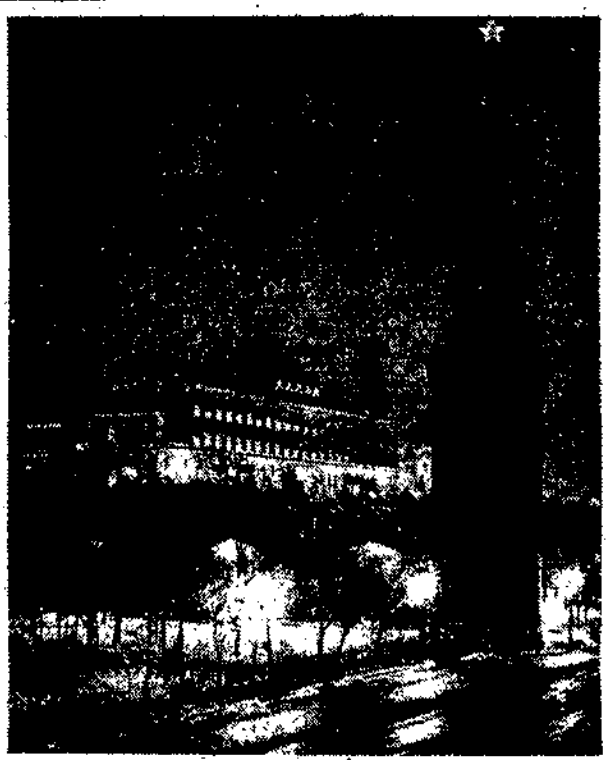
The smart Moscow money is on Ignatov who, at the age of 58, runs the Secretariat of the Communist party. The Secretariat runs the party. The party runs the Soviet Union and all its colonies.

And that is why Ignatov is the favorite. He is the complete party man.

He has been dedicated to the party since he was 16. He is a favorite of the doctrinaire Communists. And he is enough of a Khrushchev man to have the support of the moderates. For in Russia he who has the party has power.

ANASTAS MIKOYAN
Survivor

AVERKY ARISTOV
Strongman



Headquarters of worldwide communism, the Kremlin has seen strong men rise to power, govern ruthlessly and pass away. The question now: Who will be next?

NIKOLAI IGNATOV
Doctrinaire

FROL KOZLOV
Weakling

BS-6 (Revised 6-17-59)

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Miss Gandy

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Communist Manifesto Reported In Bible Now in Belgian Congo

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

Where does the Bible contain the Communist Manifesto?

Answer: In the Belgian Congo where the Soviet Union recently distributed the Bible, published in Moscow, in a native dialect.

This and other insights into Soviet activity in Asia and Africa comes from a young Swiss scholar, Dr. Peter Sager, who passed through Providence yesterday to speak under the auspices of the World Affairs Council.

In an interview, the tall, 35-year-old economist described the trend of Soviet Union activities in Africa, a subject his library and publishing staff have concentrated on.

"I am not by nature a pessimist," he said, "but it is the estimate of our staff that in 1975 the Soviet bloc will have 51 per cent of the world's industrial potential. When this happens it will have a profound effect on the world.

"The free world has 25 per cent of the world's population, the Communists 35 per cent. The other 40 per cent are now watching and waiting to see which side has the most strength and can help it most. It is possible that in 10 years, for example, the economy of Africa will be completely tied to Russia's and this will mean the end of Western Europe economically."

Founder of Library

Dr. Sager received his doctorate from the University of Bern, studied at the Russian Institute at Harvard from 1952 to 1954 and again in 1956. He is the author of two authoritative texts on the Soviet economy. But he is best known among scholars and European governmental leaders as founder of one of the most complete libraries on Soviet economics, "Ost Europa Bibliothek," creator of "Freier Korrespondenz-dienst," a news service providing scholarly but recent information on Soviet economic activity, and collector of a staff of experts and translators in Bern.

He is alarmed at complacency that exists in the West (he thinks American leaders are more aware of Soviet economic power than those in Europe). He says the general attitude is that since nuclear war seems unlikely the Soviet Union no longer is a serious problem. The threat is more subtle and stronger than ever, he says.

There is, he reports, an unrelenting program by the Soviet Union in Africa and Asia, quietly tying the economic systems of the new countries to Soviet supplies, Soviet products, Soviet machines, and Soviet education. For example, the Soviet Union has an agency for building schools and colleges in underdeveloped countries, to be staffed by Soviet teachers and to use Soviet texts.

Thus, the Bible with the Communist Manifesto is only

Communist International

Boston American, Boston, Mass.
Boston Globe, Boston, Mass.
Boston Herald, Boston, Mass.
Boston Traveler, Boston, Mass.
Christian Science Monitor, Boston, Mass.
Daily Record, Boston, Mass.

PROVIDENCE JOURNAL, Prov. R.I.
Date: 4/6/60
Edition: AM
Author: BEN BAGDIKIAN
Editor: SEVELLON BROWN, III
Title:

Class. or Character:
Page: 21
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Submitting Office: Boston

EX 104

REC-1

61-16-A
NOT RECORDED
46 APR 21 1960

53 APR 26 1960

FILE 5-Va.

a small item in a wide Soviet approach. A few days ago the Soviet Union announced a similar project in a new edition of the Koran for Moslem countries, he said. Presumably, the Kremlin edition of the Koran also will have useful interpolations from Marx and Lenin.

Asked how Russia, with less wealth than the United States, can support such broad worldwide activities, Dr. Sager said:

"A Western citizen gets 100 units of income. Of this 80 go for personal use, in what we call standard of living, 15 go for non-productive uses like the military and other things that do not cause the system to grow. Five go into investment or growth. In the Soviet Union, the citizen gets only 70 units of income, compared to the 100 here. But of that 70, 42 units—that's 60 per cent compared with the American 80 per cent—go for personal consumption, and 28 per cent goes to the state. Now we don't know how much of that 28 per cent goes into investment or growth but we know it is a good deal more than our five. The Soviet wealth is growing by something like 11 per cent a year."

This use of Soviet wealth for investment and growth rather than rapid increase in living standards is possible primarily because the aim of the Soviet system is to enlarge the system through the state, whereas the aim of Western economies is to enlarge the citizen's standard of living, he said. He added:

"This does not mean we ought to use Soviet methods of dictation, or change our goals. But it means we have to decide ourselves to sacrifice more."

Asked how he came to dedicate his life and his considerable personal fortune ($150,000) to the library and institute, he said it stemmed from an early experience.

"In 1933 when I was 8 years old my mother called me to the radio and said, 'Listen, this is Adolf Hitler in Germany making a speech. This is important.' I listened. I was young and didn't understand most of it. But at the end he gave a prayer. My mother said, 'He is going to be a good man for Germany. Did you hear that prayer?' My mother then went out and bought a copy of Hitler's book, 'Mein Kampf.' She was shocked and realized Hitler would bring disaster. She read the book and made careful notes in the margins on what Hitler plainly intended to do with the world.

"Well, this book disappeared and by chance in 1944 I found it in our attic. It was obvious that Hitler had tried what he said he would, that it had been disastrous. I looked at the notes in the margin and remembered that early experience. Not long afterward I ran across the book, 'Fundamentals of Leninism' by Stalin. It was quite specific about what the Soviet Union intended to do. But I was astonished to learn that practically none of the political leaders of Europe had read the book and that the intentions of the Soviet Union seemed to make no impression on them. I began collecting data, spending my money, and now I've spent it all and depend on subscriptions and private contributions from Swiss supporters in business and the universities."

Dr. Sager will lecture in Boston, visit at the Russian Institute at Harvard and will return to Switzerland in two weeks.

Dr. Peter Sager
—Journal-Bulletin Photo by Frank J. Farley

R APPROX. 1925

Mass. — Switz.

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14

The story I can tell now I'm out of Russia . . . IF EVER THERE WAS A CANDIDATE FOR A HEART ATTACK IT'S KRUSHCHEV . . . WHAT IF IT HAPPENS?

by Christopher Dobson

C.P. - Russia

Russia Eng.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

File-5

61-16

DAILY EXPRESS
March 29, 1960
London, England

FOR INFORMATION

62 APR 22 1960

REC-12 61-16-A

NOT RECORDED
48 APR 19 1960

EX 104

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Expressman Dobson, who spent 14 months in Moscow and was the only resident British reporter in the city, is now back home. Ross Mark, of the Express Washington Bureau, is to relieve him.

KRUSHCHEV is old and tired and wan. He is 66 next month. He faltered under the broiling Indonesian sun during his Asia tour. He is weak from the "grippe" which has laid half of Moscow low.

He is overweight, has a foul temper and drives himself much, much too hard; he is, in fact, the classic candidate for a heart attack.

Death may well come to Krushchev tomorrow, even without the help of the many thousands of Ukrainians, Letts, Lithuanians, Poles, and Hungarians who would be delighted to boost him on his way.

Censor

WHAT then? Who takes over? Who will step into Krushchev's galoshes? What happens when Mr. K goes to form an unholy trinity in Communism's calendar of saints with Lenin and Stalin?

These questions are never discussed in Russia's newspapers. And any reference to them in Moscow foreign correspondents' stories is removed neatly, but none too swiftly, by the censor.

But now I am "out." I can speculate, I can write of things that I know and have seen. And this I believe is what will happen when Krushchev, "The Big Pine-cone," dies.

No one man will become boss of Russia immediately. A committee will be formed to present a brave and united front while the struggle for power goes on in the Kremlin offices and the guarded dachas of the leaders in the outskirts of Moscow.

Mikoyan will be one of the committee. The shrewd Armenian horse-trader has seen it all, knows it all.

Above all, he is a great survivor. He survived a firing squad when he was a young rebel. He survived the Stalin purges. And he backed the right side when Molotov and Bulganin turned on Krushchev.

Ruthless

MR. MIK will lend all his great knowledge of the technique of survival to the committee.

Who else? I foresee curly-haired Frol Kozlov, podgy Nikolai Ignatov, tough Averky Aristov manoeuvring for power under the cynical dark eyes of Mikoyan.

They are all modern Communists, they were all boys when the revolution was fought out. They are all party men. They are all Krushchev supporters. And—need it be said?—they are all ruthless.

It's like betting on the Grand National, naming the winner from these three Communist thoroughbreds. They all know the course.

But just one mistake and they are out of the race. Kozlov is certainly in favour with Krushchev at the moment. He has come to the fore with a tremendous burst. He has visited Asia and America to pave the way for Mr. K and to report back to his leader. He is a First Deputy Premier and it is probable that he would be named chairman of the committee to run Russia when Mr. K dies.

Smooth and personable, with Mikoyan's help he could hold the party together. But is he strong enough? I think not.

Aristov is the tough guy. It was he who ushered Kirichenko into exile and travelled with him to introduce him to his new job of making tractors.

Is he strong enough? Probably TOO strong.

Tipped

THE new party aristocracy certainly do not want a return to purges. Life is sweet for them too.

The smart Moscow money is on Ignatov who, at the age of 58, runs the Secretariat of the Communist Party. The Secretariat runs the party. The party runs the Soviet Union and all its colonies.

And that is why Ignatov is favourite. He is the complete party man.

He has been dedicated to the party since he was 16. He is a favourite of the doctrinaire Communists. And he is enough of a Krushchev man to have the support of the moderates.

My money, too, is on Ignatov.

For in Russia he who has the party has power.

10-20 (Rev. 1-11-60)

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U.S.R. - Russia

UPI-115
(GOLDWATER)

SENATE GOP CAMPAIGN CHAIRMAN BARRY GOLDWATER TODAY FIRED A BROADSIDE AT EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION FOREIGN POLICY WHICH INCLUDED A DEMAND FOR WITHDRAWAL OF RECOGNITION OF THE KHRUSHCHEV REGIME IN RUSSIA.

THE ARIZONA REPUBLICAN, IN A SENATE SPEECH, URGED THAT AMERICA ADOPT THE "HARD COUNSEL" OF DECIDING FOR ITSELF WHEN AND WHERE TO HAVE A "TEST OF WILLS" WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

GOLDWATER CALLED FOR A FIRM REJECTION OF PROPOSALS FOR A PERMANENT BAN ON TESTING ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND REVISION OF THE FOREIGN AID PROGRAM SO THAT PRIVATE INVESTMENT WOULD REPLACE "GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT CAPITAL ASSISTANCE. HE SAID THE PRESENT AID PROGRAM IS "ILL-CONCEIVED" AND HAS IN MOST CASES "MADE AMERICA WEAKER" RATHER THAN MAKING THE FREE WORLD STRONGER.

"IT IS HIGH TIME OUR LEADERS STOPPED TREATING THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE AND THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AS ONE AND THE SAME THING," HE SAID. "THE EXCHANGE PROGRAM, IN SOVIET EYES, IS SIMPLY ANOTHER OPERATION IN COMMUNIST POLITICAL WARFARE...THEIR ASSIGNMENT IS NOT TO CONVEY A TRUE IMAGE OF THE SOVIET UNION, BUT A FALSE IMAGE."

GOLDWATER SAID THE "ENTIRE APPROACH TO THE COLD WAR WOULD CHANGE FOR THE BETTER THE MOMENT WE ANNOUNCED THAT THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT REGARD MR. KHRUSHCHEV'S MURDEROUS CLIQUE AS THE LEGITIMATE RULERS OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE OR OF ANY OTHER PEOPLE."

HE ADDED: "NOT ONLY WOULD WITHDRAWAL OF RECOGNITION STIFFEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD COMMUNISM, IT WOULD ALSO GIVE HEART TO THE ENSLAVED PEOPLES AND HELP THEM TO OVERTHROW THEIR CAPTORS."

THE SENATOR INSISTED THAT NUCLEAR TESTING MUST CONTINUE BECAUSE "THERE IS NO RELIABLE MEANS OF PREVENTING THE COMMUNISTS FROM SECRETLY BREAKING SUCH AN AGREEMENT" AND BECAUSE TESTS ARE NEEDED TO DEVELOP TACTICAL WEAPONS FOR "POSSIBLE USE IN LIMITED WARS."

HE SAID HE "FEARS" U.S. LEADERS ARE "COMING TO ACCEPT" THE IDEA THAT NO NATION WOULD CONSIDER RESORTING TO USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS UNLESS UNDER DIRECT ATTACK BY SIMILAR WEAPONS.

AS A RESULT, HE SAID, A "MILITARY AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SITUATION IS FAST DEVELOPING IN WHICH AGGRESSIVE COMMUNIST FORCES WILL BE FREE TO MANEUVER UNDER THE UMBRELLA OF NUCLEAR TERROR."

3/15--EG216P

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RECEIVED 61-1-12

50 MAR 28 1960

NOT RECORDED
117 MAR 25 1960

EX-135

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

0-19 (Rev. 1-11-60)

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These Days . . . By George E. Sokolsky

The Marxist Revolution

TO ONE WHO has studied revolutions, and particularly the Marxist revolution, which is now 112 years old, it is startling that so little is really known about what it means. In fact, when one gets down to brass tacks, he is liable to be called arrogant by those who prefer the relaxation of easy approximations and private definitions.

Sokolsky

Today, the course of events requires every nation to be Communist, pro-Communist or anti-Communist. Thus, Marxism has become, both on the political and the economic sides, the central idea of the age, the competitor of Christianity for the minds of men. To favor Marxism, or to oppose it, one has to understand it. Guessing, approximating help neither in favoring nor opposing this movement which has influenced the lives of the entire human race. For instance, we, in the United States, continue to suffer from high taxes, an increasing national debt and a depreciating currency only because Marxism is the controlling system of our objective enemy. We today face the Cuban problem as something different from anything we ever knew before because Marxism is the prevailing creed of those who today control Cuba.

KARL MARX wrote many works, all of them designed to establish what he regarded as the scientific system for a socialized, anti-democratic, pragmatic, materialistic, atheistic way of life. He did not limit himself to economics but developed a sociological and philosophic system, the essence of which is that man is a product of his environment and that whoever or whatever controls the environment conditions the nature of man. Therefore, no system of morals or ethics based upon a mystical power can have any validity because it is man who can master the universe and make of it what he pleases.

The essential opposition to Marxism, then, is not capitalism but religion—the belief in the mystical power of God to create the universe and to rule it by natural law.

THIS IS a tight statement of beliefs. To study it fully, one must read a vast literature, the principal books having been written by Germans and Russians. There are some who have satisfied themselves by reading the "Communist Manifesto" and the first chapter of "Das Kapital." This is an insufficient approach to the subject for an intelligent person who really wants to grasp what Marxism is and why it functions in some places in one way and in other places differently. It is necessary to read much of the writings of Lenin to know what is happening in the Soviet universal state. It is also necessary to know the history of Russia.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
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The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
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117 MAR 2 1960

59 MAR 3 1960

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REC 71

C.P. - Russia

Khirgiz Soviet Faces Shakeup

MOSCOW, Feb. 1 (AP).—Another Soviet Republic—Khirgiz on the Chinese frontier—appeared in for a shakeup today following a blast from the Communist Party Central Committee there.

The Soviet Communist Party organ Pravda published a report by the Khirgiz Central Committee charging that First Secretary E. Razzakov and members of his staff had failed to organize their work properly.

The report charged that the ideological and political education of personnel on Mr. Razzakov's staff had ben neglected.

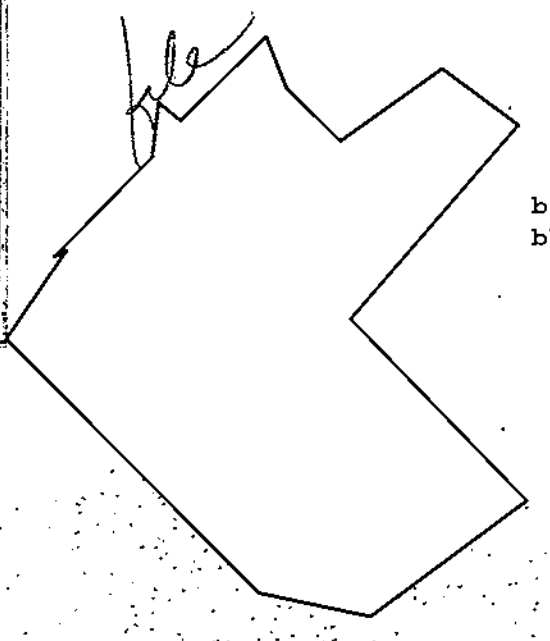
The Central Committee, watchdog for governmental agencies, charged that the republic's council of ministers, or cabinet, had also fumbled. It made decisions which later had to be reversed, the statement added.

The rector of Khirgiz University was scolded for having made "mistakes in estimating the cultural heredity of the past." It did not explain the charge.

Khirgiz lies just east of Afghanistan. Before the revolution it was an agricultural area producing cotton and wool. It now produces a limited amount of machinery, coal, oil and textiles.

Last month the big Central Asian Republic of Kazakhstan north of Khirgiz was reorganized and its Communist Party chief, Nikolai Belyayev, downgraded to a lesser job after Soviet Premier Khrushchev denounced him for the poor harvest there.

The Baltic state of Latvia is also undergoing a shakeup in what is clearly a determined campaign by the Khrushchev regime to spur Russia to greater industrial output than the United States.



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—UPI Telephoto

FIGURES IN SHUFFLE—The Republic of Kazakhstan has changed these men around, according to Radio Moscow. Nickolai Belyaov (left) has been removed as the Republic's Communist Party chief and replaced by Premier Dinmukhamed Kunaev (right). The broadsast also said that Zhumabek Tashenev (center) former chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, was named to replace Kunaev as Premier.

C.P. RUSSIA

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Russians Say Christmas Is a Capitalistic Plot

LONDON, Jan. 4 (AP)—Radio Moscow declared today that Jesus Christ never existed and Christmas is a capitalist plot to keep the working people in chains.

"The image of the supposed Founder of Christianity," the home service Russian-language broadcast asserted, "is purely legendary and mythical."

["Science long ago established that Jesus Christ never existed, the United Press International quoted the broadcast.]

"The festival of the Nativity is primarily aimed at consolidating in the minds of the faithful those norms of behavior which meet the interests of their exploiters.

"On the day of this festival the clergy advocate with particular force that working people should be patient, humble and slavishly submissive to which they promise happiness after death and beyond the grave."

The broadcast scoffed at the teaching of "love for one's enemy and nonresistance to violent evil." It concluded:

"The Soviet people do not need the gospel fairy tale about nonexisting Jesus Christ.

"Soviet people do not wait for grace from God.

"They build their lives themselves, and in this they are guided not by a fairy tale about God but by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine about society's development.

"They create their happiness themselves."

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Soviet 15-20 Year Plan Being Readied for 1961

By JOHN HITTMAN

MOSCOW — A 15-20 year long range economic development plan, with electrification of the whole country as a prime target, is under preparation for submission to the 22nd congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1961. Premier Khrushchev disclosing the work on the plan in a speech Nov. 26 to the national conference on power construction, said the economic-technical program would form the nucleus of the program which the 22nd congress will consider. He said that in order to satisfy the power requirements of industry, agriculture, public service and households, power output by 1970 would have to be 900 billion kilowatt hours, in 1975 about 1,500 billion kilowatt hours and in 1980 about 2,300 billion kilowatt hours. He called the electrification program the cornerstone of national economy, declaring that it insures mechanization and automation on a large scale. The goal of total electrification set by Lenin is not fantasy but reality, he declared, which is made possible by the high level of economic, scientific and technical development reached by the Soviet Union, and which will be advanced further by fulfillment and over-fulfillment of the present seven-year plan.

The 15-20 year plan which will go into effect after its consideration and approval by the organs of the people and after completion of the seven-year plan will usher in what Khrushchev called the period of the comprehensive building of a communist society.

In his speech to the power construction conference, released to the press Dec. 12, Khrushchev said the rate of power system expansion could be increased by building thermal power stations of 2.4 million kilowatt capacity burning cheap coal and gas with turbogenerators of 300,000 kilowatts and more, as well as hydroelectric stations of five to six million kilowatts with generating sets of 500,000 kilowatts.

The speech is expected to accelerate the rate of power plant construction during the remaining six years of the seven-year plan, and also to influence decisions of the central committee of the Communist Party in its plenary session here Dec. 22 expanding agricultural production.

PROGRESS REPORTS

At the plenary meeting, each republic, region and district, as well as each collective farm and state farm, will sum up the results of its work during the first year of the seven-year plan. In preparation for the session, the Soviet press and radio television station are reporting many facts concerning the past year's developments, such as: Despite the drought in a number of districts, enough grain has been harvested to satisfy all requirements. A record cotton harvest has netted by Nov. 20 about 240,000 more tons than throughout 1958. One hundred thousand collective farm teams cultivated maize, sugar beet, sunflower, and cotton without the application of manual labor for the first time on tens of millions of acres. Meat production has increased more than 30 percent above last year.

STATE FARMS

Three hundred big state farms have been set up, bringing to 6,300 the number of state farms, with a cultivated area of 131 million acres, or 28 percent of the total cultivated area, 538,000 tractors, 168,000 combines and 140,000 trucks. Incomes of collective farmers continue to increase. For example, the Ordzhonikidze collective in Shroma, Georgian republic, with an aver-

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age annual net profit of 16 million rubles, provides free electricity to households, nurseries, and public dining rooms: free concert and movies: free holidays, as with increase in the money incomes of its members.

The Stalin farm in the Rostov region, with an anticipated net income of 10 million rubles this year, maintains two public dining rooms for 2,000 members and all village school children. Adults are charged 50 rubles per month for three meals per day: pupils pay nothing. Next year, adults as well as children will pay nothing.

But not all collective farms are so prosperous, and the central committee plenary session faces the problem of bringing the more backward farms up to the standard of the more prosperous ones. It is believed that if this could be done, agricultural output would take a great leap forward.

The progress to date substantiates the wisdom of the policy put into effect by the last plenary session in December, 1958, which called for the comprehensive mechanization of all farm work. Notwitstanding, many advances will have to be made, and the rate of development must be stepped up. If the Soviet Union is to force U. S. secretary of agriculture Ezra Taft Benson to eat his words predicting that the USSR would not catch up in any foreseeable future. In this effort, electrification of the countryside will mean the victory of total mechanization and automation in agriculture, and it is noteworthy that Khrushchev in his speech to the power construction conference emphasized the role of electrification in peaceful competition with the U. S.

TIME VITAL

"Of vital importance in the economic competition with capitalism is the question of gaining time, the question of dates by which our economic tasks are fulfilled," he declared.

"Our achievements in the electrification of the country were thought of highly by the Americans who visited our country recently — and they were not simple tourists but Senators and big specialists well versed in questions of power construction. This year the Soviet Union was visited by a delegation of American Senators who familiarized themselves with our power construction. They visited the building sites of 10 hydropower stations on seven rivers from the Ukraine to the area of Lake Baikal in Siberia.

"The American senators recognized that the Russians are now leading the world in hydropower generation. You know there was a time, when we learned from American specialists, thanked them, and even awarded decorations to some of them, as for instance, Colonel Cooper, who was a consultant in the construction of the Dnieper Hydropower station.

"They, we must give them their due, are not ashamed of their pupils now. They have taken off their hats to the worthy pupils of good teachers."

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Facing Red Threats

The column by David Lawrence reporting the surprise of Representative Boggs at the tremendous Communist propaganda campaign in the less-developed world, reminds us once again that relatively few Americans understand the full nature of the Communist offensive. Too many Americans have been led to believe that Mr. Khrushchev's plea for disarmament was tantamount to lessening the whole Communist offensive. It simply is not true. Rather, any form or amount of disarmament would only allow the Russians and the Communist bloc to divert additional resources to the other aspects of their crusade to dominate the entire world.

The Communist offensive has many prongs: the military threat, used most recently in Hungary, before that in Korea; internal subversion by Moscow-trained agents, used all over the world; the propaganda campaign, skilfully conducted, with effective results; the economic offensive, with aid and trade campaigns operating successfully now in a dozen or so selected areas of the world.

If we see only one of these aspects, and believe that we have discovered the whole animal, we become unwitting tools of the Communist crusade. And when will we stop getting excited about one or two phases of the Communist strategy to the detriment of a balanced defense—a total defense? Most important at this moment, let us not be misled by the Communist disarmament offensive (important and necessary as disarmament may be) into believing that the Communists are easing up on all fronts.

The simple truth is that the Communists can ease up on the military front and devote all their resources to the other fronts, while we applaud and begin to think about huge cuts in the national debt and in taxes because we can spend less on arms. Could any group of strategists devise a better plan to win the world to their side? Will the free world—America, especially—understand the strategy before it is too late? One wonders.

Willard Johnson,
President, Committee for International Economic Growth.

Comintern

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ADD KHRUSHCHEV, VIENNA (UPI-6)
KHRUSHCHEV OFFERED AGAIN TO DESTROY ALL SOVIET NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN A PROGRAM OF TOTAL DISARMAMENT.
"IT IS NOT BECAUSE OF OUR WEAKNESS, BUT BECAUSE OF OUR PRINCIPLED LENINIST POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE (THAT) WE ARE READY TO DESTROY IMMEDIATELY ALL THOSE STOCKPILES IF A PROGRAM OF UNIVERSAL DISARMAMENT IS ACCEPTED," HE SAID.
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PI-59

ADD KHRUSHCHEV, VIENNA

THE HUNGARIAN NEWS AGENCY MTI SAID KHRUSHCHEV WAS GIVEN AN OVATION AS HE ROSE TO ADDRESS THE SEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS AND THAT STORMY APPLAUSE GREETED HIS REMARKS WHICH STAMPED RUSSIA'S "BIG BROTHER" BACKING ON THE PUPPET RED REGIME.

KHRUSHCHEV SAID THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION OF 1956 HAD STEELED THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN HUNGARY AND THAT IT IS "NOW SUCCESSFULLY ACCOMPLISHING THE TASKS OF SOCIALIST RECONSTRUCTION."

KHRUSHCHEV BLAMED EARLY SUCCESS OF THE 1956 REVOLT ON THE FACT THE PARTY LEADERSHIP, ESPECIALLY FORMER PREMIER MATYAS RAKOSI, HAD "COMMITTED SERIOUS MISTAKES WHICH UNDERMINED THE PARTY'S DIRECTING ROLE AND WEAKENED THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PRLETARIAT." RAKOSI FLED TO RUSSIA AT START OF THE UPRISING AND WAS LAST REPORTED LIVING IN MONGOLIA.

KHRUSHCHEV SAID THE NEW LEADERSHIP--PARTY BOSS JANOS KADAR--HAD MANAGED TO RESTORE TRUST IN THE PARTY AND "TO WIN THE SUPPORT OF THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE."

HE ALSO TRACED THE REVOLT IN PART TO THE 20TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN MOSCOW WHEN HE OPENED A CAMPAIGN AGAINST DIE-HARD STALINISM AND THE "CULT OF PERSONALITY." SOME PERSONS HAVE SAID THAT THE QUESTION SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN RAISED SO SHARPLY, KHRUSHCHEV SAID.

KHRUSHCHEV'S SPEECH APPEARED DESIGNED TO GIVE THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNISTS MORAL SUPPORT BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS BEGINS DEBATE THIS WEEK ON SOVIET INTERVENTION IN HUNGARY.

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ADD KHRUSHCHEV, VIENNA

ANOTHER SPEAKER TODAY, POLITBUREAU MEMBER JENOE FOCK, PAINTED AN EXTREMELY OPTIMISTIC PICTURE OF HUNGARY'S GROWTH PROSPECTS. HE SAID THE NEXT FIVE-YEAR PLAN CALLED FOR A 65 TO 70 PER CENT INCREASE IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION AND 30 TO 32 PER CENT IN AGRICULTURE.

FOCK SAID THE REGIME HOPED TO DOUBLE THE COUNTRY'S INCOME IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS.

"HUNGARY HAS NOW DEFINITELY LAID THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALISM AND CAN THEREFORE PROCEED IN ITS TASK TO BUILD A SOLID SOCIALIST STATE," HE SAID.

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WASHINGTON

By ROSCOE DRUMMOND

'Courteous, Correct and Cool' 2-1

WASHINGTON.

It is increasingly evident that the American people are not going overboard in their welcome to Premier Khrushchev. He is not going to be greeted as friend or hero. He is not going to be hailed as the "man most to be admired."

Drummond

Our welcome will be correct, courteous and cool. We can well bear in mind Vice-President Nixon's suggestion when he returned from Latin America. Occasionally, he said, we may have to shake hands with a dictator when he is an official of another government, but we should reserve our embrace for those who really want freedom and peace.

Freedom House in New York is doing a good thing in publicizing its statement on "what you can do about Krushchev's visit." It offers this timely reminder:

"Mr. Khrushchev is not coming to the United States to offer significant concessions or recant his life-long enmity toward us and our values. He is coming to score a propaganda victory, with confidence in his ability to arouse false hopes, weaken our resolves and cause us to make substantial concessions. He must not succeed in such a mission."

* * *

He will not succeed in this mission if we keep our eye on today's headlines as evidence of the way communism operates and as proof that Soviet and Chinese communism is not giving up its purpose to suffocate free people and free nations.

Never forget that the Communist parties outside Russia and China are loyal only to a foreign power. The Communist Third International puts it frankly: "Every branch and member of the universal Communist party is pledged to indulge in national treason in case of war with the Soviets—no matter who, in such a war, should be the aggressor."

Latest Evidence: While the Indian Parliament and the Indian people are revolted and alarmed at Red China's conquest of Tibet and at the menacing movement of Red Chinese troops across the frontiers of the Indian protectorates of Bhutan and Sikkim, India's Communist party openly sides with Peking and against India.

Never forget that when Communists are elected to national parliaments, their purpose is to destroy democratic government, not make it work. I quote from the rules of the Third International:

"Communism repudiates the possibility of winning over parliaments. Its aim is to destroy parliaments . . . each Communist representative must remember that he is not a 'legislator,' bound to seek agreement, but an agitator detailed into the enemy's camp to carry out party orders . . . the Communist party enters such (parliamentary) institutions not for the purpose of organization work . . . but to blow the parliaments up from within."

Latest Evidence: After the Communists won a majority of three in the state of Kerala in India (because of disagreements among the non-Communist parties) they utilized their powers over the executive, the courts, the police and the schools to try to fasten the Communist party onto the government so it could never be shaken loose. The regime became so oppressive that the National government in New Delhi had to dissolve it as the only means of restoring justice and democracy to Kerala.

* * *

Never forget that Soviet-Chinese policy is: Wherever the Communists hold sway, the West must not interfere with Communist control and that wherever there is conflict elsewhere, the West mustn't interfere with the efforts of the Communists to get control.

Latest Evidence: Moscow's puppet regime in Budapest won't even let the representatives of the United Nations visit Hungary to find out what's going on. Chinese-trained North Vietnamese Communist troops invade the independent state of Laos and the Chinese and Soviet governments charge the United States with interfering with the invasion.

No wonder Mr. Khrushchev's welcome will be no more than courteous, correct and cool.

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Indifference Perils Faith, Cleric Says

Red Ideological Gains Cited at Glendale Church

In the midst of rampant materialism, technology and secularism the trumpet of the Christian faith often sounds too uncertain, not because there are not enough Christians but because we are too indifferent.

The Rev. Lawrence S. Jones, minister of the Waiokeola Congregational Church of Honolulu told a congregation this as pulpit guest at the First Congregational Church of Glendale yesterday. In referring to St. Paul's comment, 'If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?' Mr. Jones said that 41 years ago there was not a single Comunist village in the world.

Communism Spreads

"Today one out of every three human being is controlled by communism. The spread of the Communist faith' in only four decades is the most dramatic 'evangelistic' movement in the history of modern man. If the will of God is to be done in our time, Christian people must be as dedicated to the gospel as Communists are to theirs."

He told of brainwashing during the Korean conflict. American prisoners, he said, "began to lose faith in the 'American way.' When told about the weaknesses of capitalism these men were unable to point out that America's real greatness lay in her spiritual foundation. And why could these men not express this faith? Perhaps because they had not truly heard it and seen it in our homes, communities and churches.

Mr. Jones said that "we have assumed that American youth is not interested in ideals, while Communists have capitalized upon the idealism of youth. As Premier Ben Gurion of Israel said: 'American youth needs less personal comfort, less movies, less television. It needs more . . . spiritual interest.' And so the question comes to us, 'Are we providing for our culture the kind of sound spiritual foundation which it obviously must have if it is going to survive?'"

Christian Home

He said today's challenge must be met, "first, as a call to worship." He said the Christian home must be the basic unit for religious education of our society. "We need to show our youth that it is not the dollar sign that makes life, but that it is conviction and ideals and faith that makes life."

"We must sound a call to Christian action. We in Hawaii are particularly sensitive to this challenge in these dawning days of statehood. On the day statehood was celebrated in Honolulu, 2,000 people gathered in historic Kawaiahao Church to dedicate our lives together to the glory of God and the strength of the nation."

Christian Scientists Hear About Mind

How God, seen as Mind, the infinite all-knowing intelligence and wisdom, power and presence of perfection, heals, redeems, transforms all who look to Him, was brought out in the Lesson-Sermon, "Mind," read in all Christian Science churches yesterday.

"Great is our Lord, and of great power: his understanding is infinite," was the Golden Text from Psalms (147:5).

Part of the sermon was devoted to the account of the healing at the pool of Bethesda of the man sick for 38 years. His instantaneous healing followed upon Christ Jesus' confident and understanding command, "Rise, take up thy bed, and walk." The account read from the Epistle of John in the Bible continues, "And immediately the man was made whole, and took up his bed, and walked" (5:8, 9).

Referring to the healing power of spiritual understanding, a companion passage read from "Science and Health With Key to the Scriptures," by Mary Baker Eddy, said, "The scientific government of the body must be attained through the divine Mind. It is impossible to gain control over the body in any other way . . . Only through radical reliance on Truth can scientific healing power be realized" (Page 167).

Communist International

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Reds Making New Gains in Americas

By EDWARD TOMLINSON

A new survey of communist activities south of the border shows that the Reds are making steady headway in at least a half dozen of the twenty Southern republics.

Communist agitors and propagandists are more active in Cuba, Venezuela, Guatemala, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay than at any time in the last five years.

There can be no question of the communist resurgence in Cuba since the revolution which overthrew the Batista government last New Year's. There may not yet be any conclusive evidence that they have gained control of the main agencies of Fidel Castro's regime.

BACK REFORM

But tthey are blatently supporting the most radical of its measures, such as the Agrarian Reform Program and especially the anti-United States attitudes of many of the top officials.

The Chilean Communist Party leader, Elias Laferte, has called for a concentration of party bigwigs from all the countries to assemble in Santiago, Chile, during the American Foreign Ministers' Conference, beginning August 12, to "defend the Cuban revolution." El Siglo, the party newspaper in the Chilean capital, has published a manifesto stating that "we must mobilize to prevent the conference interfering in the affairs of Cuba."

In Venezuela, the party Boss, Gustavo Machado, has become one of the most powerful political figures in the country. Latin diplomats in Caracas are reporting to their governments that Dr. Machado not only has the ear of key members of the Venezuelan Congress but that he frequently sees some of the top officials of President Romulo Betancourt's administration.

BEING WATCHED

The return of the communists to the political arena in Guatemala is also being watched with increasing anxiety by all the Central American governments.

The Reds in Argentina are so powerful in about one-third of the labor unions, and they are working so closely with those that are dominated by die-hard followers of former dictator Juan Domingo Peron, that they have imperiled the government of President Arturo Frondizi.

In Uruguay, one of the most tolerant of all the countries toward communists and leftists, the government has for the first time in several years become concerned about the activities of Russian diplomats as well as local communists leaders.

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THE NATURE OF THE ENEMY—2

Plowing through some of Communism's vast and horribly boring so-called literature, you get the impression that Karl Marx dreamed up a highly complex philosophy, and that V. I. Lenin and Josef Stalin made it more so.

Karl Marx
(1818-83)

Actually, Communism—the enemy discussed in this series of editorials—rests on a few simple and easily understood propositions. The pompous language the comrades use is for the purpose of impressing suckers and confusing opponents.

At the core of the Communist doctrine is the belief that government—the state—can plan and direct people's lives, down to the smallest detail, far better and more efficiently than people can plan and direct their own lives.

Admit that, and you have to admit that the people should surrender their liberties to the state, so that it may make them happy and prosperous; and that the state, in its supreme wisdom, should own and operate all industries, businesses and farms for the good of the people.

Obviously, only a handful of persons in any country can have the super-brainpower needed to run such a gigantic machine of government. Communists everywhere—

FREELY ADMIT

—that they fill this bill.

Haven't they studied the "scientific" teachings of Marx, Lenin and Stalin till they know them by heart? What more do you want as mental equipment for a master class that can lead the suet-brained masses around by their collective nose for those masses' own good, while killing anyone who gets in the way?

Another basic Communist proposition is that religion—Christianity, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, or whatever—is a complete fraud. The Communists have to maintain this atheist attitude chiefly because they cannot safely admit that there is a Supreme Being blessed with more wisdom than any Red or Red government possesses.

The Communist Master Class

A third Communist dogma is that, until Communism takes over the world, all the non-Communist nations will be infested with oppressors (Capitalists, kings, nobles, sheiks, sultans, and so on) who will persistently exploit and persecute the people, or proletariat.

The Communist objective is to stir up the proletariat to rebel in every non-Communist country and put the Reds in power—after which, as we'll be seeing in this series of editorials, the proletariat, to its pained surprise, will find itself worse off than it was before.

Add to these basic principles the claim that a Communist world takeover is inevitable—the wave of the future (they say), and you can't escape it, bud, no matter how you may try—and you get a social and economic fighting machine which is bound to go places and profoundly affect human history before it cracks up.

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COMMUNIST SALES TALK

—to hoped-for Red converts is cleverly worked out.

Communist agitators aim their appeals at every one of the worst human instincts and emotions—envy, avarice, conceit, laziness, gluttony, lust, selfishness, hatred, fear.

Ignorant poor people are assured that, come the revolution, they can virtually quit working and move in on the good jobs, the big houses, the best automobiles, and the prettiest women.

They'll Promise You Everything

Poor intellectuals are told that they will be brainy philosopher-kings in the Communist state.

Timid wealthy people are urged to contribute to the Communist Party in hope of buying mercy from the Reds (which they won't get) when the great day comes.

Idealistic youngsters are occasionally attracted to Communism as an alleged short-cut to the rubbing out of all the admitted evils and injustices in the world.

Economic, social, religious, racial and national groups are incited by Communist agitators to hatred of one another.

If you have any resentment on any score, just bring it to a Communist agitator or propagandist, and he'll promise you a cure for your inward wound a day or two after the Reds take over.

* * *

So much for the principles and promises of Communism.

In later editorials in this series, we'll outline some of the fearful and wonderful ways in which these principles and promises work out in practice after the revolution.

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Today in World Affairs

Nazi-Soviet Pact's History Rewritten by Khrushchev

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, July 16.—Nikita Khrushchev has again undertaken to rewrite history. Sensitive to the charge that Stalin and the Communist party, by and alliance with Hitler in 1939, made World War II possible, the Soviet Premier now brazenly tells the people of Poland that the Soviets did all this "just to buy time."

Millions of Russians and Poles lost their lives because Stalin chose to make Hitler his ally and thus, by protecting the Eastern front for the Nazis, gave them a free hand on the Western Front against France and Britain in the first years of World War II.

But Khrushchev now says he was present when Stalin committed his act of perfidy in making an alliance with Hitler and that this action was fully justified. One wonders how the Soviet Premier dares to say this today to the very people of Poland who, as a consequence thereof, lost their independence.

Lawrence

Just why Khrushchev brought up the Soviet-Nazi alliance at this time isn't clear, but it seems probable that he is smarting under the charges made earlier this year by the United States government in an "official analysis" of the Nov. 27, 1958, note from the Soviets about Berlin. The Soviets had alleged that, prior to World War II, they had "displayed constant willingness to establish co-operation with the other powers with the object of resisting Hitlerite aggression," and that "if the Western powers had not been short-sighted in their hopes of turning Hitler eastward and had co-operated with the U. S. S. R., millions of lives would have been saved."

The Department of State, in answering this fantastic distortion of the facts of history, said:

"From 1930 to 1933 the Soviet Union through its international Communist arm, the Comintern, directed the German Communist party to collaborate with the Nazis and other extremists in undermining the German Weimar Republic. It helped sabotage democratic parties and institutions and promoted lawlessness and disorder. This aided Hitler's rise to absolute power. . . .

"The U. S. S. R. turned aside from negotiations with the United Kingdom and France in August, 1939, and concluded the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreements which provided the necessary guarantees for co-ordinated Nazi-Soviet aggression in Eastern Europe and resulted in World War II.

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Warnings Recalled

"In spite of warnings from the Western powers of impending German attack, the Soviet government aided Nazi Germany until Hitler marched against it in (June) 1941.

"In April, 1941, the U. S. S. R. signed a neutrality pact with the Japanese ally of Hitler, thereby clearing the way for the Pearl Harbor attack on the United States on Dec. 7, 1941."

Thus it is clearly demonstrated that the Stalin action caused many millions of Allied citizens to become casualties in the war. Notwithstanding Stalin's behavior, the United States promptly sent a vast amount of war materials to aid the Soviet armies when Hitler did attack Russia. In view of this action, there has been no more flagrant example of ingratitude in world history. For, ever since 1945, the Soviet government has turned on its own Western allies who saved the Soviet people from the Nazis. Today, however, war is being threatened by the Soviets against the West because it does not accept the demands of Communist imperialism.

While Nikita Khrushchev is rewriting history during his trip to Poland, it may not be amiss to remind him and the Polish people of these exultant words that Molotov — Stalin's mouthpiece — uttered on Oct. 31, 1939:

"However, one swift blow to Poland, first by the German and then by the Red Army, and nothing was left of this ugly offspring of the Versailles Treaty which had existed by oppressing non-Polish nationalities."

Foreign Minister Molotov went on to say that "Germany is in the position of a state that is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace, while Britain and France, which but yesterday were declaiming against aggression, are in favor of continuing the war."

But Great Britain and France did go to war to uphold their agreement to guarantee the integrity of Poland. Likewise, when Stalin was warned of the Hitler game, he ignored the warnings of Britain and the United States. Here's what the American document of last January says on this point:

"In March, 1941, the United States on two occasions warned the U. S. S. R. that it had received authentic information that Nazi Germany planned to attack the Soviet Union, and Prime Minister Churchill warned Stalin to the same effect in late April. But the U. S. S. R. had just shown its continued solidarity with Hitler by signing, on April 13, 1941, a neutrality pact with the Japanese partner of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis, thus clearing the way for Pearl Harbor."

What sort of "time" was Stalin buying between September, 1939, and June, 1941? He himself never withdrew from the pact with the Nazis. He was forced to abandon it solely because Hitler decided to attack Soviet Russia after the Nazis had conquered France and were in military control of the European continent. The people of Poland at least ought to be given the facts over the radio while "Czar" Nikita is touring their land.

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8,366,000 Commies

Paris, June 25 (AP). — The Soviet Communist party now counts 8,366,000 members, Soviet Vice Premier Mikhail Suslov told the French Communist Party Congress today.

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On the Line:

We Must Know the Enemy

By BOB CONSIDINE

"MANY DO NOT GO ALONG with me," Richard Cardinal Cushing told his television audience, in urging study of communism in U. S. high schools and colleges. "Many do not believe in that because they think if we teach the children communism, some of the children might think of this as a good . . . a new way of life.

CONSIDINE

"I don't know how we can arouse our people from apathy and indifference unless we teach communism . . . and we should teach it for what it is—an intrinsic evil—like a medical student being taught about cancer and about the nature of cancer. The problem is to get the right teachers to instruct children in the trends of communism . . . and at the same time teach them about God."

The Cardinal comprehends, as not too many Americans do, that there is not going to be a sudden and wrenching change within the Communist world based on, as someone wrote, an abrupt realization by the Reds that they, too, can demand refrigerators, cars, TV and time-and-a-half, since they know little about ours, and are told it is vile. They like their own way of life, believe in it, are sure it will supersede our own.

The last time I heard this teach-communism theme proposed was by the then president of Columbia University, Dwight D. Eisenhower. I think it's a good idea, but that lectures should include factual accounts of the purges, the restrictions on what we define as liberty, the hardships and the separation of a people from their God.

Khrushchev, for example, seems absolutely convinced that communism is inexorably becoming the method by which the earth's billions of people will live. Across his conference table he explained to us, as if we were not very bright children, that democracy had played a nice role in the history of man; that it had done a fine job succeeding serfdom and colonialism. But socialism, he went on, was now taking over rapidly from our system, and he pointed out England as an example. Beyond socialism lay communism—in what he called natural sequence.

He unquestionably believes that, but the fact that he believes doesn't make it true, any more than Dr. Townsend was right in his sincere belief that he had panacea for the economic ills of the aged. Communism's limitations, weaknesses, flaws, affronts to human dignity, treachery, deceit should be studied and learned, and weighed against our own way of life, by millions of Americans. To stick one's head in the sand and say, "This is rotten," without knowing its appeal to people who know no better, is ignorance beyond absolution.

A generation which grew up with a knowledge of Russia confined to the lament we call "The Volga Boatman," might find the sight and sound of happy Russians unnerving. Yet many Russians are made happy and proud each day of the year by the most extraordinary boons. The success of the Sputniks, compounded by the played-up failures of some of our U. S. missiles and space efforts, afforded deep satisfaction to a people who knew that we used to say about them, "They can't build a 1-ton truck or a flush toilet."

But they can be proud, and, being proud, sure they can win against us, by the humblest boons. The night Bill Hearst, Frank Conniff and I arrived in Moscow, Red Square was filled with countless tens of thousands of happy, laughing, singing, arm-in-arm Russians. One of us said to an Old Russia Hand, "These don't look like slave people." He said, "They've never been happier or prouder in their lives."

"On account the anniversary of the Revolution?" we asked.

"No, for pity's sake, it has nothing to do with that. They're happy because this is the first time they've ever been permitted to walk ACROSS Red Square. They've always had to walk around the square to get to the other side. It's a big night."

And it was. It made them prouder and surer than ever that they were under the aegis of a proper government. It is these things we should know about millions of people whose passions are being aroused against us.

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And Now... Another Red Gimmick

By ED KOTERBA

THE other afternoon I reported how our generous country contributed to the communistic cause by turning over the complete Vanguard missile design to the Russians. This enabled the Reds to use parts of it in their Sputnik III.

Now, our lawmakers are considering another matter that could give the Reds another boost in their propaganda campaign against us.

The issue is whether we should allow taxpayers' money to be spent for the purchase of communist-built laboratory equipment for our classrooms.

AMENDMENT

An amendment to the education appropriations bill now under consideration, would outlaw such expenditures. Should that amendment fail to go thru, your youngster and ours may well be learning about the moon and the stars thru equipment built by the Reds.

The Soviets are quite anxious for this to happen. So much so, in fact, that they're practically giving us the stuff.

I got hold of the commies' price list—items already being imported for school use here.

For example, a hand rotator, used in demonstrating centrifugal force, is being sold here by the Reds for $3. This includes 40 percent import duty and shipping charges.

The same item produced in this country costs $47.50. The raw material alone, in that rotator, costs U. S. manufacturers $12.85.

ANOTHER

Another example is a slide projector which costs $300, made in the U. S. A. The same thing is being sold to us by the Russians for $15!

Sen. Kenneth Keating (R., N. Y.) was so indignant about the potential propaganda value to the Reds that he ground out a mimeographed press release which read in part:

"I believe we would be derelict in our duties if we permitted the use of public funds to aid the cold war designs of the Russians."

Actually, already 6000 pieces of equipment have already been shipped to distributors in this country.

Perhaps it is true that we Americans are inflating our labor costs to a point where we can't afford to buy our own products and must permit the communists to flood the world — including our country — with their economically-built goods.

But when it reaches down into our classrooms — the very lifeblood, the hope, of our future generations—then it gives me the heebee-jeebees.

I hope that amendment goes thru.

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These Days . . . .

By George E. Sokolsky

The Third International

A-15

A MAJOR ARM of Communist activity in the world has been and is the Third International. This is a union of all Communist Parties in every country on Earth, under the leadership and direction of Soviet Russia. During World War II, Soviet Russia announced the abolition of the Comintern (Third International). This was done to please President Roosevelt. The Third International, however, could not be abolished because Communist Parties require a mechanism for mutual activity and for communications.

Sokolsky

Therefore, the Cominform was organized to take its place. This was said to be an international Communist information service, but actually, it was the same old Third International, an arm of the Kremlin extending into every country on Earth. From this body, Communist Parties all over the world get their line and their orders.

The Senate Judiciary Committee has issued a valuable and impressive study on this subject. The study is particularly important for those who fail to realize how vast and effective this international organization has been and what direct control it has had over the American Communist Party. This study establishes the history of close relations between the Third International and the American Communist Party.

THIS relationship has never been broken. As recently as the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a representative of the American Communist Party, James E. Jackson, delivered an address at the Congress in Moscow, and greetings were sent signed by Eugene Dennis, national secretary, and Robert Thompson, executive secretary.

The Third International remains an underground movement which works in about 70 countries. Among these is, of course, Cuba, as well as the United States. It is short-sighted to disregard the Communist factor in the current Cuban revolution and to fail to recognize that every Communist is guided by the Third International. At the 21st Congress of the Communist Party U.S.S.R., the United States was represented by Morris Childs and James E. Jackson.

The Third International was organized in 1919 by Lenin to spread the gospel. The First International was organized by Karl Marx in 1864; it was then called the International Workingmen's Association. Its first headquarters were in London, it died in 1876 upon being moved to New York. The Second International, a group of non-Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik Social Democrats, was organized in 1889 and fell apart during World War I. (The term Bolshevik as used here, is non-technical as that element came into existence in 1903.) As an interesting footnote, I mention that Mussolini, when he was a Socialist editor of "Avanti," was a creature of the Second International. Leon Trotzky attempted to organize an anti-Stalinist Fourth International and was killed for his pains.

THESE various Internationals have existed a long time and have exercised a great influence over European thought and politics. To ignore the Third International is to ignore reality. Its affiliated party in the United States is the Communist Party U.S.A., an organization with a continous existence since about 1919. The international head of the Third International now is Otto V. Kuusinen, a Finn.

In the development of national Communist Parties, the Third International has been a guiding force, sending its agents to every part of the world, dictating the line to be followed in each country, selecting leaders by recognizing their authority and always serving Soviet Russia, supervising personnel to the extent that it ordered the American Communist Party to depose Benjamin Gitlow and Jay Lovestone and to accept William Z. Foster and Earl Browder instead. Recently, it ordered Earl Browder deposed from leadership.

The Third International functions today.

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Khrushchev Predicts Burial Of Capitalistic System

LONDON, June 1 (AP)—Soviet Premier Khrushchev has again coupled a theat of total destruction for the west in the event of war with a prediction of capitalism's inevitable defeat.

In a speech in the Albanian town of Vlore, Mr. Khrushchev warned last night that any attack on the Soviet bloc would be "tantamount to suicide," and he said that the west's "reckless" policies were "hastening the time when mankind will be able to bury capitalism deeply."

"No matter how much aging capitalism is trying to prolong its existence, it is doomed because it will be replaced by the new victorious system — communism," Mr. Khrushchev declared.

Industry Cited

He also promised again that Russian industrial might would eventually outstrip America's industry.

Earlier announcement was made of a joint Soviet-Albanian communique on world policy, signed in Tirana by Mr. Khrushchev and Albania's red boss, Enver Hoxha.

The communique failed to state the reason for the premier's visit to the tiny Adriatic country, but repeated standard Communist calls for an end to colonialism, Red China's seating in the United Nations, reduction of foreign troops in Germany, and signing of a nonaggression pact between the North Atlantic Alliance and the Communist Warsaw Pact countries.

It also urged the establishment of a central European zone free of nuclear and rocket weapons and said there were improved prospects for an end to world tensions. The latter was borne out, it said, "by the foreign ministers' conference now taking place in Geneva and by the agreement to hold summit talks to examine outstanding questions."

German Pact Urged

It added that both Albania and Russia found the most important questions now awaiting settlement "were the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the abolition of the occupation regime in West Berlin."

The communique contained one unsual feature, an expression of willingness to continue developing relations with Yugoslavia "on the basis of mutual respect, equality and noninterferences in each other's internal affairs."

The Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia have been on the outs for months because of Yugoslav President Tito's insistence on a policy and brand of communism independent of the Kremlin's dictation. Albania is Yugoslavia's neighbor on the southwest.

The communique also repeated Mr. Khrushchev's frequent warnings against the establishment of United States rocket bases in Italy and Greece. It denounced suggestions that the old Balkan pact of Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece be revived and called for resumption of normal diplomatic relations between Greece and Albania.

Although the communique indicated the major business of Mr. Khrushchev's visit was over, Tass reported that the premier and his defense minister, Marshal Rodion Malinovsky, would stay in Albania another few days.

Communist Party Russia

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PLANTING TIME—Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev sprinkles water on a young sapling he had just planted in a park in Tirana, Albania, during his visit there.—AP Wirephoto via radio from Moscow.

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Khrushchev Stays in Albania

Reuters

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, May 31—Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev will remain in Albania for "several more days," although his formal visit appeared to have ended with the signing on Saturday of a joint Russian-Albanian declaration.

The Albanian news agency ATA reported that Nuritdin Mukhitdinov, a member of the Soviet Communist Party Presidium, and six other members of the Russian delegation returned to Moscow by air today.

Khrushchev and Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Rodion Malinovsky will remain in Albania for several days, ATA said.

No explanation was given for the departure of the seven Soviet delegates, who arrived last Monday with Khrushchev on a visit originally scheduled to end on June 6.

Khrushchev aimed a sharp jab today in what appeared to be the direction of Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito, United Press International reported.

The Soviet Premier, in a speech at Vlore, reported in a broadcast by ATA monitored in Vienna, pledged to his Albanian audience that Russia stood ready to fight "against opportunists and revisionists of all shades who are trying to harm us."

Then came the remark that seemed to fit Yugoslavia alone: "There are peoples who consider themselves Communists, and especially Socialists, but in fact they are agents of imperialism."

The Soviet Premier's decision to remain in Albania has done nothing to check unconfirmed reports circulating here that a Communist-bloc summit meeting may be taking place in the Albanian capital of Tirana.

Observers here speculated such a meeting might be called to reinforce Khrushchev's proposal last week for a Balkan atom-free zone.

Chinese Communist Defense Minister Peng Teh-huai, who is visiting Albania at the same time as Khrushchev, today gave Peking's support to the Soviet leader's proposal.

"We are entirely in agreement with Comrade Khrushchev, who said recently that the Balkan peninsula should be a peninsula of peace," he

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THE INDIANAPOLIS STAR

Where The Spirit Of The Lord Is, There Is Liberty

II Corinthians 3:17

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EUGENE C. PULLIAM, *Publisher*

"Let the people know the facts and the country will be saved."—Abraham Lincoln

A Point To Learn

The two college students who believe the rest of the world must compromise with communism to prevent atomic war now say that The Star "missed the main point" in an editorial last Sunday. Hardly, our young friends. Instead you have a point yet to learn.

The point is not atomic bombs, or thermonuclear war-heads, or intercontinental ballistic missiles, or the death of humanity and a "ruined world" through some recently perfected technical system. The point is still individual freedom, or social slavery.

The point you have yet to learn is that the choice is not one of the death of mankind. Mankind has had the means of destroying itself all along.

We believe you will find that each must choose freedom or enslavement of some sort on an almost continual basis throughout life. It will not be simple, nor will the package be wrapped up in concise form labeled "Freedom" or "Slavery." Only in rare instances will a person be asked to decide on a clear either/or basis, but instead the choices will be in infinite variety.

Freedom will often seem futile, and negotiation with the power which denies freedom will always seem attractive. But negotiation to accept the demands of brute power is merely delaying a surrender which you have already made.

In your daily life you will find that some of your well-meaning friends and even your own family may ask only that you consent in their opinion as to what constitutes your own best interest.

You are being asked to give up only a little freedom in order to live in a manner which someone else thinks is proper. This may not seem serious to you at this moment in college. But if you continue through adult life living and working as others tell you to live and work you will soon have no freedom left at all.

The Communists wish only that the rest of the world accept their demands "in the best interest of mankind." In return, they ask only that mankind submit without question to communism. Take your choice—freedom, including the freedom to die, or slavery in which you can live as though you were dead.

Our friends in college still have one of life's main points to find, and learn. After that they can choose as they wish. We hope that knowing the real issue, they will always choose freedom.

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Communist Party — Russia

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Khrushchev Son-in-Law Named Izvestia Editor

MOSCOW, May 27 (AP).—Alexei Adzhubei, 34-year-old son-in-law of Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, yesterday was appointed editor of Izvestia, the government newspaper.

Izvestia is often chosen by the government to express official political viewpoints and give general guidance to the people. It is ranked as a close associate of the Communist Party newspaper Pravda.

Mr. Adzhubei, a lively, rotund newsman, is married to Premier Khrushchev's younger daughter. He was the editor of Komsomol Pravda, a lesser ranking but important paper.

Mr. Adzhubei, who is on familiar terms with a number of Americans and other Westerners, replaces K. A. Gubin, an editor who in recent years was reported inclined to stick close to his desk.

ALEXEI ADZHUBEI
—AP Wirephoto

The new Izvestia editor was marked as a rising young man, even before he married the boss' daughter.

Succeeding Mr. Adzhubei at Komsomol Pravda is Yuri Voronov, 30, another bright editorial light and a former deputy to the Soviet Congress.

As editor of Komsomol Pravda Mr. Adzhubei did not hesitate to trim speeches by long-winded second-string politicians to a paragraph. He also injected human interest into many stories, in sharp contrast to the dull presentation of news in other party and government journals.

Izvestia has always been required reading under the Communist regime. Mr. Adzhubei might even make it easy reading.

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(RUSSIA)
MOSCOW--THE SOVIET UNION'S COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERS WILL MEET JULY 24 TO BEGIN A COST-CUTTING AND QUALITY-BOOSTING DRIVE IN SOVIET INDUSTRY, THE OFFICIAL TASS NEWS AGENCY REPORTED LAST NIGHT.
TASS SAID THE PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE WILL DISCUSS METHODS OF CARRYING OUT THE INDUSTRIAL MECHANIZATION AND AUTOMATION POLICIES ORDERED BY THE LAST PARTY CONGRESS.
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52 MAY 14 1959

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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Younger Reds Not Out to Win World: Lodge

The younger generation in the Soviet Union does not agree with the present Soviet leadership on the "old claptrap about world conquest," Henry Cabot Lodge, U. S. ambassador to the UN, asserted yesterday.

"There is evidence of some sort of evolution taking place in the Soviet Union—that the present leadership is out of step with the younger generation," Lodge told a luncheon meeting of the 11th annual International Advertising Association convention in the Hotel Roosevelt.

Ambassador Lodge
Sees Soviet "evolution"

Sees Chance of Change

He added that while there was no indication that the present Soviet regime had altered its world conquest goal, there "might be a different picture in the next 25 years."

Lodge warned against expecting "too much" to come out of the summit meeting of foreign ministers scheduled for May 11. Possible failure that should not be construed as "the last chance for world peace," he declared.

Cites Red Agreements

He said that the Soviet Union had made important agreements with the U. S. without summit meetings in the past and cited as examples the termination of the Berlin blockade in 1949 and the Austrian Peace Treaty in 1955.

Lodge also said that the U. S. intention to block entrance of Communist China into the UN at the September General Assembly meeting had met renewed justification because of Red China's brutality toward Tibet.

This proved, he said, that "there is an imperialism in Peiping that seeks to enslave people."

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Fervid Fifth Column

The World-Wide Communist Party Apparatus Provides Soviet Union With a Built-in Espionage Network

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

The network of Communist parties throughout the world is the biggest fifth column ever organized for the service of an imperialist power. According to Moscow sources there are now 83 Communist parties with 33 million members—the vast majority of these in the Soviet Union, in China and in the East European satellite countries.

There is no evidence that Soviet leaders are losing interest in this instrument of subversion. On the contrary, it is probably significant that Khrushchev himself devoted attention to this subject in his marathon address at the Soviet Party Congress early in this year. The published remarks of some of the foreign Communists present at this Congress cast some light on international strategy and tactics, although more interesting details about Soviet financial support and political guidance are naturally kept secret.

Help Castro

So the Cuban representative, Severo Aguirre, told the Congress that Cuba's Communists gave priority to the task of helping the insurgent followers of Fidel Castro and "giving them the right orientation." The events in Cuba, according to this spokesman, refuted the idea that the proximity of the United States makes it impossible to fight successfully in Latin America.

Cuba was far from being the only Latin American country represented at Moscow. Pompeyo Marquez, representing Venezuela, boasted that the Communists had gained 6.6% of the votes cast in the election of December, 1958, and stated as the aim of his party a "government of national unity" which would expropriate United States possessions and institute "land reform." Rodney Arismendi of Uruguay announced a gain in Communist voting strength and a growth in the Communist youth movement.

Luis Corvolan of Chile pointed out that after 11 years of illegality the Communist Party in Chile was again functioning legally, had elected six deputies to the parliament and supported a "popular front" of eight Chilean parties. Antonio Saad of Ecuador reported that his comrades were carrying on a campaign against the holding of a Pan-American conference.

The representative of the Algerian Communists identified himself completely with the revolutionary movement for independence. The Iraqi Communist, Salem Adil, announced that they fight "shoulder-to-shoulder with our patriotic national troops and with the true and brave son of the Iraqi people, Abdel Karim Kassem."

So it would seem that the Communists are not dissatisfied with the course taken so far by Fidel Castro in Cuba and by Kassem in Iraq, even though these leaders are not Communists themselves. On the other hand, the representatives of Indonesia, Morocco and Tunisia made the impression of supporting the existing governments with certain reservations.

International Communism has always been flexible as to strategy, although inflexible as to ultimate aims. Policies laid down for national Communist parties vary with circumstances.

Should Castro or Kassem turn decisively against the Communists, their benevolent attitude toward these leaders would, of course, change. It is interesting to note how faithfully the tactics laid down for Communism in colonial or economically-retarded countries almost 40 years ago are being followed today. The Second Congress of the Communist International, held in the summer of 1920, laid down the following political line:

"It is the duty of the Communist International to support the revolutionary movements in the colonies and in the backward countries. . . . The Communist International must establish temporary relations and even unions with the revolutionary movements in the colonies and backward countries, without, however, amalgamating with them. . . .

"The revolution in the colonies is not going to be a Communist revolution in its first stages. But if from the outset the leadership is in the hands of a Communist vanguard, the revolutionary masses will not be led astray, but may go ahead through the successive periods of development of revolutionary experience."

This phraseology may sound dry and pedantic. But the meaning is clear enough. Communists, when they are too weak to strike for power on their own, are to infiltrate and as far as possible influence and control nationalist movements in the hope of completely dominating these movements in the end.

Of course there is always the danger that political investments in nationalist movements may go sour. The Soviet Government in the years immediately after World War I backed Turkish nationalism; and Turkey is now a very sturdy eastern outpost of N.A.T.O. During the years 1925-27 there was a web of Communist intrigue and influence in the Chinese nationalist movement, the Kuomintang; but Chiang Kai-shek broke loose from this entanglement and the Chinese Reds had to wait more than 20 years for their victory. Egyptian dictator Nasser today must look like a dubious investment to the Kremlin.

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But there is so much political and economic ferment in the poorer and less developed areas of the world that it seems safe to predict that Communism, which never acquired a mass foothold in the United States and Canada, which is in a state of quiescence and decline in Europe outside the Iron Curtain, will put forth special efforts in Asia, Africa and South America.

Hidden Activity

Communist activity in foreign lands is like an iceberg, most of it submerged, although the recent expulsion of two Soviet diplomats from Mexico on charges of stirring up labor strife and promoting Communist control of Mexican trade-unions is far from being the first instance of its kind. This was quickly followed by the expulsion of a Red diplomat from Argentina.

The suggestion has sometimes been made, and it may be heard again in connection with the possible summit meeting, that world peace could be assured by accepting the present line of demarcation between Communist and non-Communist countries, with each side observing a "hands off" policy as regards territory under the control of the other. And it seems very probable that acknowledgment of the legitimacy of his empire is one of Khrushchev's diplomatic goals.

But it would be naive to expect reciprocity. The Soviet fifth column, almost as universal as the United Nations, will not be idle.

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These Days . . . . .

By George E. Sokolsky

Distant Mirages

I. C. FRENDBERG of Bismarck, North Dakota, writes me as follows:

". . . At present the Soviets and the Communist-ruled nations in general are in the process of changing backward poverty-stricken lands into modern industrial states to the end that all may have a higher standard of living and be able to live a more affluent life. It is a tough proposition at best and with the capitalist rulers obstructing every move they make in building up their economy for the noted objective, it is a doubly tough job. Once they get over the hump, it is reasonable to suppose that all individuals within the Soviet empire will have less slavery and more freedom."

Sokolsky

IN THE first place, one must ask Mr. Frendberg precisely where this lovely condition is being developed by Soviet Russia. Actually, what he says Soviet Russia is doing is being done by the United States through its various forms of aid. To see precisely how wrong my correspondent is, one needs to look at West Germany and East Germany, at West Berlin and East Berlin. These areas are contiguous and the people are of the same race; yet in West Germany there is prosperity and a remarkable recovery of a people from war; in East Germany, the standard of life has receded and people are escaping from Russian abuse and torture to the Western part of Germany.

Has the standard of living of Hungary improved since the Communists took over?

Has the standard of living of Czechoslovakia improved since the Communists took over?

Has the liberty of the Polish people increased since Russia bent that country to its will?

OF WHICH countries does Frendberg write? Perhaps of China where the Communists themselves admit to mass murders and where the gentle Tibetans fight with staves and muskets for their lives?

Who are the capitalist rulers to whom Frendberg refers who are interfering with Communist construction? What are their names? Does he mean the United States? If he does, let us have from him a bill of particulars as to how the United States has interfered with the reconstruction of any country. We poured $11 billion into Soviet Russia, much of which Stalin used for laying the basis for the present industrial complex of Soviet Russia. As a matter of fact, the United States has aided many of the Communist and Socialist countries of Europe to rebuild themselves. We have poured more than one billion dollars into Yugoslavia which is a Communist country, although Tito's communism deviates from Khrushchev's at the present time.

Frendberg's reading of history brings him to this conclusion:

". . . It seems that when a new social or economic system comes into being it has to go through a period of intensive slavery before it reaches a point where more liberty and freedom can be allowed. That is the way it was with the capitalist system and it seems reasonable to suppose it will be the same with the Communist system if it succeeds in becoming an established and stable economic system. So, then, I would be inclined to say that living within the Soviet empire sometime in the future, would quite probably not be enslavement and living death."

IT IS AN interesting view, particularly for a person who lives in the United States where he enjoys not only the highest standard of living known to man but also the largest budget of human liberty. If the Russians have to employ slavery to make their system work, why not try capitalism without slavery? Of course, that is precisely what the Russians are doing in a modified form. They have adopted the wage system, as highly differentiated as ours; they have adopted a reward system, additional to wages, which sets up a new privileged class with privileges far beyond ours, including freedom from taxes.

Frendberg is "inclined to say that living within the Soviet empire sometime in the future" will not be so bad. That is pie-in-the-sky. It is mindful of the I. W. W. song:

In the sweet bye and bye
There'll be pie-in-the-sky
bye and bye;
Live on hay
Work all day
There'll be pie-in-the-sky
when you die.

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These Days . . . . By George E. Sokolsky

The Tyranny of Words

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THERE is a paragraph in Pasternak's "Doctor Zhivago" that might be passed over by the swift and casual reader as so much Russian introspection. But there is meaning to it. Words are not only used to express thought but also to confuse minds. We become accustomed to a word and it takes on a variety of meanings. Which is the correct meaning? Which truly describes what we want to say? Pasternak in the paragraph which I shall quote is striking a blow at the peculiarities of human thinking when food becomes the objective remote problem of alimentation and, of course, everybody starves. I quote Pasternak:

Sokolsky

"This was the time to prepare for the cold weather, to store up food and wood. But in those days of the triumph of materialism, matter had become a disembodied idea, and the problem of alimentation and fuel supply took the place of food and firewood."

How skillfully Pasternak satirizes the bureaucratic way of making everything complex and difficult; in fact, impossible. I lived in Petrograd during the days he describes in Moscow. We had no food but if one still had money, he could get champagne. Somehow, those who sold wine were anxious, at first, to get the old Czarist rubles which were really worth nothing. But they had confidence in that which had lost value because somehow the Czar's face on money seemed still important to those who were about to murder the Czar and all his family.

PEOPLE do believe what they want to believe as long as they can get a word for it. Such words as "segregation" and "integration" are presumed to have specific meaning just as "democracy" is is supposed to have specific meaning. Actually, it is a boorish trick to ask anyone to define such terms with workable precision because usually they do not know what they are talking about. They "feel" that they are right; they "sense" that they know what they mean. But analysis produces only the evidence that words can be tyrants; that they can seize a man's mind and hold it, as though in a vise, until he can no longer think.

The other day, a taxi driver who said he was a minister of Jehovah's Witnesses told me that I was doomed. Yes, he said, all you pagans are doomed. I could not let that go by, so I thought that I would tell him that I was a Buddhist and see what came of that. Without turning his head to see if I looked like a Buddhist, he only muttered, "Doomed!"

It was like a letter I received from a reader denouncing Cyrus Eaton for being a Jew. He is quite unhappy about it. Of course, Cyrus Eaton is not a Jew and never was, but in the mind of this unfortunate reader, he must be a Jew because the reader does not like Eaton and he does not like Jews. Ergo!

WORDS are very queer instruments because they so often give a false twist to an idea. For years, I have protested against the legalistic statement that the Communists want to "overthrow the government by force and violence." That is an unprovable statement. What can be established without any doubt whatsoever is that in every country the Communists wish and plan to take over the government by any means whatsoever, including force and violence. It would be silly to overthrow a government if it is possible to take control of that government by normal political methods.

Some people use queer words to identify themselves. A psychoanalyst will speak of the id; a beatnik talks of a pad; a bureaucrat talks gobbledygook. What does it all prove?

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WASHINGTON REPORT
BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.
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WASHINGTON, April 23 -- Perhaps the greatest single tragedy in losing John Foster Dulles at this time of international crisis is that he understands, better than any other figure in the entire array of Western leaders, the true Communist mind in all of its diabolical cleverness.

He knows its devious devices and crafty finesse and the lon ends to which it will reach to achieve its purposes. And because he does, he has been able to duel them on equal footing, and parry each trickery.

But whether his successor can do the same is another question of highly dubious answer. Christian Herter talks of his "team," on which he will depend in the May 11 meetings at Geneva. It is a State Department team, intimately familiar with the facts, the background and the continuity to which the Foreign Ministers' session will direct its discussions.

But the problem is that they are Westerners, by nature men of honor and integrity, who strive honestly to achieve a fair and firm recorded understanding with the expectation that such understanding means what it says.

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The talent of Mr. Dulles is that he is a laboratory expert in Communist guile, and he knows that their words seldom mean what they purport to mean and that they have actually developed a professional technique along this line.

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Dr. Stephan T. Possony, a professor at Georgetown University, presented a learned analysis of this technique before the House Un-American Activities Committee, in which he cited an array of specific examples.

"Coexistence" is currently a key word in the Kremlin's political dictionary. In the public mind (and in the minds of Western statesmen) coexistence simply means that the two different systems (Communism and freedom) exist peacefully side by side, in a live-and-let-live tolerance.

Moscow means for us thus to interpret the word that leads to the Western illusion that the Kremlin is delighted to "coexist" with its neighbors until the end of time.

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(MORE)

Actually, the Kremlin views coexistence as a strictly temporary matter to be abruptly terminated at the Soviet's convenience. Dr. Possony describes the true Soviet concept of coexistence as follows: "The bone (coexists) with the dog; the rope (coexists) with the hanged man; germs (coexist) with the human body."

So, with the word "peace"; in the free world, peace means friendship, cooperation, tranquillity, mutual help. But when Moscow speaks of peace it has something quite different in mind. In the Soviet lexicon, peace is merely a temporary period during which the Kremlin prepares for war and conquest.

The Soviet concept of "peace" is for the West to abandon all resistance to Communist take-over and destruction. To them the way to peace is for the West to surrender.

At the Summit Meeting these two words will be used freely by both sides, but without any real meeting of the minds. The hoped-for-dialogue will turn out as two separate monologues that never meet. Any agreement on this false basis will be dangerous and filled with illusions.

Dr. Possony shows that the Communist perversion of words is a technique that really began after 1935. Earlier, the Kremlin used orthodox Marxian words, which, though brutal, were at least clear in meaning. There was no double talk in such terms as "class war," "revolution," "dictatorship," and "terrorism."

In recent years, Moscow, through a clever turn, cleaned up its language in order to find acceptance in the more finicky West. Thus, "revolution" is now "liberation"; "Communism" is "anti-imperialism"; "slave labor" is "corrective labor"; the extermination of millions is "laying the foundations of socialism."

Even the word "Treason" now has a special Communist twist. It no longer means betrayal of one's own country, but instead, opposition to Soviet Communism.

In official declarations, the Soviet government has stated: "Sooner or later Communism is going to dominate the whole world. Therefore every person, in spite of his present nationality, is subject to Communist authority. Every act against the Soviet state, even of non-Soviet citizens, must be punished by death or imprisonment."

Thus, every loyal American is guilty of "treason" -- against the Soviet Union. What then is the value of any agreement of words that may be achieved at Geneva? And can Mr. Herter's "team" match successful swords with a double-bladed lexicon?

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Death of Lenin Plotter Bared

MOSCOW, April 22 (AP) — A former Kremlin security chief said in an article published yesterday he secretly executed a young woman who nearly assassinated Lenin in September, 1918. The woman, Dora Kaplan, 30, was shot five weeks after the attempt.

Pavel D. Malkov, the Kremlin commandant at the time, said in the Soviet navy organ Red Fleet that he shot the woman himself after her conviction by a people's court. He declared:

"She was executed by my own hand and if history were to repeat itself and this human rubbish dared raise a hand against Lenin and if again she found herself in front of my revolver, my hand would not tremble any more on pulling the trigger than it trembled then."

There have been rumors over the years that Dora Kaplan, also known as Fanny or Fenya Kaplan, a medical student at the time of her attempt on Lenin's life, still lived in Soviet prisons.

One reason for the rumors was a tradition that Lenin had ordered her life be spared.

Other accounts said she had died after many years in confinement. One such appeared from a report by a released Austrian prisoner in 1953 and there was another, based on a report fro man unofficial Russian source in Moscow, in January, 1958.

There apparently was never any official announcement on the young woman's fate.

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Enemies of God

". . . the leaders of communism, though they sometimes declare verbally that they do not fight religion, in actual fact by their theories and by their actions show themselves to be hostile to God."

IT SEEMS to us men and women of all religions can subscribe to the above quotation, which is an excerpt from the decision of Pope John XXIII forbidding Roman Catholics from voting for Communist or pro-Communist candidates or parties.

The ban is absolute. It could not be otherwise.

Communism is a materialistic, enslaving, atheistic evil.

It is impossible to compromise with that evil or those who knowingly support it, directly or indirectly.

"We are atheists but we have a tolerant attitude toward all people," Khrushchev told the Hearst Task Force in 1957.

This was a vile sophistry.

Communism and religion cannot peacefully co-exist because religion is an expression of God's truth, and God's truth is communism's mortal enemy. Communists and communism, in the words of Pope John, have to be "hostile to God."

Neither the Catholic Church nor any other can be neutral in this battle between ~~the~~ forces of God and the forces of ~~evil.~~

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THESE DAYS:

Khrushy Dare Not Fail at the Summit

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

FIRST OF ALL it is necessary to grasp the essence of the Soviet Universal State of which Russia is a part, perhaps the most important part, but which includes many nations and many political parties existing in countries which are antagonistic to Russia. In a word, what World War II accomplished was the erection of a universal empire of enormous manpower and strength but containing a variety of states of varying degrees of self-government, bound together by a dogma which is less economic than sociological.

SOKOLSKY

This Soviet Universal State consists of three ideological elements: on the extreme right, tending more and more to float away from the Kremlin's influence, are Revisionists such as Tito and Nasser who could with Nehru, if he were courageous, form a bloc which might overwhelm those who now control the Kremlin. On the extreme left are the unreconstructed Marxists who accept the leadership of Mao Tze-tung of China. It is important to note that this element is influential in such countries as Poland, Ceylon and Indonesia and has frightened India.

In the center of the Soviet Universal State and dominating it from the Kremlin is Khrushchev's Russia, a curiously governed country with as tight a personal dictatorship as Hitler or Mussolini or Trujillo developed and moving rapidly toward the use of capitalistic devices to develop socialistic processes throughout the world. Anyone who is familiar with primitive Communism, that is, Bolshevism, finds it increasingly difficult to recognize what the personal dictatorships (cult of personality) of Stalin and Khrushchev have done to the ideas of Marx and Lenin. Suffice it that they are not recognizable in present day Russia except in their fundamentals which include atheism as the basis for all philosophic and sociological thinking.

It is this Kremlinized Russia which is the enemy of the United States and which we must understand thoroughly if we are not to be outwitted by Khrushchev at any conference. The first essential factor of political conduct which Khrushchev will require of such a conference will be very different from that which Eisenhower or Macmillan will need.

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EISENHOWER'S BASIC POLITICAL PROBLEM will be how his conduct will affect his country without any regard to his own political future, as he has none. Macmillan must consider Labour Party opposition to him, particularly as war is not popular, the British having had their fill of it. In a word, in what are called democratic countries, public opinion must be taken into account, selfishly or patriotically.

Khrushchev does not face that problem, but he does face another. He dare not ignore the Leftist Deviationists, that is, the Red Chinese. Mao Tze-tung represents orthodox Marxism-Leninism and there are many important Communists throughout the world, even in Soviet Russia, who hold with Mao and not with Khrushchev. It is therefore necessary for the Kremlin boss to produce satisfying victories if he is not to be decapitated or exiled as his predecessors and associates have been.

As an aside, I might mention that of 27 Bolshevik members of the Politburo, that is from those who emerged to leadership out of the original revolution, seven are reported to have died; eight were murdered or executed; three were exiled; three disappeared; one committed suicide; the remainder are presumably alive. Since 1917, there have been only three effective heads of the Communist Party which controls the government: Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchev. Khrushchev and Mikoyan are relatively new figures in the Soviet hierarchy, the former being chosen for the Politburo in 1939, the latter in 1935. No one who was on the Politburo in 1917 is alive today.

Khrushchev and his intimate, Mikoyan, represent an opportunistic, pragmatic program which can go anywhere. No one can prognosticate what opportunism will lead to, particularly as Khrushchev can make uncontrolled decisions and has proved that he can dismiss anyone in Russia. However, he cannot dismiss Mao or Tito or Nasser and therefore they have established themselves as disturbing factors in his situation. On one or two occasions, Khrushchev came close to attacking Mao's orthodoxy, but he always receded from an overt quarrel with Mao.

In the face of all this, a Summit Conference presents numerous psychological as well as political difficulties. Khrushchev dare not fail; he dare not sacrifice Mao; he dare not leave the conference without giving the impression that he has outwitted Eisenhower and Macmillan. But can he outwit de Gaulle and Adenauer?

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These Days . . . . .

By George E. Sokolsky

Khrushchev Has Moonshine Troubles

RUSSIANS are a drinking folk, generally speaking. They like vodka and brandy and other liquors and many of them enjoy getting a load on, as the expression goes. Nikita Khrushchev himself has not been notorious as a teetotaler. However, in his final speech at the Party Congress Khrushchev said this:

Sokolsky

"In their speeches some of the delegates to the Congress condemned hard drinking and raised the question of intensifying the fight against this evil, the measures against illicit distilling of alcoholic spirits. The people illicitly distilling spirits not only spoil sugar, grain, and other products, not only profiteer, but also make drunkards of weak-willed people and poison their constitutions, because illicitly distilled spirits have a large content of fusel oil.

"I consider that the suggestions to intensify the struggle against hard drinking and illicit spirit distilling are correct and the Congress supported the comrades who advanced these suggestions."

IN EFFECT, this means the laws against hooliganism will be applied to drunkenness. Party members who drink more than they can hold will be expelled. The good old days, when one could eat various kinds of caviar and drink down a bottle of vodka at a meal or fill in with herring and marinated fish, are to be done away with. But what are the Russians to drink? Water? That is, indeed, a new generation of Russians!

Khrushchev really is protesting against illicit stills and bootlegged liquors. In a word, the ugly head of private enterprise has reared itself and is secretly making and selling the stuff, for this is what Khrushchev said:

"It would have been a good thing if the central committees of the Communist Parties and the councils of ministers of the Union republics paid more attention to this question and outlined concrete steps against the abuse of alcoholic liquors and against illicit spirit distillers—those 'chemists' who cause grave injury to people's health and harm society. I think that draft laws on this question should be drawn up in the republics and turned over for discussion by the people."

THE GOOD OLD DAYS of Al Capone have come to Soviet Russia and Khrushchev is worried. I do not know whether the speakeasy has yet appeared there, but once bootlegging gets going on a big scale not only does the government lose revenue but the bootlegger turns to other forms of operations. Some of them turn to vice and show the little girls how to make a buck or so; some of them go into gambling. They first corrupt the police and then take over local governments.

There is no private enterprise in Soviet Russia. Nobody owns a factory or a mill or a store. It is all government-owned and operated. The Marxist socialistic doctrine that the government should own the means of production and distribution is carried out in every respect without exception.

But Khrushchev himself admits there are "chemists" who run private stills and that there is illicit rum-running like back here in the 1920s, when a noble experiment turned out to be a source of enormous income to murderers, thieves, crooks, gangsters, vice lords and others who discovered the doctrine that there was lots of money in the violation of the law, provided you knew the right people.

KHRUSHCHEV may discover that no illicit still can exist unless his police permit it to exist and that nobody can sell the stuff secretly unless the police are in on the secret. Therefore, he needs to have a look at his police force, both the overt police and the secret police. They are without doubt engaging in a little private enterprise of their own. Maybe, they make the stuff. Who knows?

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The Washington Post and Times Herald A-19
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The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
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The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
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Soviet Communist Youth Pledge Intensified Work

"We promise that our hands will never lie idle, that we shall take the shortest path from the school desk to the factory and field.

"We promise with the passion of the YCL'er to fight shortcomings, bureaucracy, conservative stagnation, in-the-rut routine, and everything that holds back our advance."

* * *

WITH THESE WORDS, the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union at a convention in October, 1958, vowed to uphold the traditions of its 40 year history. October's convention marked the 40th anniversary since it's founding by Lenin in 1918. During that period it has included 67 million Soviet youth, and today numbers 18 million.

The YCL has contributed to every phase of growth of the first socialist land. Former members at the convention recalled the early days, when they often hadn't enough sleep or food — and yet worked and studied persistently, becoming the scientists and technologists now helping to open the Space Age.

Having aided in smashing Hitler's armies, YCL'ers have helped reconstruct and further develop their land. They have built the Stalinsk-Abukan railway, the entire power transmission line which has opened Siberia to vast construction, 35 coal mines (which they also run) in the Donbas field alone, and have planted 750,000 acres of forest land.

In order that they may continue these endeavors, they vowed to "always fight for peace and forge stronger international ties . . . with the youth of all countries of the Socialist world, with progressive youth all over the World."

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N. Y. Journal-American
N. Y. Mirror
N. Y. Daily News
N. Y. Times
Daily Worker
The Worker pg. 6
New Leader

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Something new at Soviet Congress—

for the 1st time—global socialist goal

People's World Foreign Dept.

History will mark the 21st Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union as the first to project a specific economic objective not just for the Soviet Union, but for the entire socialist world.

There were some phenomenal implications in Nikita Khrushchev's report, which envisioned the Soviet seven year plan as the hub of a program whereby socialist world production would outstrip that of the capitalist world in 1965.

The seven year plan targets would bring Soviet production up to an approximation of U. S. output. Which means that the 11 remaining socialist countries (excluding Yugoslavia) would have to equal the production of the entire capitalist world outside of the U. S.

Such an achievement would, in some respects, be even more spectacular than the goals set for the Soviet Union. Thus, when spokesmen for the other socialist countries greeted Khrushchev's report at the Soviet congres they were not only expressing fraternal solidarity and encouragement, but were making a commitment in a gigantic collective undertaking without precedent in history.

UNITY AFFIRMED

Greatest interest focussed on the speeches of China's Premier Chou En-lai and Wladislaw Gomulka, who headed the delegation from the United Workers party of Poland.

Both affirmed the solidarity of the socialist camp in strongest terms.

Chou levelled a scathing fire at Marshal Tito and his group in Yugoslavia for promoting rumors of Sino-Soviet discord. The Soviet Union and China, he declared, have "a common destiny and the same interests," and the friendship between the two countries is "eternal and inviolable."

In the sharpest thrust at the Yugoslavs, Chou said that the "dark intentions" of the "imperialists and modern revisionists" to split the socialist camp would lead only to "ever greater cohesion" within that camp.

GOMULKA SPEAKS

Gomulka also challenged those who sought to sow dissension among the socialist countries.

"Our delegation," he said, "listened with great interest to that part of Comrade Khrushchev's report which refers to the relations among the Communist and Workers parties as well as relations among the socialist countries."

Khrushchev's presentation, he said, was "necessary," and "useful" and had described the "actual state of affairs" in the world Communist movement.

"The actual state of affairs is as follows," Gomulka continued.

"Our party as well as the other parties, which we all know about, have full sovereignty and equality and they define the line of their policy by themselves as they solve all the problems of their countries."

All of the other delegates from 70 fraternal parties expressed their unity and solidarity in a similar vein.

U. S. DELEGATE HEARD

George Morris, Worker correspondent, reported: "Every leader reported the rout of revisionists and dogmatists in his respective country, and expressed full solidarity with the Soviet parties and all fraternal

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Daily Worker
The Worker
New Leader
People's World pg. 5

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CHOU EN-LAI
". . . eternal and inviolable."

parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."

Among the fraternal delegates who spoke was James E. Jackson, representing the Communist party of the United States. Morris reported the Negro leader "received prolonged applause before and after his speech."

Morris' account of Jackson's speech was as follows:

"Jackson said the Communist party of the Soviet Union represented a challenge for fraternal Communist parties everywhere to work harder for the preservation and strengthening of peace.

"The Communist party of the United States will find great inspiration and powerful moral support in this challenge, he said.

INTERNAL STRUGGLE

"Certain imperialist circles, said Jackson, brought great shame upon our country, but millions of our people are struggling increasingly to remove these stains on our national honor and to establish a new course in foreign affairs to replace brinkmanship with peace.

"Regarding the outcome of the struggle in the party against revisionists, Jackson said, 'Suffice it for me to say our party lives. It is among the masses and is part of their daily struggles for jobs, liberty and peace.'"

The congress was also the occasion for disclosing more details about the "anti-party" group, including Georgi Malenkov, V. M. Molotov and L. M. Kaganovich as its core.

For the first time the names of Maxim G. Saburov and Mikhail G. Pervukhin were publicly linked with the "anti-party" group, and both adressed the congress. Pervukhin came to the congress from the sensitive post of Soviet Ambassador to the German Democratic Republic, while Saburov is factory manager in an industrial town on the Volga.

CHALLENGE ISSUED

Both are experienced economic planners and were members of the party's central committee when the congress convened.

Speaking early in the congress, Ivan V. Spiridinov, secretary of the Leningrad region party committee, said the two men did not once condemn "the anti-party plot" and "their role in it."

"How can one understand this silence, Comrades Pervukhin and Saburov?" Spiridonov demanded. "Is it not possible to demand an accounting to the congress from you for your mistakes?"

A LONG STRUGGLE

As if in reply to this challenge, Pervukhin told the congress: "I am sorry to note that at a crucial moment for the party I was not able to see the anti-party schemes of that group. I am making this declaration to the congress, the highest organ of our party. I condemned and I do condemn the disruptive activities of the anti-party group."

Pervukhin said that while he supported some of the economic views of the Malenkov group he did not support its move to "change the leadership of the central committee."

JAMES E. JACKSON
A greeting from the U. S. . .

Saburov conceded he, too, made a "mistake" and displayed "political instability" at the time the Malenkov group made its bid for leadership.

After Pervukhin spoke, delegate Tursunbai Uldzhabayev, first secretary of the Tadzhik party, said the "explanations" given "cannot satisfy anyone."

Alexei I. Kirichenko, a member of the party's presidium and a former party leader in his native Ukraine, disclosed that an intense internal battle dragged out for almost four years — from shortly after Joseph Stalin's death in March, 1953, until June, 1957.

BID FOR POWER

"At almost every meeting of the Presidium and Central Committee they attacked everything new," Kirichenko recounted. "But especially they took up arms and furiously began to attack the general line of the party.

"After the 20th Congress (in February, 1956), the anti-party group dropped the mask and on June 18, 1957, in an organized manner moved against the course set by the 20th Congress — that is, at a time when their participants counted their forces in the Presidium of the Central Committee, when they arrived at the conclusion they might command forces to change the policy of the party and the government.

"It is known how it ended. The vileness of these splintering double-crossers and the evil of the road they took becomes clearer.

"Everybody knows how these contemptible dogmatists, sitting up to their ears in conservatism, acted. They operated with tendentiously selected quotations, not suspecting how far they were from the Marxist-Leninist line, from life and from the people.

"It is said they picked quotations from books, had a head full of quotations, but did not know what quotations to use when they met a situation not described in the books."

PICTURE UNFOLDS

From the accounts given Malenkov emerges as the leader of the "anti-party" group with Molotov and Kaganovich as his close associates. Dmitri Shepilov and Nikolai Bulganin had previously been described as playing a supporting role.

Saburov and Pervukhin, it appears, backed the group on some issues of economic policy, but neither supported nor condemned the group's bid to remove Khrushchev and his colleagues in the party leadership.

All are now reported to be occupying responsible posts in industry (Kaganovich, Bulganin, Saburov and Malenkov), foreign affairs (Pervukhin and Molotov) and education (Shepilov), but have been removed from policy-making levels in the party.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Mr. W.C.Sullivan
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

Communism's New Economic Challenge

Soviet Confident of Victory In War Against U.S. Capitalism

The new economic challenge of world communism is recognized as a mounting threat to free world enterprise. Khrushchev claims his new seven-year plan will carry Soviet industry ahead of United States production. How much is boast and hope and how much a genuine threat for the West. In view of the ominous Soviet strategy aimed at overshadowing capitalism, Research Institute of America, Inc., has reported to its 30,000 subscribers—most of them industrial firms—the results of an extensive survey of this menacing trend. Here is the first of a series based on the institute's report.

An important change has taken place in world Communist strategy. From a concern about being "encircled by capitalism," the Soviet Communists are now confident that they are in the process of overshadowing capitalism, and that its years are numbered.

There are a number of sobering facts behind this confidence:

● The West has lost its old military advantage. The Soviet Union has raced through the last decade to match, if not surpass, our side in military technology; its cosmic missile-planet, now orbiting the sun, is an overwhelming statement to the world of Soviet space superiority.

Currently the military situation is a stalemate. Both sides know all-out war would mean destruction. But two areas of danger persist:

. . . Implicit in the rapid progress made by the Russians is the possibility that they may sweep ahead of us in some vital military field, perhaps the launching of manned, armed space satellites.

CLIPPING FROM THE
N.Y. WORLD TELEGRAM
EDITION: NIGHT
DATED: 9 FEB 1959
PAGE: 9
FOR

RE: "COMMUNISM'S NEW ECONOMIC CHALLENGE"

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... Aside from such a possibility, the immediately foreseeable development of military technology is such that it may increase the attractiveness to some Soviet leaders of a massive surprise attack on U.S. bases by intercontinental ballistic missiles.

● The balance of global prestige has been shifting in favor of the Soviet Union. In addition to space victories, Moscow's ever-widening and well-executed foreign aid program has made friends and influenced nations, while the United States position has been hurt by the 1957-58 recession and the dilemma of school integration in the South.

Gains Foreign Footholds.

Direct and indirect Soviet penetration of the underdeveloped countries of the world is at its historic peak. Though by no means secure, the Soviet Union today has a political foothold in the Middle East where a few years ago it had none. Soviet economic and political influence is well established in India and Southeast Asia.

Soviet economic penetration of Latin America

has bored deep this past year. In Venezuela, the Communist party is a growing political force, despite the setback in the 1958 election.

● The steay rise of Soviet, Chinese and—to a lesser extent—Eastern European production has sharply altered the world distribution of economic power in the past five years. Free-world private enterprise has been feeling the effects in markets as diverse as aluminum, tin, platinum, benzine, cotton textiles, and steel. The Russians are able to set prices on the basis of political goals rather than economic requirements.

● Most important is the political magnetism which the general aura of Communist economic success has been generating in all the underdeveloped countries.

There are two basic aspects of this situation:

First is the fact that both Moscow and Peiping need peace to accomplish their economic objectives. True, the possibility that they might resort to war to cover a failure of their (economic) plans can never be completely written off. But the odds are on the side of their economic success rather than failure. The prospect is that the Communists will continue to see no reason for a shooting war while they can continue to win their objectives with relative ease by infiltration, subversion and economic aggression.

The second underlying factor, with vital long-term implications, is the chance that rivalry within the Communist world may hasten a possible collision of Russian and Chinese interests. There are increasing signs that the Kremlin is becoming disturbed about the shape of things to come in China. The burgeoning of China's population—one billion people by 1980; 1.6 billion by 2000—is a basic pressure on Moscow.

Internal Tensions.

The skyscraping goals Khrushchev has set in his new Seven-Year Plan may well be a response to what he learned in Peiping last summer about Mao's aspirations for China.

Khrushchev's new Seven-Year Plan has been minimized in some important Western quarters on the ground that the previous Five-Year Plan was abandoned by Russia in mid-course not because it was unrealistic but because the Polish and Hungarian revolts in 1957, less than a year after it was announced.

The previous plan was abandoned, intervened, placing unforeseen strains on Soviet economy. The possibility that similar difficulties within the Soviet bloc may impede the new economic program cannot be wholly excluded, but the West cannot safely operate on that assumption.

U.S. Lead Narrowed.

The Russians have fallen short of the rapid growth called for in recent years but there also was a notable degree of achievement. In the 1955-58 period, the Soviet Union raised pig iron production about 17 percent, steel by more than 20 percent, oil about 60 percent, coal more than 25 percent, and electric power generation almost 40 percent. It is difficult to derive much comfort from that kind of "failure"—particularly when seen in the perspective of the transformation in some 40 years of a backward economy into an industrial giant.

Even when the Russians do not meet their schedule (as in 1955-58), they keep on narrowing the gap on America's lead.

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Kremlin Still Planning War?

A fateful question for America, reports the Research Institute, is whether the Kremlin has abandoned the basic Communist philosophy crystallized in the prophecy by Bolshevik theoretician Dimitri Manuilsky in 1930:

"War is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in 20 or 30 years. In order to win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep, so we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard-of-concessions. The capitalisthic countries—stupid and decadent—will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fists."

TOMORROW

Soviet aims to raise Iron Curtain living standards—better housing, food and clothing—are analyzed in the second of this series.

0-19.(Rev. 1-28-59)

COMMUNISM'S NEW ECONOMIC CHALLENGE

Russia's Long Shadow Falls on the Western World

AN important change has taken place in world communist strategy. From a concern about being "encircled by capitalism," the Soviet communists are now confident that they are in the process of overshadowing capitalism, and that its years are numbered.

There are a number of sobering fact sbehind this confidence:

1. The West has lost its old military advantages. The Soviet Union has raced thru the last decade to match, if not surpass, our side in military technology; its cosmic missile-planet, now orbiting the sun, is an overwhelming statement to the world of Soviet space superiority.

The military situation now is a stalemate. Both sides know all-out war would mean all-out destruction. But two areas of danger persist:

• Implicit in the rapid progress made by the Russians is the possibility that they may sweep ahead of us in some vital military field, perhaps the launching of manned, armed space satellites.

• Aside from such a possibility, the immediately foreseeable development of military technology is such that it may increase the attractiveness to some Soviet leaders of a massive surprise attack on U. S. bases by intercontinental ballistic missiles.

2. The balance of global prestige has been shifting in favor of the Soviet Union. In addition to the space victories, Moscow's ever-widening and well-executed foreign aid program has made friends and influenced nations, while the United States position has been hurt by the 1957-58 recession and the dilemma of school integration in the South.

The Soviet Union has a political foothold—however shaky—in the Middle East today, where a few years ago it had none. Soviet economic and political influence is well established in India and Southeast Asia.

Soviet economic penetration of Latin America has bored deep this past year. In Venezuela, the Communist Party is a growing political force, despite the setback in the 1958 election.

3. The steady rise of Soviet, Chinese and—to a lesser extent—Eastern European production has sharply altered the world distribution of economic power in the past five years. Free-world private enterprise has been feeling the effects in markets as diverse as aluminum, tin, platinum, benzene, cotton textiles and steel. The Russians are able to set prices on the basis of political goals rather than economic requirements.

4. Most important is the political magnetism which the general aura of communist economic success has been generating in all the underdeveloped countries.

¶ Flies in Red Ointment

There are two basic aspects of this situation:

• First, both Moscow and Peiping need peace to accomplish their economic objectives. True, the possibility that they might resort to war to cover a failure of their

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This detailed survey of the new economic challenge of world communism was prepared by the specialists and staff of the Research Institute of America, Inc., in New York. It is a slightly condensed version of a special report to the 30,000 member firms of the Institute, most of them industrial corporations which the Institute advises on economics, legislation, management, taxation, industrial and human relations, and sales and marketing.

The Institute is one of the largest business research organizations in the world with a staff of 600 and an annual research budget of $5 million. Widely quoted in business, Government and publishing circles, it espouses no particular Governmental policy or economic doctrine. The Institute predicts and analyzes business trends and Government actions and recommends what it believes is the most profitable course of action for business to take in the light of these trends.

By exclusive arrangement, the survey is made available to the readers of the News and other Scripps-Howard Newspapers in a series of articles. This is the first.

economic plans can never be completely written off. But the odds are on the side of their economic success rather than failure.

• Second, there is the chance that rivalry within the communist world may hasten a possible collision of Russian and Chinese interests. There are increasing signs that the Kremlin is becoming disturbed about the shape of things to come in China. The burgeoning of China's population—one billion people by 1980; 1.6 billion by 2000—is a basic pressure on Moscow.

¶ The Seven-Year Plan

The skyscraping goals Khrushchev has set in his new Seven-Year Plan may well be a response to what he learned in Peiping last summer about Mao's aspirations for China.

Khurshchev's new Seven-Year Plan has been minimized in some important Western quarters on the ground that the previous Five-Year Plan was abandond by Russia in 1957, less than a year after it was announced. The previous plan was abandoned not because it was unrealistic, but because the Polish and Hungarian revolts intervened, placing unforeseen strains on Soviet economy. The possibility that similar difficulties within the Soviet bloc may impede the new economic program cannot be wholly excluded, but the West cannot safely operate on that assumption.

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The fact that the Soviet strides have been possible only thru ruthless totalitarianism does not make the accomplishment less real or the future less ominous.

¶ Accent on Heavy Industry

The main stress in the new Seven-Year Plan again is on heavy industry—particularly oil and natural gas, metallurgy, chemical production, electric power and machinery. In addition, three aspects deserve special notice:

• It contains a very ambitious housing program, in response to growing pressure from the Russian people for a more decent standard of living.

• A relatively cautious—more realistic—agricultural schedule contrasts with the ambitious farming projects Khrushchev put forward in the past.

• The Plan emphasized building up the segments of heavy industry which are relatively underdeveloped—particularly the chemical industry and petro-chemicals, to modernize the Soviet fuel economy.

The Plan calls for an 80 per cent increase in gross industrial output by 1965. Heavy industry is slated for the lion's share, an increase of 85-88 per cent. But consumer goods are also scheduled for considerable improvement; they are planned to be 62-65 per cent higher in 1965.

These goals represent a less ambitious rate of performance than the Soviet leaders claim their economy has actually been achieving this past decade—another reason against dismissing the Plan as "just propaganda."

(Copyright, 1959, by Research Institute of America, Inc.)

TOMORROW: A new Soviet standard of living.

A fateful question for America, reports the Research Institute, is whether the Kremlin has abandoned the basic communist philosophy crystallized in the prophecy by Bolshevik theoretician Dimitri Manuilsky in 1930:

"War is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in 20 or 30 years. In order to win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep, so we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record.

"There will be electrifying overtures and unheard-of-concessions. The capitalistic countries—stupid and decadent—will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction.

"They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fists."

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Communist International

U.S. Accused Of 1½ Billion Setup to Spy

Soviet Secret Police Chief Makes Charge

By Tom Lambert
From the Herald Tribune Bureau

MOSCOW, Feb. 4. — Soviet secret police chief Alexander N. Shelepin told Soviet and foreign Communist leaders here today the United States Central Intelligence Agency uses more than 20,000 persons and up to $1,500,000,000 yearly in espionage work directed primarily against the Soviet Union and other Communist nations.

At the same time, Maxim Z. Saburov, member of the June, 1957, Presidium linked with the "anti-party group," confessed he had been stricken with "political instability" about that time and had opposed some of Prime Minister Nikita S. Khrushchev's policies. This was the second such confession in the last two days.

The espionage estimate and the confession were made at the eight-day session of the twenty-first Communist party congress in the Kremlin.

West German Setup

Tass, the official Soviet news agency, which issued a digest of Mr. Shelepin's speech said he asserted the United States had forty espionage establishments in West Germany and, together with "other Western powers," had more than sixty like organizations in West Berlin.

But his men are" spearheading their proletarian lance against agents smuggled into our country by imperialist States," Mr. Shelepin declared.

The secret police chief told the party congress that his organization had been cleaned of "all consequences of hostile activity of Beria and his acolytes."

Lavrenti P. Beria, secret police chief under Josef V. Stalin, was executed after the latter's death in 1953 for violations of "Socialist legality," including shooting and jailings of innocent persons.

Criticized Presidium

Mr. Saburov, formerly a top state planner and now a factory manager, was quoted by Tass as saying that while he "did not share the views of the 'anti-party group' when it tried to unseat Mr. Khrushchev in 1957, he nevertheless "did criticize the work of the Presidium (headed by Mr. Khrushchev) from the positions of that group."

Those "positions" were contrary to Mr. Khrushchev's views on farm policy and on overtaking the United States in farm output.

Like Marshal Nikolai A. Bulganin and Mikhail G. Pervukhin, former Presidium members who have confessed "anti-party" activity, Mr. Saburov condemned the group's work and said he is now working diligently to atone for his remissions.

The congress heard another Soviet rocket report today. Deputy Prime Minister Dmitri F. Ustinov, in charge of defense industries, said Soviet experts have solved "a number of most difficult technological problems involved in creating new types of fuel, materials, instruments, powerful motors and power supply sources" for rockets.

He also said the Soviet Union now is producing the "various types of intercontinental missiles."

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C.P.-Russia

Another Soviet Leader Admits 'Errors'

By Harold K. Milks A7

MOSCOW, Feb. 4 (AP) Maxim Saburov confessed today before the Soviet Communist Party's 21st congress to errors in siding at times with opponents of Premier Nikita Khrushchev's policies.

It was a display of political instability, said the blunt, 58-year-old economist who once was a deputy premier, industrial chief and member of the party's ruling Presidium.

Saburov's confession of links with fallen leaders denounced since mid-1957 as the anti-party group followed the general lines of one made yesterday by a fellow economist and former Presidium member, Mikhail Pervukhin.

The recitals of guilt by Pervukhin and Saburov, both now consigned to minor jobs, came in Kremlin sessions devoted largely to praise of Khrushchev's 7-year plan to make the Soviet Union the world leader in economic production.

supported at least some of the views of the anti-party group, of which former Premier Georgi Malenkov is regarded as the leader. Others are V. M. Molotov, Nikolai Bulganin, Lazar Kaganovich and Dmitri Shepilov.

Ranked High Under Stalin

There is some expectation that the congress, which convened nine days ago, will learn before it adjourns whether further punishment is to follow the disgrace and downgrading of the group.

Saburov's political star shone brightest when Malenkov was premier, although he had been ranked high in the Stalin era. A holder of the Order of Lenin, he was named to the Central Committee Presidium March 6, 1953, the day after Stalin's death. His fall was signalized by his dismissal as first deputy premier and from the Presidium in the shake-up that followed a bid to oust Khrushchev as party leader in June, 1957.

Pervukhin also lost his seat on the Presidium at that time. Neither was publicly accused then, as were Malenkov, Molotov, Kaganovich and Shepilov, of intrigue against the party leadership.

Various delegates to the current congress, however, had demanded that they be called to explain their actions.

Saburov told the congress the group attempted to hinder measures outlined by the Central Committee without offering anything constructive. He cited the committee's program for farming the virgin lands, a new system of economic planning and the program to outstrip the United States in per capita production. All these are Khruschev projects.

"The anti-party group also has opposed or hampered the solution of a number of foreign policy problems, notably the U. S. S. R.'s economic relations with countries in the Socialist (Communist) camp and aid to underdeveloped countries," he said.

He did not share all the group's views, he said, but had criticized the work of the leadership from "the positions of this group."

Saburov disclosed that he is now working as a factory manager at Syzran, on the Volga in the Kuibyshev district. He said he is trying to atone.

[Georgy Denisov, secretary

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Times Herald
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of the Saratov district committee of the party, said he was not satisfied with Pervukhin's recent confession, Reuters reported. It was not sufficiently genuine and sincere, he said.

[In another speech, Dmitry Ustinov, a deputy premier, told the congress that "serial production of various types of intercontinental rockets has already been organized."

[He added that during the next seven years, "there is no doubt that Soviet science will keep its lead in rocket construction and in a number of other modern kinds of production."

Imperialism Hit

[Alexander Shelepin, new chief of Russia's security police, promised delegates the "shameful' violation of Soviet law that occurred under Lavrenti Beria never would happen again.

[Beria, secret police chief under Stalin who was executed after the dictator's death in 1953, had violated "revolutionary legality," which since had been restored.

[The state security organs now were being directed against 'imperialist' agents. Their "punitive functions" were being increasingly curtailed inside the Soviet Union, he added.

[The United States Central Intelligence Agency had an organization of 20,000 persons with an allocation of $1,500,000,000 a year, he alleged. In West Berlin alone, the United States and other Western powers had 60 intelligence agencies, he said.

[Moscow Radio today broadcast the text of a speech by Presidium member Otto Kuusinen delivered Tuesday, disclosing that he made a particular attack on Molotov as a "pseudo-theorist" who proved "incapable of understanding" the Leninist line of creative development.

["I remember how at one of the plenary sessions of the Centra Committee, Molotov, who did not hatch a single theoretical chick himself, hurled reproaches at other comrades for theoretical carelessness," he said amid laughter, according to Moscow Radio.]

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C.P. - RUSSIA

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Reds Release Former D. C. Man

HERLESHAUSEN, Germany, Feb. 5 (AP).—Communist East Germany today released United States Army Pilot Richard Mackin and four other American soldiers held in East Germany for several weeks.

Lt. Mackin, a 27-year-old American formerly of Washington, D. C., parachuted into East Germany December 3 after he got lost and his small plane ran out of gas.

The other four soldiers were Pvt. Elwyn Bell of Hill City, Kans., Specialist Kenneth G. Carlson of San Leandro, Calif., Pvt. James W. Hayes of Baltimore and Pvt. Melwyn Hampton, Md.

The four disappeared in Berlin during November and December last year.

All Germany

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VICTOR RIESEL: INSIDE LABOR

Riesel: Reds In Mighty Sweat Over Cracks In Production

Award me a medal with lusters. I have just gone ver every original word of Nikita Khrushchev's seven-our speech to the Soviet ommunist Party's 21st Con-ress. I submit that this is ction above and beyond the all of duty.

Fellow workers, now I know ven what Khrushchev thinks. bf Comrade Zubkov, chairman f the Krasnoyarsk Integrated Expedition of the Council for he Study of the Productive Forces of the USSR Academy of Science, Nikita likes him. Zubkov agrees with the boss on Socialism.

And what do these documents show of Tovarish Khrushchev's pleasure with Socialism? The boss doesn't like it at all.

That is the big story of the 21st Congress. It will seep out soon enough in other learned studies besides this report. Nikita Khrushchev has just revised Socialism. That is fact. He has moved it closer to Capitalism.

Khrushchev has shifted the Soviet state to the right.

This is evidence that the mighty Soviet State is in a mighty sweat over cracks in its production lines and that Comrade Mikoyan came here for aid in patching up the system which is doing mighty well amongthe stars but not so well on earth. Here are the quotes, buried among hundreds of words, to prove this:

"In Socialist society distribution is realized basically according to the principle 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work'."

"This means that the predominant part of material and cultural wealth is distributed among the society's members in accordance with their labor contribution to communal production," Khrushchev said.

EARTH TREMORS recorded at that moment will undoubtedly be traced to the swift revolving of Karl Marx in his British grave. It has been Marxist philosophy for more than 100 years that Socialism means "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs."

Now what Khrushchev, the revisionist, has done is to tell the thousands at the Soviet Congress that he wants a full day's work for what passes for a full day's pay in Russia. He says in so many words that those who don't work, won't eat and those who work will eat more and be richer.

"The Socialist principle of distribution (of money, food, apartments, cars etc.—VR) according to work is based on the admission of the impossibility of an equalizing distribution in the period of Socialism," Khrushchev said in startling retreat from the former positions of Lenin, Marx and a fellow named Joe Stalin.

"This is the only sensible and just principle of distribution in the given conditions. One cannot fail to see that equalization would lead to unjust distribution."

Now hear this:

"Both the good and bad workers would receive the same. This is advantageous only for idlers. Thus the material incentive of people to work better, to increase labor productivity, to produce more, would be undermined.

"Equalization would mean not a transition to Communism but the discrediting of Communism."

KHRUSHCHEV REPORTED that all this business about all men no longer being equal in shop and factory was approved last November by millions of Soviet citizens. Comrade K said that more than 968,000 meetings were held "in enterprises and projects, at collective and state farms, in scientific and educational establishments, in army and navy detachments and at Soviet institutions."

KHRUSHCHEV
Rickety or rockety?

Comrade Big then said that these meetings "were attended by more than 70,000,000 people." Of these, more than 4,672,000 comrades "made remarks, amendments and suggestions."

In addition, said Khrushchev, "central and local parties and Soviet bodies, editors of newspapers, periodicals, radio and TV received from working people over 650,000 letters and articles with suggestions and remarks about various sections of these on target figures. Of these, over 300,000 have been published."

Apparently Comrade K and the other Russians have discovered the secret for successful Communism—Capitalist production. Little wonder Mikoyan enjoyed Wall Street and the supermarkets.

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Pervukhin Admits Anti-Party Activity

MOSCOW, Feb. 3 (UPI) Demoted Deputy Premier Mikhail Pervukhin today confessed before the full 21st congress of the Soviet Communist Party that he had sided in part with the Bulganin-Malenkov anti-Party group.

He begged for forgiveness, but the words of his elaborate recantation were hardly out of his mouth before he was told, on the spot, that his confession was not enough.

Perukhin rose before the congress, assembled inside the Kremlin, and said that "To my bitter regret I must state that at a time fraught with responsibility for the Party, I was unable to discern the anti-Party plans of that group."

Doubted Khrushchev

He admitted he had expressed doubts about Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev's plan for decentralizing the control of industry and "supported attacks on Khrushchev, but did not agree with the change of leadership suggested by the anti-Party group."

Then the first of the anti-Party group to recant before the full congress thanked the Communist Party Central Committee for the chance it gave him "to atone for my guilt before the Party."

Deputy Premier Jozef Kuzmin immediately criticized Pervukhin's confession.

"Pervukhin has said nothing about his (own) anti-Party activities," said Kuzman, who is chairman of the state planning commission. "He apparently reckons that his activities in the anti-Party group and his failure to do anything to unmask that group would go unnoticed."

It was the first time Pervukhin specifically had been termed a member of the anti-Party group, which included Nikolai A. Bulganin, Georgi Malenkov, V. M. Molotov, Lazar Kaganovich and Dmitri Shepilov.

Demoted Earlier

When the other members of the group were banished from high Party position in 1957, Pervukhin merely was demoted from full membership to alternate in the Party presidium. Later he was demoted from deputy premier and named ambassador to East Germany.

The others retained their membership in the Party central committee, but today, Tursunbai Uljabayev, head of the Communist Party in Tajikistan, told the congress it was "hardly expedient" for them to remain in the powerful central committee.

"The explanations given by members of the group cannot satisfy anybody," Uljabayev said.

There has been much speculation that the anti-Party group would be removed from the committee during the present congress but it was not believed that any criminal action would be taken against them.

RUSSIA

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These Days . . . . .

By George E. Sokolsky

No Sensation

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV'S long speech at the 21st Congress of the Russian Communist Party was not sensational. He blamed the United States for the continuation of the Cold War and he threatened to intensify it in the economic field. He announced that Soviet Russia is ahead in the production of missiles, which it obviously is. He stated the unity of the Soviet universal state, except Yugoslavia. He favored peace with the United States but indicated no workable program except a Russian victory. He promised the Russian people a higher standard of living and better working hours and the victory of socialism over capitalism.

Sokolsky

It could not have taken more than six hours to say this and therefore it must be assumed that Khrushchev said more and that it has not yet been made available. His great "secret" speech in the 20th Congress, which has created a sensation throughout the world, has never yet been completely published in Russia. From past experience, I would say that when the entire 21st Congress Khrushchev speech becomes available it will be a very different document from that which censorship permitted to be published.

THE assertion of unity between the Chinese and Russian Communists as delivered by Chou En-lai, was to have been expected but the reports available have no references to Mao Tze-tung's left deviation which is from a Kremlin standpoint, very serious. Mao Tze-tung personally was not present at the 21st Congress. Chou En-lai, while Premier of Red China, does not have the stature in his own country of Mao Tze-tung, whose position is comparable to what Stalin's used to be in Soviet Russia and who is rising in stature in the Communist world. Mao is trying to operate a Marxist communal state in Red China, a reduction of the human being to the condition of a voiceless, will-less creature, absolutely subject to the power of the authority of the state. This is called a leftist deviation among Communists, was tried in Soviet Russia in the early years of the revolution and rejected, and endangers both agricultural and industrial production.

Khrushchev is not worried so much about that as he is that Mao will drive the Chinese people into a counter-revolution of great violence which would either give the "imperialists" an occasion for intervention in China or which could force Soviet Russia to intervene on a large scale, thus consuming resources, slowing up developments and perhaps disclosing the weakness of the Soviet universal state. The Russians show every evidence of being frightened by what Mao is doing to his own people.

CHOU EN-LAI did not refer to any of this. Therefore his speech was of little significance, for the delegates to the 21st Congress, mostly Party workers, know what problems are presented by this leftist deviation and a mere declaration of unity and an accusation that the United States is attempting to break up this unity can make little impression upon them. They have heard all that before.

There can be no question but that the important purpose of Anastas Mikoyan's visit to the United States was to strengthen Nikita Khrushchev's position at the 21st Congress either by some decision which would bring an end to the Cold War on Soviet Russia's terms or by indicating to the delegates that there was hope of a two person-summit conference in the very near future — the two persons being President Eisenhower and Khrushchev. Mikoyan brought nothing home and therefore Khrushchev's speech, so far as it has been reported, contains no triumphant note.

Perhaps there will be another speech or some act during or immediately after the Congress which will give us a better indication of what Khrushchev is thinking or why he called this Congress at this time. Russian Communist Party Congresses are important and are never called without reason. The reason for this Congress is not yet clear.

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2/3/59

INSIDE LABOR
THE VICTOR RIESEL COLUMN

68452

By Victor Riesel

Award me a medal with clusters. I have just gone over every original word of Nikita Khrushchev's seven-hour speech to the Soviet Communist Party's 21st Congress. I submit that this is action above and beyond the call of duty.

Fellow workers, now I even know what Khrushchev thinks of Comrade Zubkov, chairman of the Krasnoyarsk Integrated Expedition of the Council for the Study of the Productive Forces of the USSR Academy of Science. Nikita likes him. Zubkov agrees with the boss on Socialism.

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--MORE--

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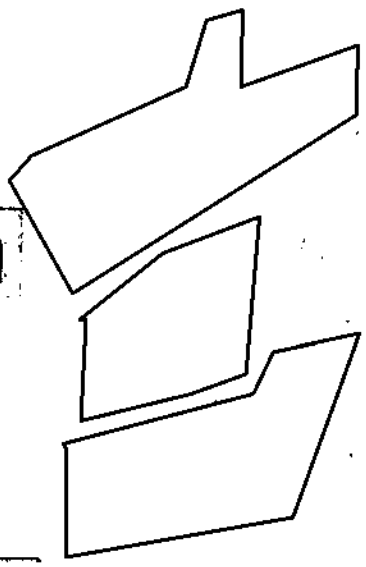
Khrushchev's Report:

• Stresses Growing Struggle for Peace
• Sees World Socialism Ahead in 1965



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By GEORGE MORRIS

MOSCOW — The balance of economic and political power will decisively swing in favor of the world system of socialism by the end of the seven-year plan, Nikita Khrushchev, Soviet Communist Party leader, predicted last week in his comprehensive seven-hour report on the new plan and its relation to the world situation. By 1965, he said, the combined production of the socialist countries will be more than half the world's total, the superiority

of socialism over capitalism will be ensured and the chance of war will be further reduced.

At the conclusion of the report the delegates and guests from 70 fraternal Communist parties accorded Khrushchev a prolonged ovation.

Cheers followed as Khrushchev stepped to the section where Chou En-lai, Togliatti, Duclos and other heads of visiting delegations were seated, and shook hands with each to dramatize the unity that he stressed in his report.

★

KHRUSHCHEV'S speech, running 190 pages, is undoubtedly a great historical document of our time for the many domestic, international, and some new theoretical questions covered. But it also marks the inauguration of the era towards transition to communism in the USSR, the period in which the scales will tip in favor of socialism throughout the world.

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The Worker Pg. 1
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The speech also represents a popular book on socialism in Khrushchev's agitational style.

The thesis of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that war is not inevitable, has proved to be correct and will strengthen the next stage, said Khrushchev. But he added that there are still dangers of war provocation, especially from West Germany.

He warned that the USSR which has sent rockets hundreds of thousands of kilometers into the cosmos can also place one with accuracy on any spot on the globe.

★

THE SEVEN-YEAR PLAN, said Khrushchev, was approved unanimously in all Republic congresses after discussions that involved 900,000 meetings, attended by 70 million persons, of whom 4,672,000 spoke. This showing, he said, leaves no doubt of the total rout and isolation of the "despicable" group of factionalists headed by Georgi Malenkov and Vyacheslav Molotov.

In a long section on international affairs, Khrushchev noted that there are 88 Communist parties with a total membership of 33 million, a tremendous victory for Marxism-Leninism. But, he warned, there was a new wave of reaction with many recent dictatorships, showing a total disregard by the bourgeoisie of its early slogans for freedom.

He said that fascism today is not always in the form of discredited Hitlerism, adding: "It is high time for representatives of all trends in the labor movement, after casting off the mountebanks of anti-communism, to sit around one table to work out a mutually acceptable platform of joint working class action in defense of their interests, peace."

★

KHRUSHCHEV reviewed at length the rout of revisionism in the world and noted its failure to capture a single Communist party. His main attention was on Yugoslavia with sharp criticism.

KHRUSHCHEV

Prolonged applause followed when Khrushchev said, "As I already pointed out no one is now kept in Soviet prisons for political reasons. It would be a good thing if Yugoslav leaders with their penchant for disquisitions about the withering away of coercive agencies were to release all Communists now in prison for having disagreed with the new program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and fore holding dissenting opinions on the building of socialism and the role of the party."

The section on the theoretical problems of the period of transition from Socialism into communism that the Soviet Union is now entering calls for a still greater unfolding of democracy. But he stressed that he did not mean the false bourgeois democracy that some people in the west want but the democracy that increasingly involves greater masses in the administration of affairs while police and other such organs decline in influence.

There will be no reduction in military strength, he went on, to strong applause, while the Soviet Union is threatened.

At one point, while Khrushchev was eloquently describing the bright prospects of the next period, sunshine suddenly poured through the windows of the great assembly hall. "Let the correspondents of the capitalist press who are here take notice that nature is with us," he declared.

The congress, a large percentage of whose delegates are workers distinguished on the production lines, then began discussion of Khrushchev's report.

★

The 21st congress of the Communist Party here marks the climactic point of a mass mobilization that for vigor, scope, and intensity has no precedent even in the Soviet Union.

During recent weeks, judging by the spirit of the country, every detail of Soviet life has been pitched for this momentous gathering in the Kremlin.

The world significance of the congress is also pointed up by the presence of hundreds of invited guests of almost every Communist Party in the world. It has the largest fraternal representation in history. James Jackson, member of the national executive committee of the Communist Party of the United States, and Negro leader is among the guests. The Latin American Communist parties are strongly represented among the guests.

★

THE CONGRESS will undoubtedly give full approval to the breath-taking seven-year plan theses submitted by Nikita Khrushchev. The Communist parties of all the Soviet republics and subdivisions have already given unanimous approval at their own congresses and to the implementation of the plan in their own areas.

There is in fact a movement developing in some fields, notably in agriculture, in meat and dairy production for the fulfillment of the seven-year plan in five years. The congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Ukraine, the

(Continued on page 14)

KHRUSHCHEV'S REPORT

(Continued from page 1)

second largest Soviet Republic, approved the goal of completing the seven year plan in agriculture in five years. Some other districts are doing likewise. The Ryazan district of the Russian Soviet Republic decided to jump its meat production this year to three and one-half times last year's output and called on the other districts to do likewise.

Such goals are not projected lightly but follow considerable examination of the possibilities.

★

THE PRIMARY NEWS in the Soviet press, radio, and television in recent weeks has been the development of a tremendous emulation campaign of an ever growing number of enterprises for new production targets in honor of the Congress.

The results everywhere, plus the figures on last year's production which have just been released, showing a ten percent jump, encourage the feeling that the seven year goal can be surpassed.

The seven-year plan envisages an 80 percent rise in total national production, 60 to 65 percent in national income, with the total projected capital investment equal to the total invested since the revolution. Agricultural production is to rise 170 percent.

There are commensurate targets affecting living standards, including a 40 percent rise in real wages, 15 million new urban homes, seven million new rural homes, and a tremendous rise in cultural, educational, scientific, recreation, health and other such targets.

There is a new emphasis and far greater emphasis on consumer needs, with the prospect of the shortest work week in the world by 1968, and the world's highest living standard some years later.

FOR SEVERAL MONTHS the plan has stood the test of discussion by millions of persons participating directly, in the unions, shop managements, party affiliates, collective farms and every other conceivable organization.

The discussion has not been limited to general goals. Every area down to the lowest geographic or production unit has also received a plan in terms of its own specific objectives, and has appraised the possibilities concretely.

In the course of this discussion much evidence has been produced that vast reserves are still untapped, providing even greater possibilities for a leap forward.

★

NO LESS PROMINENT in the tremendous outpouring of propaganda and education concerning the plan is the emphasis that the Soviet Union desires durable peace.

The people are repeatedly reminded that a country with such plans cannot want war or tensions that would hamper progress.

Mikoyan's trip was a dramatization of the Soviet desires both to the people here and to the world. His trip is regarded here as tremendously successful in both respects. But at the press conference, of 300 newsmen, which I attended, on his return to Moscow, Mikoyan noted the contradiction between the cold war position of the U. S. government and the pro-peace, pro-trade sentiment he observed among America's businessmen, and even more among the workers and the people generally.

Mikoyan described the warm reception which he received in the major cities of the U. S.

mostly among outstanding bankers and industrialists, and the sentiment for normal trade and political relations.

He then said of U. S. government policy: "So far, unfortunately, there is no change in that respect in evidence."

Regarding the talks with President Eisenhower, Vice President Richard Nixon, and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, on the possibility of negotiating major international disputes, Mikoyan said they "so far have not brought positive results. Apparently the Administration is not yet ready to develop trade relations with us. Well, so what, we will wait for more favorable times."

Observing that he found sentiment for peace, for reduction of tensions even among political leaders Mikoyan added, "these views of political leaders of the United States have not yet received expression in practical steps by the government."

Mikoyan nevertheless saw great value in his trip and noted that the Central Committee of the Communist Party had approved his activities abroad as "furtherance of the work of reducing international tensions and improving Soviet-American relations."

★

ANOTHER indication of the developing peace trend in America was Mikoyan's reply to this correspondent's question on the attitude of American labor leaders, as well as of the rank and file.

He replied:

"I must say that meeting trade union leaders did not enter my plans, but on the initiative of Carey (James B. Carey) AFL-CIO vice president and head of the electrical union such a meeting took place at breakfast. We had sharp, acute, but interesting discussion that continued in that tone to the end of the breakfast.

"I told them 'Gentlemen, leaders of the trade union movement, I cannot understand you. Your capitalists discuss with us but you don't want to discuss with us. Why? Is it not permissible to request from you at least the same kind of contacts your capitalist permit themselves?'

"I think I did not ask too much from American trade union leaders in suggesting partial relationship with us."

Mikoyan noted that Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers union, was among those present, and that Reuther had worked in the Soviet Gorki plant for a year and one-half in the thirties. He continued:

"From the very start he attacked me on the Hungarian and Berlin questions and thought he would smash me to powder. I did not hold back but replied appropriately. We argued sharply but there was a friendly situation. They were sharp, we were sharp, and we criticized each other harshly, but in the end they said they considered the conference useful. I agreed the discussion was useful."

Mikoyan also described the warm greetings from workers in the factories and from local union leaders. But he added:

"Meany (George Meany) president of the AFL-CIO, found it necessary publicly to declare it was wrong for trade union leaders to arrange breakfast with Mikoyan

"He was not disturbed by the fact that groups of big businessmen like Ford, Harriman arranged lunches in honor of the Soviet representative. But the arrangement of a breakfast with trade union leaders did disturb him. However, I am not losing hope that he will in time reexamine his position and become an advocate of mutual breakfasts with us."

0-19 (Rev. 7-18-58)

Central Research Section

REC- 65

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2 More Reds Under Attack As Party Foes

Kremlin Veterans Cited at Session Of Soviet Congress

MOSCOW, Jan. 30 (AP).—The Soviet Party congress went into its fourth day today with two more Kremlin veterans added to the anti-party group.

Mikhail Pervukhin, former Ambassador to Communist East Germany, and Maxim Saburov, former high-ranking economic planner, were the latest under fire.

Mr. Pervukhin is a candidate member of the party presidium and Mr. Saburov is a member of the party central committee.

An account of Leningrad Party Chief Ivan Spiridonov's speech to the Congress yesterday, published in the party newspaper Pravda, linked Mr. Pervukhin and Mr. Saburov with the five men already removed from high party and government posts for opposing Premier Khrushchev's policies.

Campaign Launched

Mr. Spiridonov kicked off a campaign yesterday to bring the anti-party group before the Congress to answer for its actions. According to the published text of his statement, he said that Mr. Pervukhin and Mr. Saburov also should be called before the Congress to explain their actions.

Those condemned previously were former Premiers Georgi Malenkov and Nikolai Bulganin, former Foreign Ministers V. M. Molotov and Dimitri Shepilov, and former Deputy Premier Lazar Kaganovich. They have been transferred to minor posts at various points in the Soviet Union and, so far as is known, have not been expelled from the party.

Both Mr. Pervukhin and Mr. Saburov were at the opening session of the Congress Tuesday, and presumably were present yesterday for Mr. Spiridonov's attack.

Mr. Spiridonov noted that Marshal Bulganin had confessed his part in the "treasonable conspiracy" to the party central committee but said "A candidate member of the presidium (Pervukhin) and a member of the central committee (Saburov) have kept silent on their roles."

Deplores Silence

"For half a year they have not told the part they played in the group," he continued. "How are we to understand this silence.

"We demand of you to answer before this Congress, the first since the group conspiracy was uncovered."

Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko told the Congress yesterday that the growing might of the Communist bloc, which he described as dedicated to peaceful co-existence, will soon make a new world war impossible.

At the same time he declared that arming of West Germany with atomic weapons was a roadway to war.

Warns of Rocket Power

"The distance to the most remote part of West Germany is much closer to us than the moon," Mr. Gromyko warned the West in an obvious reference to Soviet rocket power.

United States Secretary of State Dulles and Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of the Bonn republic were singled out for attack on the German question.

"Dulles found nothing better to do at his news conference of two days ago than again to threaten war," Mr. Gromyko said. "But he cannot threaten the Soviet Union because there can be only one outcome to war—the defeat of the aggressor, a defeat which will be unparalleled in history."

EX-102

REC- 65 61-16-A

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117 FEB 6 1959

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Date 1-30-59

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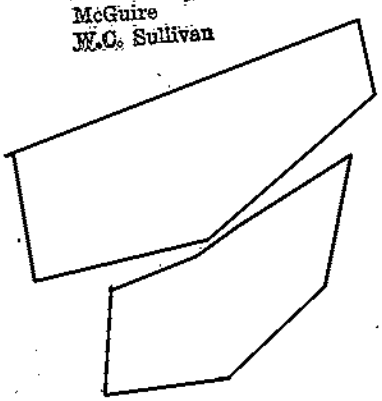
W.C. Sullivan



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O.C.P. - Russia

UPI -24
(COMMUNISTS)
MOSCOW--THE SOVIET PRESS TODAY LINKED TWO MORE TOP COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS WITH THE DISGRACED "ANTI-PARTY GROUP" OF FORMER GOVERNMENT LEADERS, AND A NEW CRACKDOWN APPEARED IN THE MAKING.
SPEAKERS AT TODAY'S SESSION OF THE 21ST CONGRESS OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY HEAPED FURTHER DENUNCIATION ON THE GROUP, APPARENTLY SETTING THE STAGE FOR THEIR CONFESSIONS OF PLOTTING AGAINST PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV'S POLICIES.
THE SOVIET PRESS LINKED ONE-TIME PRESIDIUM MEMBERS MIKHAIL PERVUKHIN AND MAXIM SABUROV WITH THE GROUP WHICH WAS EXPELLED FROM THE COMMUNIST HIERARCHY IN 1957 ON CHARGES OF TRYING TO SABOTAGE THE PARTY'S DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY.
1/30--TS945A

61-16-A

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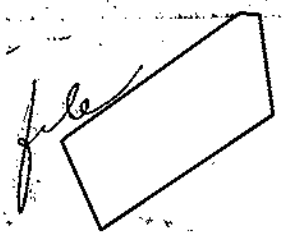
117 FEB 11 1959



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O.C.P. - Russia

UPI -13
(COMMUNISTS)
MOSCOW--IVAN V. SPIRIDINOV, LEADER OF THE LENINGRAD COMMUNIST PARTY, DEMANDED TODAY THE "ANTI-PARTY" GROUP OF V. M. MOLOTOV AND OTHER DISGRACED PARTY MEMBERS BE BROUGHT BEFORE THE 21ST COMMUNIST CONGRESS FOR AN ACCOUNTING.
MEMBERS OF THE GROUP ARE MOLOTOV, FORMER PREMIER BULGANIN AND GEORGI MALENKOV, FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER DMITRI SHEPILOV AND FORMER MEMBER OF THE PARTY PRESIDIUM LAZAR KAGANOVICH. ALL HAVE BEEN DENOUNCED BEFORE FOR TRYING TO WRECK THE PARTY PROGRAM.
SPIRIDINOV PRAISING THE SEVEN-YEAR PLAN OUTLINED BY PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV SAID IT HAD RECEIVED THE IMMENSE ENTHUSIASM OF THE ENTIRE SOVIET PEOPLE.
PRAVDA, IN THE SECOND ATTACK ON THE GROUP THIS WEEK, SAID TODAY THE SUCCESSES OF THE SOVIET UNION SHOWS HOW RIGHT IT WAS TO OUST THE ANTI-PARTY GROUP.
1/29--TS927A

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117 FEB 11 1959

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Communist Party—Russia

UPI-198
(COMMUNIST)
MOSCOW--THE SOVIET NEWS AGENCY TASS SAID TODAY PETR NIKITIN, A CANDIDATE MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, DIED TODAY.
NIKITIN WAS DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE COMMITTEE FOR FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS OF THE U.S.S.R. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.
1/27--N628P

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

0-19 (11-22-55)

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Captive U. S. Pilot Says Red Germans Isolate Him From All News of West

By Joseph B. Fleming

BERLIN, Jan. 26 (UPI)—A 27-year-old United States Army pilot reported through the East German press office today he was being well treated in Communist captivity but was cut off from all sources of Western news.

He said he had not even been informed about United States efforts to get him released.

The pilot, Lt. Richard Mackin of Washington, D. C., was interviewed by United Press International through written questions and answers handled by the East German press office.

[Lt. Mackin formerly lived at 1700 Harvard st. nw. His father, Col. James H. Mackin, is a former executive officer of Walter Reed Army Medical Center, now stationed in Germany.]

A spokesman for the press office said the only way the United States could get the flier back would be to negotiate directly with the East German government, not the Soviets. The United States has resisted doing this lest it be interpreted as implied recognition of the Communist East German regime.

Mackin's answers appeared stilted. They were worded carefully, avoiding both criticism and praise of his Communist captors. But their tone indicated he was chafing to get out.

He said he was taken prisoner Dec. 3 by the East Germans when his small liaison aircraft ran out of gasoline and lost its way while on a flight north of the West German city of Bayreuth.

He said he did not know he was over East Germany until he bailed out and spoke to passers-by.

Mackin said he knew only from the East German press that the East German government has said it is ready to turn him over to U. S. authorities.

"I do not know if the U. S. A. has undertaken anything to bring about my release," he said.

He said he was being held at Erfurt, but gave no details.

Mackin said he was taking daily lessons in German from an East German army lieutenant and was teaching the officer English in return.

Asked how he was being treated Mackin answered, "I am being treated well here and have everything I need for my daily life."

He said he was getting translations of East German newspapers but "English or American broadcasts cannot be received in this area."

He said he was given books to read "but they are not always to my taste."

Asked if he wanted to send a message to his wife, or anyone else, Mackin said, "No thanks."

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File

O.C.P. - Russia

EX 105

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57 FEB 3 1959

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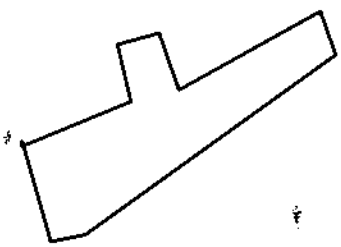
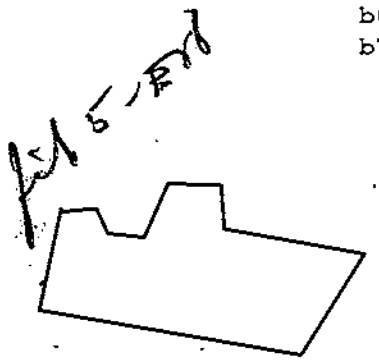
Zhukov Assailed By Reds Again

MOSCOW, Jan. 21 (AP)—A new attack on Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov was distributed in Moscow yesterday. For perhaps the first time he was labeled a revisionist, a term commonly reserved for those who seek a brand of communism independent from Moscow.

Marshal V. I. Chuikov, hero of the Soviet defense of Stalingrad in World War II, told the Ukraine Communist Party Congress last Saturday that the Communist Party Central Committee's 1957 meeting "put a stop to the Zhukov revisionist line aimed at liquidating party control of the armed forces."

When Marshal Zhukov was removed as Defense Minister in 1957, it was hinted that the chief cause was an alleged attempt to build up a personality cult around himself. Later the the party attacked him for refusing to accept ideological direction of the army.





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Communism Described as Militant Faith

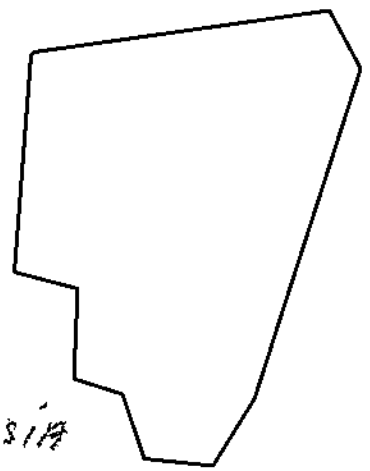
Col. George F. Conner, a staff expert on Soviet Russia for the Armed Forces Industrial College, warned last night that the Communists are taught that anything that helps the party is right and anything that retards it is wrong.

"Concepts of decency or morality, as we understand them, do not enter into the Communist teaching or practice," he told a dinner meeting of the Reserve Officers Association's Intelligence Chapter at the Army-Navy Club, 17th and I sts. nw.

He told the intelligence officers that "those who have studied the strategy and tactics of Soviet communism recognize it for the menace that it is," but when they try to combat it "they encounter their greatest obstacle — an uniformed and apathetic public."

"Soviet communism is the greatest threat to our safety and security that we as a Nation have ever faced," Col. Conner declared.

He called communism a militant religion—even though it denies the existence of God—because it requires "absolute dedication" from its followers and "seeks to destroy all human society that does not fit its pattern."



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Date JAN 19 1959

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U. S. Rejects Prisoner Deal

By the Associated Press

The United States does not intend to deal with East Germany in efforts to obtain the release of a former Washington airman held by Communist authorities since early December.

Officials reported this yesterday, brushed off a new offer from the East German government to negotiate the release of 1st Lt. Richard Mackin, 27, who once lived at 1700 Harvard street N.W.

Lt. Mackin, flying a courier plane near the East-West border, lost his way, ran out of fuel and parachuted into East Germany last December 3.

The United States has been pressing Soviet authorities in East Germany to arrange for Lt. Mackin's release. The Russians have refused to do so, saying the matter was in East German hands.

United States officials said there were indications that the Soviet attitude was softening and there was reason to hope Lt. Mackin would be released in the relatively near future. They declined to say on what they based this opinion.

Last year, a group of American soldiers held by the East Germans were freed by a deal between the American Red Cross and the Red Cross Society of East Germany.

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O.C.R.-Russia

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NOT RECORDED
117 JAN 21 1959

38 JAN 22 1959

Wash. Post and Times Herald
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N. Y. Herald Tribune
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Date JAN 15 1959

0-20 (Rev. 7-18-58)

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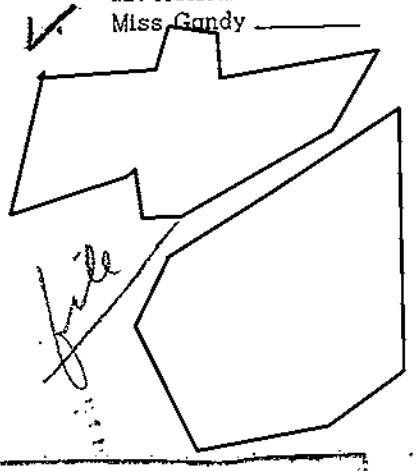

C.P.- Russia

UPI-154
(SOVIET)
LONDON--MRS. MARIA KOVRIGINA, SOVIET HEALTH MINISTER FOR THE LAST FOUR YEARS, WAS "RELEASED" FROM HER JOB TODAY.
THE TASS NEWS AGENCY SAID MRS. KOVRIGINA, THE ONLY WOMAN MINISTER IN THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, HAS BEEN "RELEASED FROM (HER) DUTIES IN CONNECTION WITH A TRANSFER TO OTHER WORK."
THE ANNOUNCEMENT DID NOT AMPLIFY THE REASONS FOR THE TRANSFER. IT SAID SHE HAD BEEN REPLACED BY SERGEI KURASHOV, HE HAD BEEN MINISTER OF HEALTH IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATED REPUBLIC.
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57 JAN 23 1959 325

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Moscow Aide's Suicide Reported

BERLIN, Jan. 8 (AP)—A West Berlin tabloid said today Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev's secretary has committed suicide by swallowing poison.

Nacht-Depesche identified the secretary as Alexander V. Usov, 39. It said the information came from Communist Party sources.

The paper quoted its informants as saying Usov may have taken his life because he reportedly knew about an alleged plot to overthrow Khrushchev during the forthcoming congress of the Soviet Communist Party. The sources said Usov feared Khrushchev might suspect him of being involved.

Nacht-Depesche did not say when the alleged suicide took place. Confirmation of its report could not be obtained in Berlin.

Russia

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o C.P.- Russia

Reds Denounce Bulganin For 'Feeble' Confession

Reuters

MOSCOW, Jan. 6—Former Premier Nikolai Bulganin today was denounced by leading Russian Communists as a "double-crosser" and "traitor" for his recent "feeble and false" public confession of complicity in the 1957 anti-party plot.

Political observers here believe he will be forced to make a further confession with more details.

The criticism of Bulganin is published in a stenographic record of proceedings of the Dec. 15 Central Committee meeting in Moscow. It is the first time since World War II that an ostensibly full report of such proceedings has been published.

The new dispensation insures the widest publicity for the policy of Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev, who also is Party secretary. The first edition of the report was sold out here almost immediately and now is unobtainable.

The report provides evidence that Bulganin is still a member of the Central Committee, unlike the other members of the antiparty group, including former Premier Georgi Malenkov, former Foreign Ministers Vyacheslav M. Molotov and Dmitri Shepilov and former Deputy Premier Lazar Kaganovich.

Nine members of the Central Committee attacked Bulganin's confession.

S. D. Ignatiev, first secretary of Tatar Provincial Party Committee and a former Minister of State Security, said after hearing Bulganin's admission of guilt that his speech "sounded feeble and unconvincing."

E. P. Kolushchitsky, secretary of the Omsk Regional Party Committee, addressing Bulganin, said: "You were a member of this vile, treacherous group and that is what you call yourself."

Minister of Agriculture V. V. Matskevich said that "if Bulganin has in fact repented, then he must . . . tell honestly about his subversive work and about the roots that have remained."

L. R. Kornlets, chairman of the Committee for Grain Products, described Bulganin as a "double-crosser and traitor who does not want to tell the whole truth."

Today's report suggests that the question of the antiparty group will be raised again during the 21st Communist Party Congress opening here on Jan. 27.

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UPI-144
(RUSSIA)
MOSCOW--OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS MADE PUBLIC TODAY DENOUNCED FORMER PREMIER NIKOLAI BULGANIN AS A "TRAITOR AND DOUBLE-DEALER."
THE DOCUMENTS SAID HE SPOKE "INSINCERELY AND UNTRUTHFULLY" WHEN HE MADE A CONFESSION OF ERRORS AT THE DECEMBER MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY -- Russia
THE DENUNCIATION WAS INCLUDED IN A HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED SPEECH BY L. P. KORNITZ, PRESIDENT OF THE STATE COMMITTEE ON CEREALS. THE SPEECH WAS IN THE STENOGRAPHIC REPORT OF THE LAST MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WHICH MET BETWEEN DEC. 15 AND 19.
THE REMARKS WERE NOT CONTAINED IN A RESOLUTION OF THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WHEN THE MEETING WAS FINISHED.
ACCORDING TO TODAY'S SPEECH, KORNITZ REFERRED TO THE ENTIRE ANTI-PARTY" GROUP IN HIS REMARKS LAST DECEMBER.
HE SAID THAT "FACTS AND FIGURES TELL HOW HARMFUL AND CRIMINAL WERE THE ACTIONS OF THE ANTI-PARTY FACTIONAL GROUP OF MALENKOV, KAGANOVICH, MOLOTOV, BULGANIN AND SHEPILOV, WHO OPPOSED THE MEASURES OF THE PARTY ON THE SHARP UPSURGE OF AGRICULTURE."
1/6--N436P

EX.-132

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File

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C.C.P. Russia

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UPI-73
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US Russia

RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR MIKHAIL A. MENSHIKOV SAID TODAY THAT SOVIET DEPUTY PREMIER ANASTAS MIKOYAN WILL ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON DURING "THE FIRST WEEK OF JANUARY" AND REMAIN IN THE UNITED STATES FOR "ONLY ABOUT TWO WEEKS."

12/30-P1223P

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UPI-7A
ADD 1 MIKOYAN
THE SOVIET ENVOY SAID HE EXPECTS MIKOYAN, SOVIET PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV'S RIGHT HAND MAN, TO TALK WITH "SOME OFFICIALS" BUT HE DECLINED TO SPECULATE ON THE SUBJECTS. MENSHIKOV SAID APPOINTMENT OF MIKOYAN WITH PRESIDENT EISENHOWER AND SECRETARY DULLES HAVE NOT BEEN SOUGHT AS YET.
12/30-P1225P

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UPI -75

ADD 2 MIKOYAN

THE AMBASSADOR SAID HE EXPECTS MIKOYAN TO VISIT SOME AREAS IN THE UNITED STATES OUTSIDE OF WASHINGTON BUT DOUBTED THAT HE COULD GO AS FAR AS THE WEST COAST BECAUSE OF THE LIMITED TIME HE WILL BE HERE.

MENSHIKOV TALKED WITH REPORTERS AFTER A 55-MINUTE CONVERSATION AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT WITH DEPUTY UNDERSECRETARY ROBERT MURPHY, DURING WHICH THEY DISCUSSED THE SUBJECT OF MIKOYAN'S FORTHCOMING VISIT.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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UPI -77
ADD 3 MIKOYAN
MENSHIKOV SAID THAT DESPITE HIS LONG TALK WITH MURPHY, DETAILS OF MIKOYAN'S VISIT HAVE NOT BEEN WORKED OUT.
HE DECLINED TO SPECULATE ON WHETHER MIKOYAN WANTED TO DISCUSS THE BERLIN CRISIS OR TRADE MATTERS, SAYING "WHO CAN ANSWER THAT QUESTION" AT THIS TIME.
MIKOYAN WILL "BE GLAD TO MEET WITH SOME AMERICANS HE HAS KNOWN BEFORE" AND IN ADDITION WILL PROBABLY WANT TO SEE AMERICAN OFFICIALS, MENSHIKOV SAID.
DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES HERE HAVE SPECULATED THAT MIKOYAN IS COMING TO THE UNITED STATES TO SOUND OUT THE PRESIDENT AND DULLES ON THE POSSIBILITY OF AN EISENHOWER-KHRUSHCHEV MEETING TO DISCUSS THE BERLIN CRISIS AND OTHER TOP ISSUES IN THE EAST-WEST COLD WAR.
DESPITE MIKOYAN'S LONG CONNECTION WITH TRADE MATTERS, OFFICIALS AND DIPLOMATS ARE INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT IS NOT THE MAIN PURPOSE FOR HIS VISIT, ALTHOUGH IT MAY COME UP. KHRUSHCHEV ONLY LAST SUMMER WAS REBUFFED BY EISENHOWER WHEN HE PUT OUT A FEELER FOR INCREASED TRADE WITH THE U.S. AND AN AMERICAN LOAN TO HELP FINANCE IT.
MIKOYAN HAS SAID ONLY THAT HE WANTS TO COME TO WASHINGTON "AS THE GUEST" OF MENSHIKOV. THERE HAS BEEN NO FURTHER OFFICIAL WORD ON THE REASONS BEHIND HIS SUDDEN DECISION.
DULLES IS KNOWN TO BE QUITE WILLING TO TALK TO MIKOYAN AND HAVE EISENHOWER MEET WITH THE SOVIET OFFICIAL. HOWEVER, NEITHER AMERICAN NOR RUSSIAN SOURCES WOULD CONFIRM THAT ANY SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE, ALTHOUGH IT IS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN THAT SUCH MEETINGS WILL TAKE PLACE.
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Serov Shift Sign of Khrush Woes

(Several trans-Atlantic conversations with private counter intelligence agents in Munich, Germany, are the source of this column on the mystery surrounding Gen. Ivan Serov — and what it could mean to the Main Streets of America.)

VICTOR RIESEL

INSIDE LABOR

I have no secrets. But I have the word of Russian specialists who are constantly talking to those from behind the Bolshoi border that Comrade Prime Minister Khrushchev has run the Soviets into desperate trouble.

There are eye witness accounts of terrific industrial disruption, new forced labor battallions and the simple breakdown of vast quantities of intricate electronic equipment without which no modern state can compete with us.

These facts are as basic as water in the Volga and vodka in a Kremlin cellar. What is a guess, albeit a scientific guess, is the belief of men in Munich's intelligence centers that Tovarich Khrushchev dumped the head of the secret police, Gen. Ivan Serov, because the party chief feared that the opposition would use the economic chaos as an excuse to depose him—and that Serov, the shitty, would be used against him.

RUSSIA

THERE ARE just a handful of men who really know how close Gen. Serov has been to the opposition, "the Stalinists," the anti-Party people, the men Khrushchev fears. It was Serov, for example, who was aide to the missing Gen. Georgi Zhukov and kept his eye on an American General named Eisenhower back in the first days of Berlin's joint occupation.

It was Serov who, as Stalin's special agent, rounded up Germany's atomic and rocket scientists before our intelligence services could get to them and save others like Wehrner Von Braun, now probing the heavens for us.

It was Serov who was the key counter intelligence operative in Stalin's personal secretariat. The little murderer (forgive my passion for understatement) worked directly for Stalin's most intimate aide and personal secretary, Comrade A. N. Poskrebyshev. Serov took orders from Georgi Malenkov, too. In mob jargon, Serov was Stalin's "gun" or private "enforcer." Serov ran a small special secret police unit which specialized in liquidating Stalin's marked men.

Until the other day, Serov personally controlled the virtually unknown political and police sectors of the Communist apparatus inside the army. He helped create this for Stalin—who handed him killer assignments known only to the two of them. Serov knew, or knows, more about Comrade K than Khrushchev does and he was the only one with enough personal power to do anything to the boss.

THOSE DETAILEDLY informed men at Munich's listening posts advise us to take these facts and view them against the background of the well camouflaged industrial chaos inside Russia today. Add to this the fact that Khrushchev had to face the Soviet Communist Party's 21st Congress, with its great concentration of delegates. What could he tell his comrades?

He can rattle the timid in the U.S. with a series of intimate revelations in cozy conversations. But his party delegates knew of the new Communist labor brigades in huge factories. These are forced labor units. As recently as Nov. 25, there were reports in Moscow that these slave labor battalions numbered "millions of people"—and that is a direct quote. This report said:

"Communist labor brigades have appeared and are multiplying in all Soviet Republics in various industrial centers, in factories, transport, construction and on the farms."

These brigades use youngsters as well as women. They have been taken out of their schools and homes to beef up the labor force and keep production at what will be a marginal living level, at best.

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Soviet May Try Malenkov on Treason Charge

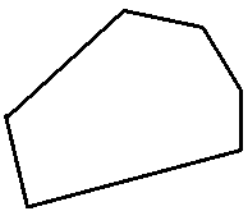
LONDON, Dec. 28 (AP) Diplomatic observers suggested today there was an increasing possibility that Soviet former Premier Georgi Malenkov will be put on trial for treason.

A call for action against him, they said, may be issued at next month's congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

Malenkov has been the target of increasingly bitter attacks as a member of the anti-Party group of top Communists banished from their posts by Communist chieftain Nikita Khrushchev.

Russia

Russia



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O.C.P. - Russia

UPI -99

(MIKOYAN)

RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR MIKHAIL A. MENSHIKOV EXPRESSED HOPE TODAY THAT DEPUTY SOVIET PREMIER ANASTAS MIKOYAN MIGHT BE ABLE TO SEE SOME OF UNITED STATES DURING HIS FORTHCOMING UNOFFICIAL VISIT TO WASHINGTON.

MENSHIKOV MET FOR 45 MINUTES TODAY WITH ROBERT MURPHY, DEPUTY UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS, AT MURPHY'S INVITATION.

THE RUSSIAN ENVOY TOLD NEWSMEN THAT THE TALK WAS GENERAL IN NATURE AND THAT THEY HAD DISCUSSED MIKOYAN'S VISIT "IN A VERY GENERAL WAY."

MIKOYAN IS EXPECTED TO ARRIVE HERE EARLY NEXT MONTH AS MENSHIKOV'S GUEST. MENSHIKOV SAID "AS A HOST I WANT HIM TO TRAVEL A LITTLE BIT AND SEE THE COUNTRY." HE SAID THE POSSIBLE ITINERARY HAS NOT BEEN DECIDED.

MIKOYAN IS EXPECTED TO MEET WITH U.S. OFFICIALS DURING A TWO-WEEK VISIT WHICH OSTENSIBLY IS AN UNOFFICIAL CALL ON MENSHIKOV.

MENSHIKOV SAID HE DID NOT DISCUSS THE BERLIN SITUATION WITH MURPHY.

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Berlin Reds To Negotiate Freeing Pilot

BERLIN, Dec. 24 (AP).—Communist East Germany said tonight it is prepared to negotiate for the release of a United States pilot, formerly of Washington, D. C., held since December 3. His plane ran out of gas 10 miles inside the East German border.

The official East German news agency, ADN, said the East German Embassy in Prague has offered its services.

ADN said the embassy, through one of its officials, has already had contact with the military attache of the United States Embassy in Prague.

The East German official gave the United States official a letter the pilot, Lt. Richard Mackin, 27, formerly of 1700 Harvard street N.W., had written to his family. Lt. Mackin is the son of Col. James H. Mackin, former executive officer at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center now serving in Heidelberg, Germany.

Lt. Mackin's wife and 20-month-old son, Michael, have been staying with him near Hanau, Germany, where he is attached to the 3d Armored Division.

State Department officials in Washington said they know nothing of any approach by East German officials in Prague to the United States military attache on the Mackin case.

Officials here said they are continuing to press Soviet authorities for the release of Lt. Mackin. They have not yet had any dealings with East German officials on this case. The United States does not recognize the East German regime and holds the Soviet Union responsible for East German dealings with Americans.

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CONSTANTINE BROWN

Mikoyan's Washington Objective

It Is Thought to Be $2 Billion in Credits To Help Soviet Union 'Cut Our Throats'

Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Anastas Mikoyan is coming to Washington to ask us to help the Soviet Union cut our throats.

In other capitals the visit is linked principally with the Berlin crisis, but the best-informed sources here say that not the slightest hint has been given to the State Department or the Embassy in Moscow that anything of the sort will be discussed. If the Soviet statesman wants to take the initiative and discuss the crisis which was created by Comrade Khrushchev, well and good, these sources say.

The consensus in informed quarters is that Mr. Mikoyan will use his best talents to obtain a trade agreement granting the Soviet Union a credit of between $2 billion and $3 billion to purchase vital American tools and factory equipment for Russian industries.

Visitors such as Cyrus Eaton, Eric Johnston and Senator Humphrey are treated to talks with Khrushchev extending from one to eight hours. They all return to America full of admiration for the Russian progress and convinced that the cold war could be ended if America extended vast credits to the Soviet government. According to those in the know, Senator Humphrey was given in Moscow a list of goods needed by the USSR about as large as the Sears, Roebuck catalog.

Despite the boisterous speeches of the Russian dictator that he soon will have us licked economically, it appears the industrial production of the USSR is far from satisfactory. A number of industrialists and politicians in this country have been pressing the administration for some time to open the gates wide for trade with the Soviet Union and other countries behind the Iron Curtain.

At this time we are trading with Russia on a quid pro quo basis. But a number of industrialists and financiers insist that we should vastly extend that trade. They have forgotten apparently that both Stalin and Khrushchev have announced in numerous statements that they would crush America by bankrupting her and taking away all her foreign markets.

The proposition Mikoyan is reported to be bringing with him is a trade agreement whereby American industries would extend the Soviet Union credit amounting to more than $2 billion payable over a period of between 20 and 25 years at a nominal rate of interest. No private industry can afford to take such a risk or extend credits for such a long period of time. Hence the pressure on the administration that whatever credits the Soviet Union needs to purchase American equipment and goods be financed by our Government. Thus the industrialists would not only be assured immediate payments on delivery but also insured against any default risks.

Judging from the many defaults of the Soviet Union since we renewed relations in 1933, Russia continues to be a poor credit risk. Thus it is incongruous to find that so many prominent Americans who know that Russia wants to cut our throats economically insist on "very liberal terms of trade" with the Soviet Union.

It is becoming increasingly evident that although the Soviet Union has made important progress in the last 40 years in the industrial field, it is still far from becoming a real competitor. Much of the industrial know-how displayed since World War II came from industrial espionage, especially in the United States.

Soviet scientists have shown enterprise in many fields. But being compelled to work for their dictatorial government they had to exercise their talents particularly in the military area. Nonmilitary activities are still lagging. It is true that the American visitors who go to the Soviet Union and are shown "everything" see some impressive displays of modern factories. But these, according to proved intelligence reports, are like the famous "Potemkin villages." Actually Russia is still well behind the United States and West Germany.

Mr. Mikoyan wants a commercial agreement amounting actually to a grant at a time when his boss, Khrushchev, is threatening the free world with destructive war unless it bows to his will in Berlin and other areas of the world.

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Bulganin Assailed at Party Talks

MOSCOW, Dec. 15 (UPI) Soviet Premier Nikita Khruschev tonight blasted former Premier Nikolai Bulganin and other ousted Soviet leaders as "a despicable group" of men who had lost touch with the people and tried to divide the country.

In a speech before the Communist Party Central Committee in Moscow, Khrushchev charged the "wretched" group had attempted to sidetrack Russia's agricultural policy and opposed the interests of the people.

Bulganin was fired as Premier last spring. But it was only last month that he was linked with former Premier Georgi Malenkov, former Foreign Ministers V. M. Molotov and Dmitri Shepilov, and former Presidium member Lazar Kaganovich as a member of the "anti-party group."

May Be Continuing

Today's attack by Khrushchev took Bulganin and his group to task especially for opposing agricultural policy.

The Central Committee meeting began in the Soviet capital today and was apparently continuing. There was no indication how long it would last.

"In the light of present achievements in agriculture," Khrushchev said, "every Soviet person can see the more clearly that the anti-party group, which has lost touch with the people, had been opposed to their vital interests, and was fighting against the implementation of the Party line mapped out at the 20th Party Congress for all the major problems of domestic and foreign policy."

"Everyone can now see the shameful debacle of this despicable group of wretched splitters exposed and routed by the Central Committee and swept aside by the Party and people," he added.

Khrushchev declared that despite the efforts of the anti-party group, agricultural output had increased in the past five years and living standards had been raised.

Gains Listed

But the Soviet Premier added:

"In this five years it is necessary to speak once again of the anti-party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich, Molotov, Bulganin and Shepilov.

"By their factional activities they had thought to disrupt the implementation of Party decisions and to revise the Leninist main line of the Party on fundamental problems of the country's development."

Khrushchev then listed some Soviet farming achievements.

He said that overall grain production had increased by 57 million tons during the period and this year had reached the near-record figure of 140 million tons.

The virgin lands plan, a favorite Khrushchev project, brought 90 million new acres under the plow in the past three years, he added.

Khrushchev claimed the Soviet Union was now in first place in world cotton production and was getting half again as much per acre as the United States.

He also cited increases in the production of meat, milk, wool and eggs.

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'Shameful Debacle' Exposed by Khrushchev

Moscow Sees Ousting of Bulganin by Party

MOSCOW, Dec. 16(UPI)—The Communist Party's General Committee met today amid Western speculation it was about to oust former Premier Nikolai Bulganin from party ranks. He was fired last spring as premier and was succeeded by Nikita Khrushchev who is also the Communist Party leader.

Bulganin has already been removed from the Presidium, or governing body, of the Central Committee. Since then, he has been linked with the "anti-party group" of former Premiers Georgi Malenkov and Vyacheslav M. Molotov, former Deputy Premier Lazar Kaganovich and Dmitri Shepilov, former foreign minister.

Observers noted that there has been no official announcement that any of the anti-party group had been expelled from the party itself.

BITTER ATTACK

The Central Committee meeting started yesterday. It was high-lighted by a bitter blast by Khrushchev at Bulganin and the other anti-party members whom he called "a despicable group of wretched splitters."

Khrushchev blamed the group for attempting to sidetrack agricultural policy and opposing the interests of the people.

"In the light of present achievements in agriculture," Khrushchev said, "every Soviet person can see the more clearly that the anti-party group, which had lost touch with the people, had been opposed to their vital interests, and was fighting against the implication of the party line mapped out at the 20th party congress for all the major problems of domestic and foreign policy.

'SHAMEFUL DEBACLE'.

"Everyone can now see the shameful debacle of this despicable group of wretched splitters exposed and routed by the Central Committee and swept aside by the party and people."

Khrushchev said despite the efforts of the anti-party group agricultural output had increased in the past five years and living standards had improved. He said overall grain production had reached 140 million tons this year, an increase of 57 million tons.

He said the virgin lands plan, a pet Khrushchev project, brought 90 million new acres under the plow in the past three years. He reported cotton, butter and wool production greater than U. S. production and said livestock production was increasing rapidly.

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Red Spies Picked Up Atom Data

2 U. S. Officials Differ on Benefit

WASHINGTON, Nov. 16 (UPI). — An Atomic Energy Commissioner and the U. S. Army research and development chief agreed today that Russia has picked up a lot of atomic and other scientific data with its spies throughout the free world.

But Dr. Willard F. Libby, only scientist member of the A. E. C. and Lt. Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau, head of Army Intelligence before he became research chief, appeared to differ on just how much the Soviets had benefited.

Dr. Libby said on the CBS television program "Face the Nation" that espionage undoubtedly had helped the Russians "a great deal." For example, he said, Dr. Klaus Fuchs, the British scientist, was "a very dedicated Communist and thoroughly expert spy."

U. S. Gained Nothing

However, he said it would be wrong to attribute all of Russia's atomic progress to espionage. He said it was hard to determine just what part espionage had played. In the same vein he declared the United States had gained "nothing significant" through espionage.

Gen. Trudeau, appearing on the ABC-TV program, "College News Conference" said there had been a "tremendous leakage" of technological secrets from this country to Russia. He called for a security crackdown in all fields.

Gen. Trudeau was asked about an earlier statement to the effect that Russia's scientific progress was due more to espionage than to the Soviets' own developments. He said he referred to technological data rather than pure scientific information.

Dr. Libby reported that the United States has no evidence that the Russians ever tried to develop "clean" atomic weapons. He coupled the statement with a warning that normal "dirty" bombs could contaminate thousands of square miles for forty years.

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UPI -103
(SOVIET)

LONDON--MOSCOW RADIO REVEALEAD TONIGHT THAT THE POWERFUL CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY IS IN SESSION IN MOSCOW. IT REPORTED A SHAKEUP OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP IN THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN WAS ONE OF THE COMMITTEES' FIRST ACTS.

THE COMMITTEE INDORSED SOVIET PREMIER NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV'S OUTLINE FOR A NEW SEVEN-YEAR PLAN AND HIS CONTROVERSIAL EDUCATIONAL REFORM, THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE MOSCOW RADIO BROADCAST SAID.

THE BRIEF NEWS ITEM, BEAMED TO BRITAIN, REVEALED THAT ONE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIES, NIKOLAI BELYAYEV, "HAS BEEN RELEASED FROM HIS DUTIES AS SECRETARY...IN VIEW OF HIS ELECTION TO THE POST OF FIRST SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KAZAKHSTAN."

BELYAYEV IS A KHRUSHCHEV MAN. KAZAKHSTAN IS THE RICH CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLIC WHERE KHRUSHCHEV VIRTUALLY STAKED HIS LEADERSHIP ON HIS "VIRGIN LANDS" SCHEME OF MOVING RUSSIANS TO NEW AREAS IN THE EAST.

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UPI -175
(BULGANIN)

LONDON--FORMER SOVIET PREMIER NIKOLAI BULGANIN WAS MENTIONED FOR THE FIRST TIME TODAY AS A MEMBER OF THE SOVIET ANTI-PARTY GROUP IN AN OFFICIAL SOVIET NEWS AGENCY DISPATCH MONITORED HERE.

THE ANTI-PARTY GROUP WAS LED BY FORMER PREMIER GEORGI MALENKOV AND FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER V. M. MOLOTOV.

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ADD BULGANIN, LONDON (UPI-175) USSR

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ANTI-PARTY GROUP WERE FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER DMITRI SHEPILOV AND LAZAR KAGANOVICH. ALL WERE REMOVED FROM TOP PARTY AND GOVERNMENT POSTS IN JUNE, 1957.

THEIR NAMES WERE MENTIONED IN A TASS REPORT ON THE "THE THESES" OF THE NEW SOVIET SEVEN-YEAR PLAN.

THE TASS REPORT SAID:

"THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE THESES POINT OUT, IS CONDUCTING A DETERMINED STRUGGLE AGAINST THOSE WHO CLING TO THE OLD OUTMODED FORMS AND METHODS OF WORK, WERE AFFLICTED WITH CONSERVATISM AND OPPOSED THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LENINIST GENERAL LINE OF THE PARTY.

"IN THIS CONTEXT, THE THESES REFER TO THE EXPOSURE AND ROUTING OF THE ANTI-PARTY GROUP OF MALENKOV, KAGANOVICH, MOLOTOV, BULGANIN AND SHEPILOV WHO JOINED THEM, WHO SLID DOWN THE ROAD TO FACTION-SPLITTING ACTIVITY."

MALENKOV BECAME PREMIER AFTER THE DEATH OF JOSEF STALIN IN 1953, BULGANIN BECAME PREMIER EARLY IN 1955 AND WAS REPLACED BY NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV LAST MARCH.

AFTER KHRUSHCHEV BECAME PREMIER, BULGANIN WAS GIVEN MINISTERIAL RANK AS HEAD OF THE STATE BANK BUT APPARENTLY NEVER ASSUMED THAT POSITION IN THE CABINET.

IT WAS NEVER MADE CLEAR WHY BULGANIN HAD FALLEN FROM GRACE BUT OBSERVERS IN MOSCOW AT THE TIME ATTRIBUTED HIS DEMOTION TO HIS LUKEWARM SUPPORT OF KHRUSHCHEV AGAINST THE ANTI-PARTY GROUP.

BULGANIN DROPPED OUT OF THE POLITICAL SCENE IN MOSCOW QUIETLY AND LAST SUMMER HE TURNED UP AS HEAD OF A MINOR ECONOMIC COUNCIL IN THE CAUCASUS.

THERE WAS NO IMMEDIATE INDICATION THAT ANY PUNITIVE STEPS AGAINST BULGANIN WERE BEING PLANNED.

THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ANTI-PARTY GROUP, EXILED TO MINOR POSTS, ARE WORKING AT THEIR NEW JOBS QUIETLY.

MOLOTOV IS AMBASSADOR TO OUTER MONGOLIA IN REMOTE ULAN BATOR. MALENKOV RUNS AN EQUALLY REMOTE POWER STATION AND KAGANOVICH IS A FACTORY MANAGER IN THE URALS. SHEPILOV IS A LOW-RANKING EDUCATOR.

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U. S. Raps Reds Over Germany

A14

Associated Press

The United States accused Russia yesterday of creating "the real danger to peace and stability in Europe" by blocking the unification of Germany under a freely elected government.

A statement by the State Department blasted the Soviets for "characteristic misrepresentation" of U. S. motives and actions. That description was applied to the joint Russian - Polish communique issued Tuesday on the conclusion of a visit to Moscow by Poland's Wladyslaw Gomulka.

Premier Nikita Khrushchev headed the Soviet delegation in the talks with Gomulka and the U. S. blast at the communique was thus in fact a criticism of Khrushchev's views.

The Washington statement avoided identifying the views as Polish.

State Department press officer Lincoln White refused to say why Poland was not criticized since it was a joint communique with Russia. Privately officials said Gomulka had to follow the propaganda line despite his efforts to establish some independence from Soviet domination.

The Soviet-Polish declaration blamed the United States for preventing a summit conference and sharply criticized the membership of West Germany in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"The joint Soviet - Polish statement of Nov. 11, 1958," the United States said, "reflects the diametrically opposed viewpoints of the Soviet Union and the free world with regard to the facts of the present world situation and their interpretation.

"The United States considers that the real danger to peace and stability in Europe lies not in the German Federal Republic's cooperation in NATO defense efforts but in the division of Germany resulting from Soviet prevention of the formation of a government in accordance with the will of the German people.

"This situation arises largely out of the failure of the Soviet Government to cooperate with its wartime allies in working out the settlement of problems resulting from World War II and in establishing a basis for peaceful cooperation.

"Reference to summit talks is made in the statement. The Western powers are awaiting a Soviet response to their proposals of May 31, 1958, which suggested a practical procedure which would be fair to both sides in discussing an agenda for a possible summit conference.

"In general the statement is a characteristic Soviet misrepresentation of the actions and motives of the United States and will be recognized as such. By misrepresenting the facts it does not contribute to the easing of tensions or the solution of international problems."

White told a news conference the United States has received a note from Moscow dealing with the technical talks on prevention of surprise attack—talks which began at Geneva Monday. The note mainly informed the United States of the identity of Russian delegates.

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Communist Party - Russia

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EDITORIAL

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SUMMING UP AND LOOKING AHEAD

It's a pleasure to report that while our juvenile delinquency problem here in the United States is somewhat on the decrease, the Soviet problem in the same field is booming like a moon rocket.

It's not that we relish the idea of a rowdy Russian generation getting out of hand. But if it means trouble for the Communist connivers in the Kremlin, so much the better for us.

Oddly enough, it appears that the Soviet thinkers themselves are blaming the antics of their young people to a large degree on a rebellion against discipline and control. What makes that seem strange is the fact that we blame juvenile delinquency on just the opposite—an absence of discipline, control and the old-fashioned whack on the seat of the pants.

In any event, the problem is serious enough in Soviet Russia right now to have wrung impassioned editorials from Pravda and an attempt on the part of Premier Khrushchev to cut public drinking almost to zero.

Probably the root of the problem traces back to Oct. 29, 1918, when the Soviet party established the All-Union Lenin Young Communist League—or, as we know it now, the Komsomol.

They began with a membership of some 22,000 young Russian boys and girls, mostly in the teenage bracket. They pumped the youngsters full of Communist enthusiasm, promised them honors and prizes for their heroic feats and party devotion, and told them in effect that if they behaved themselves they could expect some day to run the world.

Since that day 40 years ago, some 67 million boys and girls have passed through Komsomol's ranks. The membership today stands at about 18 million. And there's no question but what the Soviet system has acquired certain benefits from Komsomol through the years.

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But the system also has acquired a clanging headache in today's rampant juvenile delinquency.

Those original members of Komsomol were teen-agers who had been rushed to the support of Mother Russia's staggering army in 1917. They had seen their pals and playmates die in some of the dirtiest fighting of World War I. Nevertheless, they were inspired by revolutionary fanatics to the point where they would gladly have given their lives for the Cause.

When the war ended, and Komsomol began to operate, they were eager to become members. Their first assignment was that of "spreading the ideas of Communism and recruiting young workers and peasants for the active construction of a Soviet Russia."

Barely two years later, though, when Komsomol held its congress of 1920, Lenin changed that assignment. He told them they couldn't become good Communists until they learned how to study and improve their brains and memories.

That was fine with the youngsters. But it didn't last. It changed abruptly when Russia swung into industrialization, and began hunting around for a strong labor force. And where better to look than in the Komsomol?

For years, then, Komsomol was the big source of supply when the Soviets needed vigorous and healthy workers for projects in Siberia, China and the Arctic.

Nevertheless, the outfit continued to grow until, by the mid-1950's, a youngster who didn't belong to Komsomol had virtually no chance of getting an education or, for that matter, of getting a shirt to wear on his back.

Meanwhile, though, while Komsomol's size has been growing, so has been the sullen dissatisfaction within the ranks. The teen-agers from time to time have rebelled against too much exploitation and blind obedience to orders.

As far back as 1925, the Komsomol branch in Leningrad went on record with an official refusal to accept some of the decisions of the 14th Party Congress. They were fed up with building factories and pumping new life into five-year plans.

More recently, just after the death of Stalin, other branches refused to go along with the Kremlin's thoughts on regimentation and steel-sharp discipline. Youth groups in Tiflis, Kiev, Leningrad and Moscow began adopting a "Says who!" attitude toward some of the party dictates. For the most part they were able to get away with it, because the party needs youth and warm blood to stay alive.

This year they've balked again. And this time they're openly indignant over Khrushchev's new approach to education, which if carried out would deny most of them a chance to choose a profession and consign them figuratively to the brick pile.

As a result, the Soviet press has been belting Komsomol members with charges of low moral standards, "nihilism" and "bourgeois ideology." The cry is on for the suppression of rowdiness and alcoholism among Soviet youth. The party demand is for "wiping out hooliganism, drunkenness and foul language."

Those who are trying to save Komsomol are setting up exhibitions of brass knuckles, knives and dirty pictures. That's what they did in Leningrad last month, as a warning against the spread of delinquency.

And meanwhile, Soviet leaders have started dipping into Komsomol ranks themselves for special brigades of youths to work with police in fighting the trend toward hoodlum confusion.

How it's all going to come out is anybody's guess. But even if it's settled, the Soviet leaders are going to have a hard time explaining what happened.

There'll always be somebody around to remind them that Lenin once blamed hooliganism on the "moral evils" of capitalist society.

So how would he account for it in a land where capitalism is dead?

HOODS IN THE MAKING — Youths in Soviet Russia are giving authorities a bad juvenile delinquency problem today, tracing back through years of too much regimentation.

0-19 (Rev. 7-1-58)

FEATURE PAGE

B-24

LAW IN THE NEWS

Soviet Places Slight Emphasis on Law

By PHIL YEAGER
and JOHN STARK
Special Writers for The Star

Comparisons, as the man said, are odious.

But human beings are peculiar. They seem to enjoy making comparisons even though they may be fully aware that the things compared are not really similar.

Such may be the case when we compare the American lawyer with his Soviet counterpart—assuming such counterpart actually exists (and there are many United States lawyers who doubt it).

In any case, Ross Malone, the new president of the American Bar Association, recently had some highly interesting observations to make about Russian law when he appeared before the annual conference of the Army judge advocates at Charlottesville, Va.

Not Top Level

According to Mr. Malone, who spent several months in the Soviet Union not long ago with a delegation of United States lawyers studying the Soviets' legal set-up, Russian emphasis on law is slight compared to that in the United States. It is not a top-level profession.

In a population of over 200 million persons, for example, there are only about 20,000 Soviet lawyers. In the United States, which has a population of nearly 170 million, there are around 200,000 members of the bar.

The average income of the Soviet lawyer, most of whom are not paid by the state (at least not directly), is the equivalent of about $350 per month. The median income of the American lawyer is about twice as much and their average income somewhat higher.

Less than 15 per cent of the members of the Supreme Soviet are members of the legal profession, compared to the nearly 60 per cent of lawyers who make up the Congress of the United States.

Russian Education

Legal education in Russia, including pre-law training, amounts to six hours of classroom work per day, six days per week for five years. Most United States law schools require completion of a four-year college course prior to entry, after which a full course of law amounts to something like three hours of classroom work per day, five days a week for three years.

Soviet lawyers play a considerable role in defending clients against "ordinary criminal" charges, at which times the defendant appears to get a "pretty fair shake." This means such crimes as robbery, theft, assault and the like. But where the crime takes on a political complexion, the lawyer as such is usually completely out of the picture.

In these cases, the judge, at the direction of the Communist Party, dismisses the case and turns the accused over to the party. The accused may then go scot-free or he may disappear forever, depending on the disposition of the political hierarchy.

Sunday: Steaming in a Fog.

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0-19 (Rev. 7-1-58)

These Days . . . . .

By George E. Sokolsky

The Growth of Empire

VICE PRESIDENT Nixon once wrote:

"... The significant thing about the Communist empire and its growth is that this empire did not expand by traditional methods of overt military aggression, but by revolution in the Soviet Union, civil war and revolution in China, a coup d'etat in Czechoslovakia. It is true that military power in many instances was an essential ingredient for the expansion of the Communist empire through non-military means. But it is also true that the Communists did not resort successfully to overt military aggression in the traditional way which empires in the past have been built."

Sokolsky

It is so important, in any attempt to understand the age in which we live, to realize that the Soviet Universal State never employs orthodox means to accomplish usual purposes. That is what confuses so many. For instance, there are those in banking and industry who say: "Why not deal freely with Soviet Russia? Why not deal with Red China? There's money in that!"

Unfortunately, trade with either country involves political considerations. The British had a theory, when they quickly recognized Red China, that their enormous trade in China would be restored to them. It has not been restored. Although they have earned some profits in Hong Kong, they have had a very tough time of it in Shanghai, Hankow and any interior city. Most of their business in such places has been taken from them. The great advantage of early recognition of the Red Chinese government has not been demonstrated.

INDIA HAS discovered how perilous friendship with Red China is and most Indians are frightened by the consequences of their country having acted almost as an agent for Red China in the United Nations through Krishna Menon. The fact of the matter is that while Menon has been speaking for Soviet Russia in the United Nations, the Communists established a base in India, in Kerala, a province containing a high percentage of unemployed intellectuals. From this base, they are imperiling the Congress Party and the position of Nehru.

This is not an unusual Communist tactic and is often overlooked or even denied by non-Communists who fail to grasp that the ethics, morals, etiquettes of the two systems of life are different and contradictory. What seems terribly wrong to us is apparently right to them.

The businessman often believes that raising the standard of living of a people will drive off the Communist menace. Clarence B. Randall once put it this way:

"... Standards of living are frightful in some of these (under-developed) countries, as low as one hundred dollars per year per capita. If a country has only one hundred dollars per capita, double that and you have a terrific change in the buying power. The generations that are to follow, our grandchildren, will not hold us blameless if we permit these vast resources and these vast markets to come under the Soviet sway."

THERE IS TRUTH in his statement of the appalling standard of living in many of these countries, but that does not explain why in every country, the Communist Party does not emerge from the masses but from the middle class and the intellectuals. In not one single instance did a Communist success develop out of a labor union movement. This is not a proletarian movement, although Karl Marx said it would be, but then he, himself, was strictly middle class, his associate Engels was a rich manufacturer and his wife was of the German aristocracy. A high standard of living does not save the world from anything, not even the excesses of a high standard of living.

More and more errors are going to be made in our judgments about the Soviet Universal State as our bankers and industrialists grow more desperate for new markets. They see great areas on the map which remain closed to them and they want them opened up. But they will not be opened up. If Mao Tze-tung were elected President of the Security Council of the United Nations, those areas would not be realistically opened to foreign trade and foreigners because that is not the purpose of this revolution and they do not need what we say we can offer them. What they do need, they can now obtain within the Soviet Universal State which is an economic as well as a political unit based upon a Marxist concept of non-capitalist economics.

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WHO'S AGAIN WHO' LISTED IN SOVIET

Supplement to Encyclopedia Helps Restore Honor to Many Once Disgraced

By MAX FRANKEL
Special to The New York Times.

MOSCOW, Sept. 13—Subscribers to the Soviet Union's official encyclopredia have received an unusual volume of supplementary information to previously approved knowledge. It is, among other things, a sort of Who Is Against Who at Home and Abroad.

Scattered through the 458-page annex—Volume 61 of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia—are biographies restoring a measure of honor to leading Soviet politicians, military figures and Jewish writers who had been in disgrace.

In one way or another, the men now restored to history had been "rehabilitated" in the last three years. But the new volume is a further attempt to catch up with the times.

The first fifty volumes of the encyclopedia were published in the years 1950-1957, a period of sweeping changes in personnel and attitudes here, especially after Stalin's death in 1953.

At various times in the past subscribers received single-page supplements or inserts that erased or added this or that figure in keeping with political tides. Besides restoring the memory of some leading Soviet figures, the new book takes account of such recent developments as the use of atomic isotopes. It also implicitly recognizes the importance of foreign artists like George Gershwin and leaders like Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of West Germany, who previously had simply been ignored

Praise Is Restrained

The assessments of the Soviet figures restored to good graces in the supplement are restrained. The political and military men for the most part are praised for their zeal on behalf of the Communist Revolution. The artists are praised for having been "close to the masses."

But the biographical sketches are largely dry resumes of the positions they held and the works they published. In no case is there any specific mention of the charges once brought against them or of their fate. For some, however, the encyclopedic entry provides the first precise information on the year of death.

Henry Stevens Washington, United States oil expert who died in 1934 [illegible] Wiener, American [illegible] Hugh Gaitskell, leader of the British Labor party, David W. Griffith, Hollywood film director, President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Erich Ollenhauer, leader of the West German Social Democrats, and Arnold Toynbee, British philosopher and historian.

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Among the leading military men finally accorded a place in Soviet annals are Marshal Mikhail N. Tukhachevsky (executed in 1937), now conceded to have been one of the most brilliant leaders; Marshal Vasily K. Blukher (Bluecher), who is said to have lived until 1938; Marshal Alexander I. Yegorov, former Deputy Commissar of Defense, who died in 1941; Gen. Sergei S. Kamenev, who commanded all Soviet forces after the civil war and who died in 1936; and Gen. Yeronim P. Uborevich, chief of the Byelorussian Military District until his execution in 1937.

Also entered in the new volume are the following men, and the given dates of death:

Vladimir A. Antonov-Ovseyenko (1938) who led the Bolshevik assault on the Winter Palace in Leningrad in 1917 and is now acknowledged as one of the most active revolutionaries.

Nikolai A. Voznesensky (1950), Stalin's World War II economic chief, who disappeared in 1949 presumably because of economic differences with the former ruler.

Alexei A. Kuznetsov (1949), one of the top Leningrad party bosses.

Andrei S. Bubnov (1940), a member of the first Soviet Politburo and Commissar of Education, who had been reported possibly still alive in 1956.

Yan B. Gamarnik (1937), former Deputy Commissar of Defense and chief political commissar of the armed forces, who is believed to have committed suicide before he could be tried in the Stalinist purges.

Alexander V. Kosarev (1939), youth movement leader and former boss of the Young Communist League.

Stanislav V. Kosior (1939), the Ukranian revolutionary whose sudden disappearance was cited by Nikita S. Khrushchev, the Communist party chief, in his famous criticism of Stalin in February, 1956.

The supplement has a short biography of Nikolai I. Vavilov, a geneticist disgraced because he opposed Stalin's favorite, Trofim D. Lysenko. Vavilov died in 1943. The encyclopedia says [illegible] about his theories of his feud with Mr. Lysenko.

Jewish Writers Died in 1952

Three of the four famous Jewish writers included in the supplement were said to have died in 1952. They are David Bergelson and Leib M. Kvitko, leaders of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, which became suspect, and Perets D. Markish, a poet and playwright who worked abroad. Also listed is Isaak E. Babel, a Jew who wrote short stories in Russian and died in 1941.

Some foreign Communists also are acclaimed again, including two renowned figures of the Communist International. They are Bela Kun, leader of the unsuccessful Hungarian Communist state in 1919, and Julian Lenski, once leader of Polish Communists. Kun is presented as a good Communist "despite some errors."

Many Chinese, East German and other Communist cities are included in the volume with listings of their progress under communism. There are paragraphs also to give the Communist party's view of the Hungarian "counter-revolution" in 1956 and of the British-French-Israeli attack on Egypt in the same year, entered under "Hugio."

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UPI-134
(BULGANIN)
LONDON--RADIO MOSCOW ANNOUNCED TONIGHT THAT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY HAD REMOVED FORMER PREMIER NIKOLAI BULGANIN FROM THE PARTY PRESIDIUM AND CALLED THE 21ST PARTY CONGRESS TO MEET NEXT JAN. 27.
AT THAT TIME, PREMIER NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV WILL OUTLINE DETAILS OF THE SOVIET UNION'S 1959-1965 FIVE-YEAR PLAN.
THE BROADCAST SAID THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MADE ITS DECISIONS AT A MEETING HELD YESTERDAY.
THE OUSTER OF BULGANIN FROM THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE BROUGHT HIS FORTUNES TO A NEW LOW. HE WAS GIVEN A MINOR PARTY POST ONLY LAST MONTH, AND HAS BEEN ON THE SKIDS SINCE HE LOST OUT TO KHRUSHCHEV EARLIER THIS YEAR.
THE LAST CONGRESS, THE 20TH WAS HELD IN FEBRUARY, 1956. IT WAS THE OCCASION FOR KHRUSHCHEV'S NO-FAMOUS ATTACK ON THE LATE JOSEF STALIN'S METHODS AND THE SO-CALLED "CULT OF THE PERSONALITY."
TODAY'S ANNOUNCEMENT SAID THAT THE "EXTRAORDINARY 21ST CONGRESS WILL DISCUSS THE TARGET FIGURES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY OF THE U.S.S.R. IN 1959-1965."
IT SAID KHRUSHCHEV WOULD PRESENT THIS REPORT, WHICH WOULD BE SUMMARIZED IN THE PRESS BEFORE THE CONGRESS.
THE BROADCAST ALSO SAID THAT YESTERDAY'S PLENARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE "RELIEVED NIKOLAI BULGANIN OF HIS DUTIES AS MEMBER OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE."
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Book Review prepared — see memo Sullivan to Belmont 8/29/38 CDS

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BOOKS AND PEOPLE

Russian Revolt Unleashes Terror

BY ROBERT R. KIRSCH, Times Book Editor

ALL GREAT HISTORICAL UPHEAVALS produce in their wake, myths, legends and propaganda which tend to distort them. The Russian Revolution of 1917-18 is no exception to this rule. It is not so remote in the past that eyewitnesses to many of the events of the revolution are still alive to dispute even the most commonplace facts. There are debates over interpretation by the most meticulous scholars. And the Russian heirs of revolutionary power have rewritten history a dozen times to conform with the political needs of the moment. Their political opponents have contributed their share of revision. In the light of these things, the modest goal of Alan Moorehead's THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (Harper; $5), "to give a brief, simple and straightforward account" of the events, is worth considering.

* * *

MOOREHEAD'S HISTORY is one of the best I have read on this controversial subject. The author of "Gallipoli" writes with a feeling for the interplay of incident and personality, the sense of time and the awareness of external forces which make for the most exciting reading. You are brought close to the event without the prescience which so often marks the scholarly historian.

A few words should be devoted to the unusual circumstances in which the book came to be written. A decade ago Dr. Stephan T. Possony of Georgetown University began with a small group of students to make a study of revolutionary techniques, in particular the technique of the Bolshevik conspiracy. As the study went on, Dr. Possony and his assistants asked the crucial question: "How was it possible for a sincere Communist to overlook all the reversals of Bolshevik policy, to accept the slave camps, the treason trials, the repressive bureaucracy, and still remain loyal to the party?"

The answers seemed to lie in the Communist revolution itself, an event which had been given almost a religious significance in Communist doctrine, with Lenin as a messiah, a prophet whose purity and altruism had become a central element of Communist belief.

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Los Angeles Times V-7

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CURIOUSLY ENOUGH this tendency to canonize Lenin had been accepted almost uncritically by non-Communist and even anti-Communist historians. Lenin, the belief seemed to run, was a sincere and brilliant man; Stalin was the sole villain. The Possony group went back to the sources of the revolution to examine this postulate as well as others. New material had become available in the secret records of the German Foreign Office captured by the western allies after World War II. And there was other material for study as well. Moorehead utilized the findings of the Possony group in addition to the standard sources. The result is an account of the revolution which shows it not quite the uncorrupted epic the Bolsheviks have made it out to be and which shows Lenin in a light which makes the later history of Russian Communism more understandable.

LENIN
Tarnished Icon

* *

IN DECEMBER, 1916, practically every literate man and woman knew that change was imminent in Russia. With the exception of a tiny, sycophantish group around the Czar, it was common knowledge that something would have to give. Even the most conservative elements in the aristocracy could not fail to read the signs: the antique machinery of the state could not cope with the needs of war; the army fought bravely enough but its losses on the German and Austrian fronts were so great that even today it is difficult to get an accurate figure; inflation had undermined the situation of the city dwellers and the peasants were suffering the effects of a terrible winter. In the recent past, there was the memory of the defeat in the Russo-Japanese War and the frightening overture of Bloody Sunday in 1905.

On the throne was a man who had been brought up in the tradition of absolute power, who had seen his grandfather die a horrible death by assassination. Through his wife, the Czarina, Nicholas came under the influence of a mysterious, scandalous figure named Rasputin.

* *

BUT NO ONE, with the exception of a few professional revolutionaries, most of whom, including Lenin, were in exile, expected the revolution which finally saw the victory of the Bolshevik power. Lenin was even saying at the time that he did not believe he would ever live to see a successful Socialist revolution in Russia.

Behind all of this were the illiterate masses, the "Dark People," who had marched on that Bloody Sunday in 1905 and whose mindless power could overturn a throne, could destroy any chance of a bloodless shift of power from autocracy to limited monarchy or even democracy. After setting the scene, Moorehead takes us back to the years prior to the revolution where we see the defeat of liberalism and the rise of a new force in Russia: the professional revolutionary, the man for whom all moral strictures were nullified by the overriding quest for power.

* *

THIS ABSOLUTE BELIEF in the ends justifying the means was to blossom into the second Russian revolution. There were really two revolutions. The first which placed the moderates in power first under Prince Lvov and then under Kerensky sought to continue the war, set up the machinery of a democracy and provide the necessary reforms. The second under Lenin and the Bolsheviks pitilessly took power, destroyed opposition and instituted a totalitarianism worse than the Czar's.

The role of the German Foreign Office in the Russian revolution indicates the complete lack of loyalty to Russia among Lenin and his followers. The Germans supported the Bolshevik movement financially, arranged to get Lenin into Russia in an effort to take Russia out of the war. When Lenin arrived, whatever sincerity there was among Bolsheviks to co-operate with moderates was dissipated. The cynical truth was expressed by Lenin: "Do you think we can be victors without the most severe revolutionary terror?"

2

Reds' Trade and Aid Continue to Grow

Survey Finds Communists Gain Economic Footholds

By HARRY SCHWARTZ

A survey by correspondents of The New York Times indicates that the Communist bloc's influence on the economy of the rest of the world rose during the first half of 1958 and promises to increase in the future.

Reports on Communist economic penetration in more than fifty countries were prepared by Times correspondents. The trend of these reports, based on official statistics and on interviews with businessmen and government officials, is to confirm warnings by the Department of State, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Allen W. Dulles, and the Committee on Economic Development on the growing Communist challenge to the West.

At the same time, the reports make clear that the impact of Communist trade and aid varies sharply from country to country. In most countries, Communist economic influence is still minor. In some countries the Communist economic drive was even set back in the last half year.

Communist trade with the rest of the world is big business. Last year this trade exceeded $6,000,000,000 and was more than twice the level of 1952, the last year of Stalin's regime.

But East-West trade is only about 3 per cent of the world total. The political leverage this trade has given the Soviet bloc often depends more upon the nature and terms of this commerce than on the amount of goods traded. This has been particularly true of Communist purchases of raw materials from producing countries that have troubles in selling such products, for example, Uruguayan wool.

Communist aid, in the form of loans and a few small grants, to underdeveloped countries has totaled about $2,000,000,000 in the last few years, but much of this has yet to be spent.

The Soviet bloc has undertaken about 140 industrial projects in underdeveloped countries since 1955. Of these, about 30 per cent have been completed and are operating, 40 per cent are under construction, and the others are still in the survey stage or their status is unknown. The projects include the building of bridges, cement plants, sugar refineries, glass, textile and steel plants, and prospecting for petroleum.

Fears expressed recently that the Communist bloc may have

Continued on Page 7, Column 2

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DATED 7 JUL 1958
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RE: COMMUNIST ECONOMIC PENETRATION
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started economic warfare against the West by dumping goods on world markets at low prices receive only limited support in The Times' correspondents reports.

These reports indicate that most East-West trade is being conducted at world prices. Some commodities, such as aluminum, oil and rails, have been sold or offered at below-market prices. But some countries, including France and Sweden, have found some Soviet prices to be higher than those quoted by non-Soviet sellers.

Some evidence indicates that Communist resources available for export are limited. Austria has been having trouble getting enough Soviet goods to balance the value of Austrian exports, The Times' correspondent in Vienna reports. Authoritative sources in Oslo report a decrease in Norway's trade with the Communist nations because the latter are either not willing or unable to provide the goods demanded by Norwegian consumers.

Other evidence is provided by a United States Government estimate that the Soviet Union last year had to sell $263,000,000 in gold to get foreign exchange. Earlier Soviet gold sales were estimated by the same source at $150,000,000 in 1956, $70,000,000 in 1955, $93,000,000 in 1954 and $150,000,000 in 1953.

As of mid-1958, the Communist trade and aid drive, primarily by the Soviet Union, Communist China, Czechoslovakia and East Germany, has won important economic footholds in at least nineteen countries.

They are, in Europe, Iceland, Finland, Austria, Turkey, Britain and Yugoslavia; in the Middle East, the United Arab Republic, Yemen and Iran; in the rest of Asia, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Ceylon, Japan, India and Nepal, and in Latin America, Uruguay and Argentina.

According to the State Department, Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev told a group of Congressmen in 1955, "We value trade least for economic reasons and most for political purposes."

Presumably the same consideration applies to Communist aid. But it is clear from the foregoing list that even a substantial Communist foothold in a country does not guarantee Soviet dominance. Iceland and Turkey are members of the North Atlantic alliance, and Iran belongs to the Baghdad Pact, for example. Similarly, Yugoslavia is now engaged in a bitter quarrel with the Soviet bloc.

Communist political gains from trade or aid have apparently been greatest in the United Arab Republic, Yemen and other Asian countries. Yet these gains did not prevent Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India recently from criticizing the execution of Hungarian rebel leaders, nor did these gains prevent President Gamal Abdel Nasser from visiting Yugoslavia.

The reasons for Soviet political gains in Asian countries are indicated by the field reports. The report from New Delhi, for example, in discussing the Soviet-financed Bhilai steel mill and other projects, says:

"Soviet engineers have made a deep impression on local workers and local people. Russians live an unostentatious life in a hostel, go to work in buses or jeeps and mingle freely with local people. It is reported the Russians have even discarded liquor because Bhilai comes within a prohibition area.

"Indians have a special sort of attachment to and admiration for Russians. This attitude stems from the belief that the Soviet Union within forty years of its revolution has come up on a par with the United States and has even bettered it in scientific advancement."

In a similar vein, The Times' correspondent in Rangoon, Burma, reports:

"Increased Soviet aid during the past year or so is making a favorable impression on the Burmese. Special 'gift' projects, as the Russians call them, are drawing attention and overshadowing United States exhibits and International Cooperation Administration projects.

"Reasons: Soviet projects are almost all tangibles; Soviet engineers and technicians live on the people's level and were taught Burmese before they arrived here (American engineers and technicians live on a much higher scale than the masses and seldom speak the language); daily progress on projects clearly identified as 'Soviet gifts' has captured public attention."

Report from Indonesia

From Jakarta, Indonesia, a Times correspondent reports:

"Recent completion of a multi-

million dollar East German sugar mill at Jogjakarta was accompanied by much favorable publicity and the fact that completion was two years behind schedule (delay was as much the Indonesians' fault as the Germans') was not mentioned in the press. Under present adverse economic conditions Indonesia welcomes credits from any source. Supplies of foreign exchange are so low foreign credits are essential, although there are misgivings among some government personnel about granting permission for a large number of Communist technicians to travel and live in Indonesia. Nevertheless Communist influence is growing."

The popularity of Soviet credits in Asia arises from the low interest rates (usually 2 or 2½ per cent), and easy payment terms. In addition Soviet propaganda tries to give the impression that there are no political conditions to this aid.

The Times correspondent in New Delhi lists the following economic advantages Indians feel they have in trading with the Communist nations:

"Communists have just the type of machinery and equipment that India wants for her development projects. Communists are able to deliver them as fast as New Delhi wants. They are willing to accept payment in Indian rupees. They are willing constantly to explore possibilities of buying more varieties of Indian goods."

On the other hand, Thailand's Minister of Economic Affairs, Sukich Nimenhemminda, told the Times correspondent in Bangkok: "The Russians only pretend to ask for trade with Thailand for the sake of advertising. I don't think they really want to trade with us. We have nothing they want." But supplies of low-cost newsprint have been sent from Communist countries to Thailand as a means of winning friends in that nation's press, the correspondent reports.

The chief developments during the first half of this year indicating a stepped-up Communist economic offensive are the following:

Soviet sales of aluminum, tin, platinum and zinc have exerted a downward pressure on depressed world markets. The case of aluminum offers a striking example of how Soviet sales below world price can demoralize a commodity market.

Soviet sales of aluminum in Britain at 2 cents a pound less than the market price led the Aluminium Company of Canada to ask the British Government to impose an anti-dumping duty on Soviet aluminum. Later the Aluminium Company met the Soviet price cut, thus forcing a world-wide price reduction.

Industry sources and a Times report from Western Europe indicate that since this price cut Soviet aluminum sellers have been offering the metal at 1 or 2 cents below the reduced world price. British officials, a Times correspondent in London reports, believe that this is a means of getting the Soviet Union established as an aluminum supplier rather than a deliberate act of economic warfare.

Significant economic penetration has been achieved by the Soviet Union in Uruguay, and to a lesser extent in Argentina. Last March the Soviet Union became the largest purchaser of Uruguayan wool and Uruguay is now becoming dependent on Soviet oil shipments. In Argentina, the new regime of President Arturo Frondizi has arranged a deal involving the exchange of Soviet oil and Argentine wool, thus permitting Argentine sheep raisers to reduce their unsold wool backlog.

In West Germany, the Soviet Union last April signed a three-year trade agreement providing for exchange of goods up to $750,000,000. Early last month the director general of the Krupp company visited Moscow and concluded an agreement to supply the Soviet Union with $12,000,000 worth of machines for making synthetic fibers.

Japan's trade with the Soviet Union during the first four months of 1958 is sharply higher than trade during the corresponding 1957 period. An agreement signed last December provides for Japanese-Soviet trade this year to be three times the 1957 level.

The Soviet Union has sold twelve ships to Indonesia and has offered unlimited credit to private Indonesian concerns. Communist China helped ease a difficult Indonesian economic situation this year by providing an emergency supply of 25,000 tons of rice and 72,000,000 yards of textiles on a ten-year credit at 2.5 per cent interest.

Red Setbacks Noted

The major setbacks to the Communist economic offensive during the last six months are the following:

During the first five months of 1958, Egypt's purchases from the Soviet bloc are reported to have declined. A West German credit of 400,000,000 Deutsche marks ($100,000,000) and the easing of payment terms by other Western European countries have brought this about. But early this year the Soviet Union granted Egypt credits equivalent to $178,000,000 for long-term purchase of industrial equipment and financing

Soviet technicians arrive at Kabul, Afghanistan, to help with development projects undertaken with aid of credits from the Soviet Union, with which Afghanistan has a 700-mile border. Afghanistan is between Iran and Pakistan.

Jamme

of Egypt's five-year industrialization plan.

Several Communist economic moves having apparent political motivation have aroused concern, beyond the countries affected. The Soviet postponement of the $285,000,000 credit promised Yugoslavia has indicated to many that political strings are attached to Soviet aid.

The decision of a Soviet court denying an Israeli application for damages resulting from Soviet cancellation of oil shipments after the 1956 Suez crisis has raised questions among other countries that have obligated themselves to accept Soviet court decisions on disputes arising in their trade with that country.

The Soviet oil market in Western Europe has been reduced in some countries, for example in Italy, by the reopening of the Suez Canal and the resumption of normal oil shipments from the Middle East.

With regard to the quality of Communist products and the availability of service and spare parts, The Times correspondents indicated that the situation varied from country to country. The quality of Czechoslovak products drew virtually unanimous praise. Soviet raw materials were considered satisfactory, but in some countries the quality of Soviet machinery and automobiles was regarded as inferior to Western products.

The State Department puts the number of Communist technicians in underdeveloped countries at 1,600, about half of them from the Soviet Union. The largest single number, 470, are in the United Arab Republic, and there are about 455 in Afganistan, 280 in India, 165 in Indonesia, and sixty in Burma.

0-19 (Rev. 10-29-57)

STORM CLOUDS BELOW US

Reds Thoro in Drive to Stir Unrest in Latin American Areas

(Second of a Series)

By CHARLES LUCEY
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 24—To millions, Lake Titicaca in the high Andes is only a name in geography. But to the communists it is still an area in which to spread Marxism and stir unrest among Indian tribes.

A few of them can read. Not Spanish, as in most of South America but little-known Indian dialects—Quechua and Aymara. The Reds aren't stopped by this—they print their propaganda in another strange tongue or two—and get on with their Moscow business.

Thus, with vast thoroness, the communists till the fields of a continent hurt by much poverty. They can't sell the Communist Party or Russia as such. But everywhere they elbow their way into the center of Latin-American political and social unrest—adroit, aggressive, relentless. Their main target always: The U.S.A.

NEWSPAPERS

Communist newspapers — sharply written professional journals and not hack jobs—play skillfully on legitimate grievances. They inflame, foster unrest and strikes, needle and lie about the U. S. Here in Brazil alone are six Red newspapers; probably another 30 follow the communist line.

Here is a geographical rundown on the Reds in South America:

BRAZIL — The communists' first captain in South America, Carlos Luis Prestes, emerged from exile (by reason of a court decision) recently to receive a hero's welcome — an outpouring great enough to alarm both the Catholic church and the army. The Reds used to control a half-million votes here; they're split now factionally but have found new life recently and Brazilian political leaders play up to them.

ARGENTINE—Latest election figures are quoted here to tell you communist strength, on paper, is not what it was once. But a new development worries many: In the new Frondizi government, communists and leftists have sifted into important second and third levels of administration.

CHILE — The communists long have been strong here, once had cabinet members, senators, key spots in government. Today the party is "illegal" — but it publishes its own violently anti-U. S. newspapers, circulates tons of propaganda, holds open meetings, campaigns for the leftist candidate in the upcoming Presidential election. The Reds are powerful in the Central Labor Federation, work diligently to get Soviet films into the theaters.

PERU — The Nixon visit showed what the communists can do here by way of violent demonstrations. The government either was unwilling or incapable of doing much about it. The Reds are strong in unions, push national strikes. Recently they even took physical control of Cuzco, second largest city and held until the army moved in. They're helped by hard times in the Andean mining areas. They took a hand in recent lengthy strikes in oil and banking and helped close every bank in Lima for 40 days.

VENEZUELA — Again the rioting against Mr. Nixon in Caracas showed communist strength. Today the Reds are driving to push membership higher by many thousands. Their press is viciously anti-U. S. and communist writers contribute increasingly to regular daily papers. The communists' resurgence of power since the overthrow of Dictator Perez Jimenez has the army worried. Their immediate goal is a popular front government thru the coming national elections.

COLOMBIA—The Catholic church is powerful in holding them down here. And sharp police work averted an anti-Nixon show, yet thousands of anti-Nixon leaflets were circulated. In numbers the Reds showed poorly in recent congressional elections but poverty and unrest help their chances here, as in Bolivia.

Montevideo, Uruguay, has been considered headquarters for communist direction in South America.

Over all, the Reds are on the march.

TOMORROW: As U. S. trade goes, so goes South America.

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Wash. News 16
Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Journal-American
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The Worker
New Leader

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Gains in Khrushchev's Power Seen in Soviet Party Decisions

By HARRISON E. SALISBURY

Nikita S. Khrushchev appears to have emerged from the Communist party's Central Committee meeting with power and prestige strengthened.

Mr. Khrushchev added to the party's presidium two old and faithful lieutenants. He also obtained approval of a radical new agricultural plan that bore all the earmarks of his personal devising.

Thus, both in personnel and policy it appears that Mr. Khrushchev once again had emerged a winner from a critical party struggle.

Announcement of the elevation of Dmitri S. Polyansky and Nikolai V. Podgorny, both old Khrushchev lieutenants, to be alternate members of the Soviet party's Presidium suggested that the Central Committee was firmly under Mr. Khrushchev's control.

Widely circulating reports in Moscow and other Communist capitals said the principal business of the meeting was the question of Yugoslavia, Hungary and tightening security in Eastern Europe and possibly within the Soviet Union. Mr. Khrushchev is believed to have addressed the Central Committee at length on this subject.

Moscow, it was said in diplomatic quarters, has been alive with rumors as to the subjects under consideration by the Central Committee.

One thing was regarded as certain. This was that Mr. Khrushchev had made the principal address to the Central Committee and that it touched frankly and at length upon the new harsh line that has emerged in Moscow, step by step, in a series of developments beginning in early April.

It was believed that the failure of the Central Committee to announce any action with regard to Marshal Nikolai A. Bulganin might be due to his illness. Mr. Khrushchev said week that Marshal Bulganin, who is head of the State Bank, had undergone a serious operation recently. It had been speculated that the former Premier might be dropped from the Presidium since his political influence has been notably waning for the past year.

There was no sign that the Central Committee had been called upon to take any further measures against any of the prominent party figures who have been downgraded in recent months. Diplomatic advices from Moscow said there was no confirmation of reports that Vyacheslav M. Molotov had been relieved of his post as Ambassador to Mongolia and placed under house arrest in Moscow.

The additions of Mr. Polyansky and Mr. Podgorny to the Presidium confirm the shift of power into the hands of the younger echelon of party leaders.

Mr. Polyansky held party secretaryships at various points in the Ukraine until 1954, when he became secretary for the Crimea when that area was incorporated into the Ukraine. He became Premier of the Russian Republic only this year after further service in the Chkalov (now Orenburg) and Krasnodar regions.

Mr. Podgorny worked his way up through the party organization in Kiev and then into the Ukrainian party apparatus. He has been first Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist party for several months.

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EDITION LATE CITY

DATED 20 JUN 1958

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The Meeting in Moscow

Clarification of Soviet Policy Expected After Session of Central Committee

By HARRISON E. SALISBURY

A meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist party in progress in Moscow is expected by specialists in Soviet affairs to provide a showdown on key questions of Soviet policy and leadership. The meeting, according to the best available information, opened Tuesday and was expected to be concluded by tomorrow. If previous Soviet practice is followed an announcement of the party decisions may be expected Sunday or Monday.

News Analysis

Supporting this information, a Reuters dispatch from Moscow yesterday said it was understood there that the Central Committee was in session and a communiqué was expected shortly.

It was expected that the plenary session of the party would clarify factors lying behind sharp changes in Soviet policy that first began to make themselves apparent in early April.

Nikita S. Khrushchev's leadership is being subjected to a new test at the session. However, diplomatic opinion believed Mr. Khrushchev would maintain his pre-eminent role as Premier and First Secretary of the party.

Some observers nonetheless believe Mr. Khrushchev had been compelled to embark upon a radical new policy, particularly with respect to East Europe, by the increasing strength of more conservative elements within the Communist party leadership elite.

Bulganin's Standing Drops

It was possible that the Committee session might approve new changes in the composition of the Party Presidium, now headed by Mr. Khrushchev. The elimination of Marshal Nikolai A. Bulganin would afford little surprise. Marshal Bulganin has been ill and his position has slipped radically since a year ago when he made the error of siding with Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Georgi M. Malenkov and Lazar M. Kaganovich against Mr. Khrushchev.

The meeting may also cast some light on the shadowy political warfare believed to have been in progress for sometime between Mr. Khrushchev and Mikhail A. Suslov, the old Stalinist ideologue.

Mr. Suslov has been mentioned frequently as a possible spearhead of opposition to Mr. Khrushchev.

However, the controlling vote in any leadership fight would appear to be held by the younger Communist party regional bosses such as Alexei I. Kirichenko, formerly of the Ukraine, and Frol R. Kozlov, formerly of Leningrad, who have been elevated through Mr. Khrushchev's influence.

The deliberations of the Central Committee are not likely to be confined to questions of personality and power, diplomats in the United States believe. Tied to these are strong controversial issues—including such matters as Mr. Khrushchev's

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domestic policies as well as the new harsh line in East Europe, the diplomats say.

Opposition among higher Communist party echelons to Mr. Khrushchev's decentralization of Soviet industry and to his liquidation of the machine tractor stations is known to persist. The issues may be fought over again in discussion of the new Soviet seven-year economic plan which may be placed before the Central Committee.

A factor of unknown weight in the Central Committee meeting is the role of Communist China. There have been many signs that Peiping has played a major role in the stiffening of the Soviet line in East Europe.

The current Central Committee meeting is believed to be the most important since that just a year ago at which Mr. Khrushchev succeeded in ousting from the party hierarchy Mr. Molotov, Mr. Malenkov and Mr. Kaganovich who mistakenly thought they had mustered sufficient strength to oust him.

Khrushchev Strength Noted

Most observers believe that Mr. Khrushchev is more than capable of holding his own at present against any possible coalition against him.

Mr. Khrushchev was saved last June by Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov, but Marshal Zhukov was dismissed in disgrace last October on his return from a trip to Yugoslavia and Albania.

In the light of the gravity of the dispute with President Tito of Yugoslavia, speculation was increasing among some Soviet observers here that if any new "trials" were to evolve from the current political maneuvering Marshal Zhukov was the most likely defendant, presumably on charges of links with Marshal Tito.

It is not yet possibly to assess reliably the nature of the roles being played by Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Suslov in the latest turn of events.

However, it seems apparent that Hungary and the Hungarian uprising of 1956 have been the principal background of the maneuvering.

When Mr. Khrushchev was in Budapest in April and also on his return to Moscow he publicly placed the major blame for the Hungarian events on Matyas Rakosi, the old Stalinist leader of Hungary who is now in Moscow. Mr. Rakosi was known to have close links with Mr. Suslov.

However, the sections of Mr. Khrushchev's speeches criticizing Mr. Rakosi were eliminated from his published texts. Almost immediately thereafter, the Soviet and Communist bloc line began to harden against Marshal Tito.

Some Soviet specialists believe the Soviet secret police produced "evidence" seeking to link Marshal Tito to various maneuvers directed at increasing the independence of East European satellite states such as Hungary and Rumania.

Regardless of the line that may be taken at the Central Committee meeting, observers noted that the groundwork for tougher regimes has already been laid, in part by Mr. Khrushchev himself.

His visit of ten days ago to Bulgaria was promptly followed by the emergence from quasi-retirement of Vanno Chervenkov, the old Stalinist leader who had been on the sidelines since shortly after Mr. Khrushchev's famous anti-Stalinist "secret" speech of February, 1956. Mr. Chervenkov has now rejoined the Bulgarian party Politburo and undoubtedly has resumed direction of Bulgarian affairs.

There have been minor changes in the Rumanian party hierarchy. However, the position of Gheorghe Georghu-Dej who has shown some signs of his inclination to the Tito line, may not prove secure.

The most difficult position of any East European leader is that occupied by Wladyslaw Gomulka. M. Gomulka has tried to steer a middle course between Belgrade and Moscow. By the time the Central Committee meeting has concluded in Moscow it is doubtful if any middle course will remain.

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Every Pupil Passes

TEN American educators, headed by U. S. Commissioner of Education Lawrence G. Derthick, are just back from a month's inspection of schooling in Soviet Russia—within the limits, of course, of what the Russians wanted them to see.

But they learned enough to come away "sobered" by what Dr. Derthick described as the "total commitment" of the communists to education. It is, in effect, a forced program. Not only youngsters, but adults, go to school—and like it. For instance, 70,000 adults in Leningrad work full-time jobs, then attend classes for another full shift. Biology, chemistry, physics and astronomy are required of all pupils, regardless of their own aspirations. Language studies are begun in the second grade.

The aim is that "every pupil passes." Low marks usually are considered a reflection on the teacher, rather than the pupil.

The Soviets "are convinced that time is on their side and they can win world supremacy thru education and hard work," Dr. Derthick said.

World supremacy! That's their goal. And forced education is only one of the avenues they are using. Their race for knowledge is fully as much a challenge as their military might or their economic infiltration. And we don't meet it by leaving the problem to educators, or to politicians—it is a parents' problem, a people's problem.

If we don't solve it, the Soviets will show us how—by taking over.

Communist International

Wash. Post and Times Herald
Wash. News 18
Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Journal-American
N. Y. Mirror
N. Y. Daily News
N. Y. Times
Daily Worker
The Worker
New Leader

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Soviet Russia's 'Peace' Offensive:

Reds Set Booby-Trap for Free

By PIERRE HUSS

THE Soviet Union never tires or despairs of its avowed efforts to break up the Western alliances and so put itself in a powerful position to dominate the world by subversion or by force.

The most recent Moscow move is another so-called peace offensive keyed to a bid for a non-aggression pact between the Iron Curtain Warsaw group and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Coupled to this is the announcement that Soviet satellites are cutting down their armed forces by 119,000 men, that Soviet forces in Hungary are being reduced and that those in Romania will be withdrawn entirely.

HUSS

Here is once more the perfect booby-trap set by Moscow for the West. I recall that in Berlin as International News Service correspondent during the Nazi period I reported many times a bid by Dictator Hitler to Poland, France, Britain and others for a 25-year non-aggression pact. He made this offer to Poland not long before he brutally smashed it in an 18-day blitz.

In an interview with Hitler in 1936 after he triumphantly absorbed the Saar through a stacked plebiscite, he pledged to me that he would have no more territorial designs on France. On Dec. 6, 1938, he signed a pact with France for "pacific and good neighborly relations." In May, 1940, he trampled on all peace pacts—except his short-lived deal with Stalin—and invaded France and the Lowlands.

Poses Challenge and Danger

Some diplomats at UN disagree with the viewpoint that as Hitler went in international deception, so goes Moscow. But the facts speak for themselves. The Soviet Union has virtually dishonored every pact concluded in good faith with Free World nations.

It is always difficult and sometimes damaging for the Western powers to kiss off the Moscow bids as mere "propaganda." Therein lies the rub. Each and every new Soviet peace offensive poses a challenge and a danger to the Free World, since every nation and its peoples are zealously interested in any leadership which seemingly offers them assurances against the terrible scourge of an atomic war.

For that very reason, Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev said in making the non-aggression offer: "What do we care if our peace initiative is a thorn in the side of those who are interested in the arms race. Each peace proposal by the Soviet Union and its allies multiplies the ranks of our friends abroad."

That is the key to the never-ending grind of Soviet peace offensives and other types of grandstand diplomacy—such as banning nuclear test explosions.

Turning to the second point of the new Soviet peace offensive, the cuts in continental Red troops, there is again the hook which holds the bait. Sound

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military information has it that Soviet armed manpower stands at approximately 4,000,000 men. Reduction of the satellite forces by 119,000 men is hardly worth mentioning, since the captive lands have armies trained and equipped by Russia running well over 500,000 men.

If anything happened calling for quick action by Red armed forces, it is worth noting that in the European key territory of East Germany there are 400,000 crack Soviet troops. There are 25,000 in Poland and backing them all within easy approach are nearly 2,225,000 Russian forces posted in home territory west of the Urals.

Would Handcuff NATO

The announced Soviet cuts and withdrawals are pointedly aimed at compelling the Western powers under pressure of public demand to pull in their horns around strategic European bases and to shrivel up U. S. military bases abroad. Any non-aggression pact between NATO and Warsaw would perforce handcuff and kill off the former, which is honor-bound to stand by treaties, while Moscow could usurp the agreement at will.

Furthermore, any hamstringing of NATO would almost certainly lead to the withdrawal of American and British troops from the continent in sizeable numbers. It should not escape us that U. S. troops would pull back 3,000 miles and Red forces a few hundred, leaving an obvious striking advantage to one side.

Mr. Huss, famous foreign and war correspondent, reports from United Nations Headquarters for the N. Y. Journal-American.

6-19 (Rev. 10-29-57)

Molotov, We Are Here! (Again)

By Marguerite Higgins

FORMER Secretary of State Acheson, writing in the latest Democratic party pamphlet, warns that "we the American people are at the beginning of a long line of disillusion, frustration, deep humiliation and alarm. To get through it will take all our courage—but, more than this, all our ingenuity."

Higgins

These days you don't have to be a Secretary of State to grasp the many crises of our world that stare out from the headlines or even to have predicted them (Gaither, Rockefeller, Gen. Clay, Lovett, Gen. Gavin, take a bow please!).

In the present crisis there is even a striking common denominator on the Eastern and Western sides of the Iron Curtain in a field where little similarity normally exists: the press. Pick up any Western newspaper and it is full of our troubles—America's "declining prestige," France's turbulence, the Mid-East.

Pick up any Communist newspaper and it is also full of our troubles; and although Communist newspapers, due to newsprint shortages, may not have quite as much space for flagellating the West in print as the West has for self-flagellation, they make up for it in virulence. None of this is surprising. It is the nature of the democratic system to display public preoccupation with its own troubles and the nature of the Communist dictatorships to make the most of the troubles in the democracies while pretending — none — almost none — of their own.

Now ex-Foreign Minister Molotov isn't in a position to issue warnings on the state of the Communist world, and even if he were he wouldn't make them publicly, the monolithic habit being what it is.

But since the courage which Mr. Acheson so rightly says we'll need involves among other things a realistic grasp not only of our own fallibilities but also of the enemy's fallibilities, a question please!

What of them, the Russian people, the Polish people, the Chinese people, the Lithuanian people, the Communist peoples everywhere? What is the future for these millions now that Russia's new "collective" dictator is in the process of consolidating his power, having purged the top Kremlin echelons of his opponents?

After the brief thaws initiated in part to lubricate their own rise to power, are Khrushchev, Mao Tse-tung, etc., finding out that a measure of Stalinism must be reimposed to drive their peoples to accept the required sacrifices, including industrial and war expansion imposed at a rate the people are unwilling to bear voluntarily?

Has Molotov been purged only to see his "hard" line—or a form thereof—stolen from him by Khrushchev in the new surge of effort required by the declared goal of winning against the capitalistic world, economically, militarily—in everything from production of corn per capita to tons of steel per Sputnik?

* * *

Shortly before his decline and fall, Molotov startled the diplomatic colony in Moscow by proposing "an old Russian toast" counseling patience. The "Russian" proverb? Well, according to Molotov, it was "Moscow was not built in a day."

It is not recorded who first said "do as I say, but not as I do." But surely, if ever a saying qualified as a new Communist proverb, this is it.

How gleefully, for instance, the Communist press mocks Nixon's travail in Venezuela. They can afford to be gleeful—if nobody looks too close. The Soviet way of avoiding such travail was shown by Soviet President Voroshilov when he was lately scheduled for a "fraternal visit" to Yugoslavia. Voroshilov simply canceled the trip.

There were no riots either when Prime Minister Khrushchev went to Hungary. Does that mean that the Hungarians, who fought so well with so little against Khrushchev, who saw their leader, Gen. Maleter, tricked by Khrushchev now like him better than the Venezuelans like Nixon? Or does it simply mean that the cruelties imposed on that beaten country, that in fact the cruel alternatives to conformity in any dictatorship impose discretion?

And what of Khrushchev's promises of non-interference in the internal affairs of others, his loud allegations that Russia—unlike America—attaches no strings to aid and trade?

What, most spectacularly, of the new campaign against Yugoslavia?

* * *

Perhaps the hate campaign will not go as far this time as did Stalin's (perhaps it's just not necessary). But Molotov himself would be proud of the ingenuity of the harassment. It was *de rigeur*, of course, that the scheduled meeting of Soviet and Yugoslav trade experts should be abruptly canceled, as it was last week.

* * *

But consider additionally the following:

Yugoslavia has been banned from the trade fair in Moscow scheduled for this summer—it seems—the Soviets say—"cer-

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44 JUN 2 1958

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Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Journal-American
N. Y. Mirror
N. Y. Daily News
N. Y. Times
Daily Worker
The Worker
New Leader

Date MAY 26 1958

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tain difficulties" occurred in locating the exhibits already sent to Moscow.

Yugoslav athletes are being de-invited from East European sports events.

More of those "certain difficulties" seem suddenly to afflict the building of a certain aluminum plant promised to the Yugoslavs by the Kremlin. And so on.

The provocation? According to "Pravda," Yugoslavia insists on standing "outside the fraternal Socialist camp," on spouting theories on communism and foreign affairs that clash with the Kremlin view and on refusing to let its economy be meshed with that of the rest of the Communist bloc to the degree the Kremlin would like.

An even more tragic sign of the new turn of the Kremlin screw is the abject way in which all the satellites are once again—just as in the good old Stalin days—forced to ape almost word for word the Kremlin line. Even Poland's Gomulka, who in the brave days of October, 1956, so courageously sided with the Hungarian people against Red tanks, has been made to reverse himself, and the small measure of autonomy granted Poland is once again in doubt.

The Hungarian revolution, tragic as it was, served the necessary purpose of reminding the world that no matter how seemingly monolithic the exterior or how intensive the brainwashing, human beings can never permanently accept the indignity of being deprived of their human rights to think for themselves, to judge for themselves, to that thing, imperfect as it is, known as a measure of freedom.

The delegation of Eastern European satellites which journeyed to Moscow last week to get the latest economic and ideological instructions from the Kremlin did so in an atmosphere where even the tiny measures of freedom accorded them during "de-Stalinization" is shrinking. It was so much like old times that, according to one wry story from behind the Iron Curtain, the satellite leaders were tempted to say as they approached the Kremlin portals, "Molotov, we are here—again."

Is there a more graphic way of prophesying that the millions behind the Iron Curtain are not only "beginning a long line of frustration and deep humiliation" but are about to repeat same and that not even courage and ingenuity are likely to save them?

Perhaps all this is the only way Khrushchev, like Stalin, can buy mastery of the world. It is also a spur to the West's effort to defeat that effort. And at least we the American people have a choice—until the issue is decided.

0-19 (Rev. 10-29-57)

Walter Winchell

of New York 10

Man Doing a Colyum

The Francoise Sagan drama-ballet at the Adelphi is typically Sagan. Includes two seduction episodes. Gee-whiz...The report that Elia Kazan may direct Mike Gazzo's "Night Circus" drama is good news. Gazzo knows how to put words on fire and Kazan keeps 'em blazing...Four current novels deal with college life. Rahrahrah... The lovely Lennon sisters are a great assist to Lawrence Welk's mellow-swellodies...Van Cliburn, the pianist-wonder, is the new pet of tech-age dolls. Hollywood will probably shower him with offers ...A pair of off-Broadway dramas deal with morticians. They're comedies. Eeek!...Never-give-up note: G. B. Shaw wrote five flop novels...Newsweek amusingly describes John O'Hara as "the Proust of Pennsylvania"...Edna Ferber's "Ice Palace" best-seller has a wow opening line: "Every third woman you passed on Gold Street in Baranof was young, pretty and pregnant."

Another merry sound in the lilting "Gigi" score is "She Is Not Thinking of Me"...Gary Cooper pointed out: "I keep working and still I never earn any keeping money. When you're in the 90 percent tax-bracket, you take it on the chin." Welcome to the club, bub... Movies have really grown up. The "Ten North Frederick" flicker stresses the adultery theme...Nothing more eyetractive than the East Side spot decorated with Al Hirschfeld's stage caricatures. Pen-and-inkspirations...CBS's "Camera Three" remains one of the better Tail Forehead programs. Cuicha that won't borya...In a word, an ingrate who gets lucky, is a flopcess.

The news-photo of Mickey Rooney and his 8-year-old heir reveals that the youngster is an amazing replica of Pop, right down to the last freckle...Incidentally, Van Cliburn's full name is Harvey Lavan Cliburn...Ho-Hum. Kim Novak's latest romance should endure for several headlines...Omigosh! A major French newspaper seriously reported that the U.S. has concentration camps...The smartoon on the Saturday Review's page 33 is funneee...Ronald Colman, the gifted star who passed, once observed: "Don't try to become a star. Work hard and stardom will come to you." (Troo.)

What makes a songwriter a great songwriter? Irving Berlin, an authority on the subject, explained it: "Songwriting is not alone a bisiness or a hobby with me. It's everything." In other words, you must be a dedicated individual...The war must be over: The hero of a new British movie is a Nazi pilot...There's a well-deserved tribute (in a mag) to Ralph Bellamy for his work as President of Actors' Equity. Bellamy, who is a fine actor, has given a great performance as a human being...Don't worry about actors who do tv commershills. Some earn as much as $150,000 per annum...Time mag sums up the decline of a scandal mag: "It went from bed to worse."

Film Bulletin has the upbeat story of movie biz. Extremely encouraging. Should make movie moguls stop weeping into their swimming pools...Zsa Zsa has all the luck. She attracted page-one publicity via a Congressional scolding, the same day she flew into Washington for a nightclub appearance...One of the most delightful tv commershills is the peanut butter jingle. Imaginative...J. Edgar Hoover's significant observation: "In not one of the countries (where the Reds attacked Nixon) is the Communist Party in the majority." As we have frequently pointed out—Communists have enslaved majorities by operating as well-organized minorities. Remember, it takes only one man to be a dictator.

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44 JUN 4 1958

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Wash. News
Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Journal-American
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N. Y. Daily News
N. Y. Times
Daily Worker
The Worker
New Leader

Date MAY 23 1958

67 JUN 5-1958

The new trend in movie houses: Small, intimate theatres... The Paramount Theatre now offers coffee service for patrons... A Lexington Avenue shop is peddling a hand-painted tie for a mere $125 ...Film titles are getting warmer. A trio of new flickers are tagged: "The Long, Hot Summer," "Hot Spell" and "Summer Love"... Ticket prices for movies are still rising, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics... Gander Dana Wynter in the "Fraulein" film and see what a beautiful girl looks like... James C. Petrillo, who is retiring as chief of the musicians' union, will be missed. He was tough, but always fair—and colorful... Esquire's page 106 photo of Jean Seberg helps explain why girls are so popular.

The United States News-World Report reports: "Amid all talk of peace, the world is actually at war. Fought for propaganda, intrigue, subversion. Aimed at objectives greater than those of many a major shooting war." Hmf. For reporting that fact years ago, the Rip Van Winkles called us a warmonger... Previewers insist that the movie version of "No Time for Sergeants" will pay a hefty dividend for Ha and Ha & Co... Meredith Willson, "The Music Man's" music man, once played a piccolo with the New York Philharmonic ...A half-dozen current flickers are based on best-sellers... The highlight of "The Visit" drama is the expertly-directed scene at the railway station—when Alfred Lunt tries to escape. Mr. Lunt really conveys the sickening terror of a fear-haunted man.

A. J. Cronin's latest novel, "The Northern Light," is an engrossing tale about a newspaperman. He sketches the world of journalism in an authentic manner... Ernie Kovacs' valentine for his bride, Edie Adams, in an interview: "She's honest, she's good, she's beautiful. Only, thank God, she doesn't know she's beautiful"... Exposé: Steve Allen writes poetry... Marlene Dietrich speaks French, English and German. Her beauty speaks an international lingo, however... Tony Perkins memorized his lengthy, difficult role in "Look Homeward, Angel" in one day... Teevee offers about 320 shows every week. Broadway has approximately 70 shows a season and Hollywood turns out about 200 flickers a year.

Chester Morris' performance in the "Blue Denim" drama rates a stardust trophy... F. Sinatra's common-sense: "Luck is only important in so far as getting the chance to sell yourself at the right moment. After that, you've got to have talent and learn how to use it." In brief, you must be lucky enough to have talent... Maurice Chevalier's home (in France) is decorated with many metal ashtrays shaped and colored like his famous straw skimmer... Headline: "Rep. Burdick, 79, Sues Bride, 30, for Spurning His Love." Rep. Burdick is a CongressMAN.

Why it's tough to secure tickets for hit shows: Most legit playhouses have about 1000 squat-spots, or less... When the visiting Moscow dancers witnessed "The West Side Story," they described it as "too sexy." The show now proudly uses that quote in its adverts... It's always a good show when Eva Gabor breezes into a joynt. So many gentlemen blow kisses—and several gallants even kiss her paw. Dahling, it's vunderful!... Suzy Parker's strange quote: "I haven't given myself a chance yet to be a woman. When I do, I'll probably be one with a vengeance"... The Desilu empire also includes vast real estate holdings... Why colyumists gray young: We boosted a report about tranquilizers in the New Yorker mag. Now a reader writes and asks where she can read it... France doesn't need another Napoleon as much as it needs another Lafayette.

0-19 (Rev. 9-7-56)

C-7

Top Reds Meet in Moscow

MOSCOW, May 21 (Wednesday) (AP)—The Soviet Union announced today that a meeting of Warsaw Pact party leaders and foreign and defense ministers will be held in Moscow Saturday.

The brief announcement in the newspaper Izvestia did not disclose the purpose of the conference.

It said an economic conference of the world's Communist powers opened yesterday. Those participating are members of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance.

Izvestia said those who will meet Saturday belong to the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact. Members of the Pact, set up in May, 1955, are the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Albania.

The twin sessions come on the eve of the expected resumption in Moscow of diplomatic negotiations for an East-West summit conference. They also follow recent Communist bloc denunciations of Yugoslavia.

In addition to the eight Warsaw Pact members, the Economic Council meeting includes invited representatives from Communist China, North Viet-Nam, North Korea and Outer Mongolia.

A dispatch from Warsaw said the sessions were being held to plan new military and economic moves in the cold war.

It said Communist radio announcements made clear that the session which opened yesterday is as much concerned with political as the economic affairs.

Saturday's meeting presumably will be concerned with the Warsaw Pact's reply to the West German Parliament's decision to accept nuclear arms for West Germany's NATO forces, the Warsaw dispatch added.

A meeting of Communist atomic experts already is being held in Moscow.

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N. Y. Daily News
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Daily Worker
The Worker
New Leader

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C.P. - International

REDS INVEST IN U. S.

Senate Unit Notes Rise in Flow of Communist Funds

WASHINGTON, May 19 (AP)—The Senate Internal Security subcommittee said today that an increasing amount of "Communist money" was being invested in American industries.

The subcommittee, in another chapter of its serialized annual report, said the funds from Communist sources were finding their way into the United States through Swiss banks and other intermediaries.

The report said also that "American money flows behind the Iron Curtain through many channels, all benefiting the world Communist conspiracy."

These conclusions were drawn from testimony taken at public hearings during the last two years. No legislative recommendations were submitted.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Nease
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Mr. Clayton
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

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New York Times
May 20, 1958

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52 JUN 5 1958

Andropov follows the line — hard on Afghanistan, soft on China

The Brezhnev legacy

By Mary Wisniewski

Moscow: The funeral dirges for Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev had hardly ended before his successor Yuri Andropov had flung the doors of the Kremlin open wide. But how far the winds of change will be allowed to penetrate remains to be seen. Andropov, named general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party soon after Brezhnev's death, met visiting foreign dignitaries at a reception following Brezhnev's Red Square burial ceremonies on November 15.

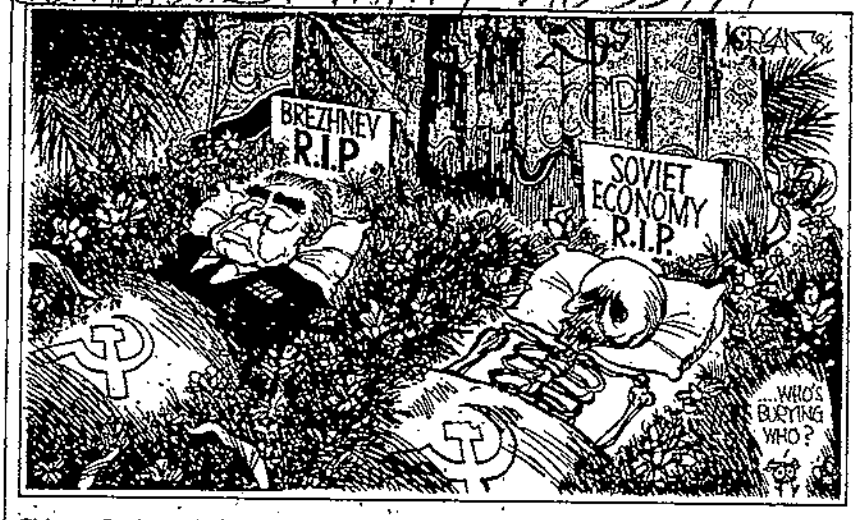
The receiving line filed past quickly — until Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua brought it to a halt with about three minutes of conversation with the new Soviet party leader. Experienced Kremlin watchers noted Huang's position in the line-up of dignitaries waiting to shake hands with Brezhnev's successor. He followed the East European allies, but preceded the Yugoslav delegation. The position and the lengthy remarks — compared with the 30 seconds or so the other visitors were accorded — were significant. The Andropov-Huang meeting was later shown on Soviet TV.

Huang remained in Moscow after the funeral and met his Soviet counterpart, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, privately. The official Tass newsagency reported that Gromyko told Huang that the Soviet Union "attaches much significance to normalisation of relations and will continue striving for these relations to be switched to the lines of good neighbourliness."

Tass also noted that both sides expressed "mutual consent that a political dialogue . . . be continued." Sino-Soviet talks are due to resume in Moscow soon, and the Tass report can be seen as the first Soviet confirmation of their resumption, though it does not specify time or place.

After the funeral, the communist party daily *Pravda* published a Tass report from Peking that quoted an interview the Chinese foreign minister had given to China's official Xinhua newsagency before he departed for Moscow. The Tass story was also read on the main Soviet evening TV news programme. Huang's remarks, primarily a statement of condolence, also chronicled Sino-Soviet relations from the early 1950s until Brezhnev's death.

He went on to laud the late president's two speeches (in Tashkent in March and Baku in September) that contained overtures to China. "We wish with all our souls that General Secretary Yuri Andropov, the party and government of the Soviet Union make new efforts to improve Chinese-Soviet relations," Tass quoted Huang as saying. Huang's warm reception in Moscow and the wide coverage his visit was accorded in the official media later, constitute a clear signal that the new Andropov regime places a high priority on bettering Sino-Soviet relations.



Since the Sino-Soviet talks in Peking last month, the Soviet press has been publishing non-critical stories from China dealing with art, architecture and domestic affairs — the first time in decades that China has been mentioned in print in a positive light. Also, the Chinese ambassador to Moscow attended the November 7 Revolution Day celebrations in Red Square for the first time in recent memory. These preliminary steps began under Brezhnev, but so far the signs indicate that Andropov plans to continue along the same road, perhaps at an even brisker pace.

The funeral ceremonies also provided another hint that North Korea was drifting away from the Soviet Union and tilting towards China. Pyongyang decided to send Vice-President Pak Song Chol, ranked fourth or fifth in the Korean Workers Party hierarchy, to the funeral. It was noted that when Josip Broz Tito died in early 1980, President Kim Il Sung himself attended the Yugoslav leader's funeral.

However, South Korea hopes to continue its detente policy with the new Soviet leadership in the wake of Brezhnev's death. Years of exploratory contacts with Moscow produced a dramatic result last month when three Tass newsagency representatives and a ranking Soviet Ministry of Culture official attended two international conferences in Seoul. When the news of Brezhnev's death broke, a senior South Korean Foreign Ministry official told reporters that Seoul hoped the new Moscow leadership will make a "positive contribution toward world peace." Later, a South Korean cabinet member told the REVIEW: "We should have gone further [than just expressing hope for peace] and conveyed our condolences to the Soviet people."

Andropov, with his post-funeral meetings, showed he was eager to move forward quickly in foreign affairs. However, in certain problem areas, such as Afghanistan and Vietnam, diplomats who closely follow the issues concerned expect changes of nuance rather than of policy.

In the hours after the funeral, Andropov met Afghan President Babrak Karmal, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Pakistani President Zia-ul Haq. The fact that he scheduled meetings with these three in those first busy hours is an indication of the Soviet Union's sensitivity about Afghanistan, invaded by Soviet forces in late 1979.

There are signals in the Soviet press, however, indicating that less change, rather than more, can be expected. The official report on the Zia-Andropov talks was curt. "Questions concerning the situation around Afghanistan were touched upon on a principled plane in a short conversation," Tass reported. Knowledgeable observers interpret the official jargon to mean the two sides disagreed.

But Soviet TV did show Zia — who has been criticised often in the past in the

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Soviet media — shaking hands cordially with Andropov.

A Tass report from Kabul, released the day after the Karmal and Zia meetings, affirmed Soviet support for Karmal's proposals for a settlement in Afghanistan. Were any changes in the Soviet line in the offing, Tass would not have emphasised — in a story that otherwise dealt with an international conference convened by the World Peace Council — the peace proposals made during the Brezhnev era.

Vietnamese party chief Le Duan sent a message to Andropov, congratulating him and expressing confidence that the Soviets would continue as the "mainstay and reliable supporter of all forces of revolution." But Le Duan himself did not attend the funeral — instead he sent the country's second-ranked party official, Truong Chinh. Knowledgeable observers interpret Vietnam's behaviour to mean that Hanoi, while appealing for Moscow's continued support, is unhappy with the Soviets' increasing warmth towards China.

The Soviets have stated officially that improved relations with China would not be undertaken at the expense of other countries. But while declaring that it will not abandon Hanoi, the Kremlin has not firmly refuted — as far as the Vietnamese are concerned — the Chinese demand that Moscow withdraw its support of the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia.

Although the new Soviet party chief showed himself surprisingly open to meeting foreign dignitaries, and not only those with friendly political views, any significant policy changes are expected to come slowly. The Soviet Union has a collective leadership, and a change in the man at the helm does not necessarily mean a change in course. F

Huang's swan-song

The Chinese foreign minister's praising of the Soviet Union and Brezhnev sets the stage for better relations

By David Bonavia

Peking: Diplomats' and China-watchers were taken aback when China's Foreign Minister Huang Hua praised the Soviet Union as if he had not spent the better part of the past decade denouncing it with furious invective. In an interview with the official Xinhua newsagency just before he left for Moscow to attend the late president Leonid Brezhnev's funeral, Huang said: "President Brezhnev was an outstanding statesman of the Soviet Union." Although the 13-year-old Sino-Soviet border talks still seem locked in irreconcilable positions, the sudden thaw in overall political relations seems capable of moving even that logjam.

As analysts examined the implications of Huang's honeyed words to the Soviets, speculation that the Chinese had merely waited until Brezhnev died in order to launch a peace offensive seemed inconsistent with Huang's remark that Brezhnev's death was "a great loss to his country and people." A few years ago the Chinese would have metaphorically danced on the Soviet leader's grave.

It could also be that the Chinese want the next round of the stalled border talks, to be held in due course in Moscow, to get off to a good start and in a friendly atmosphere. "China and the Soviet Union are two great countries sharing a long boundary," the foreign minister pointed out — as if anyone had forgotten that fact. Huang went on: "Peace and friendship between the two countries completely conform to the interests not only of the two countries and the two peoples, but also of peace in Asia and the world as a whole."

Far and away China's most experienced diplomat, Huang was formerly ambassador to Egypt, Canada, and then to the United Nations. Fluent in English, the 69-year-old Huang is an authority on American affairs and has travelled extensively in Europe, the United States and the Third World. Known to be in poor health with a bladder complaint, he is expected to stand down in favour of Wu Xueqian at the session of the National People's Congress opening on November 26.

Huang's health problems make it all the more striking that he should make a visit to Moscow his diplomatic swan-song. It is the highest-level visit to Moscow by any Chinese leader since the late premier Zhou Enlai stopped over in November 1964. Huang noted that in the early 1950s China's relations with the Soviet Union had been good. "They began deteriorating in the late 1950s and by the late 1960s this deterioration reached a serious stage."

The foreign minister did not mention the fighting at various parts of the 4,000-mile border in 1969. Instead he said: "Not long before his death president Brezhnev in several speeches expressed the wish to work for improvements in Sino-Soviet relations." Huang expressed the hope that under General Secretary Yuri Andropov, the Soviet Communist Party and the government would "make new efforts" to improve relations with China.

He also hoped that the Soviet Union would continue to make progress in improving its domestic situation "and the unity of the multinational Soviet state will be more consolidated." This was the nicest thing any Chinese leader had said about the Soviet Union since before the Cultural Revolution.

The approach must certainly be the product of intense debate in the Chinese leadership and may be related to a factional power-struggle, with many army leaders favouring better relations with the Soviets, against whom the armed forces' obsolete equipment would be of little value. If the Sino-Soviet thaw continues at this pace, the US and other Western countries may think again about the wisdom of selling arms to China. This would reverse the past decade's trend in global strategy, which has been dominated by the US-Chinese entente. F

Huang and Gromyko: increasing warmth.

Key Brezhnev Aides, Including Arbatov, Get High Party Jobs

By John Morrison
Reuter

MOSCOW, March 4 — Several relatives and key associates of Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev including Georgy Arbatov, the Kremlin's top adviser on U.S. affairs, have been moved up to the Communist Party Central Committee, according to lists published today in the party newspaper Pravda.

The elevation of Arbatov, who is director of the Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada, appears to dispel speculations in the West that Moscow was shifting its policy away from detente with the West and that the influence of relatively moderate personalities such as Arbatov was on a decline.

Brezhnev's son Yuri, first deputy foreign trade minister, became one of 151 candidate (nonvoting) members of the committee. Lt. Gen. Yuri Churbanov, Brezhnev's son-in-law and first deputy interior minister, was moved to the same level.

Brezhnev's position was further strengthened by the promotion of a senior personal aide, Andrei Alexandrov-Agentov, from candidate to full committee member while another aide, Anatoly Blatov, became a candidate member.

The Central Committee meets twice a year. The exact extent of its influence on Politburo policy is unknown, but it can play a crucial role if there is a leadership conflict.

Soviet diplomats who moved up to become full members of the Central Committee included First Deputy Foreign Minister Georgy Kornivenko and Ambassador to India Yuri Vorontsov.

Moscow's representative at the European security review conference in Madrid, Deputy Foreign Minister Leonid Ilyichov, also became a candidate member in a rare political comeback. Ilyichov is a political veteran who was a party secretary for propaganda and ideology under Nikita Khrushchev but was demoted to deputy foreign minister after the fall of his patron in 1964.

Several senior officers from the armed forces moved into the Central Committee as full members, and at least three figures from the KGB security police were promoted to the same level.

They included First Deputy Chairman of the Committee for State Security, Gen. Semyon Tsvigun, the leading career security man under KGB Chairman Yuri Andropov, a party appointee.

Also promoted from candidate member to full member were KGB deputy chairmen Gen. Georgy Tsinev and Col. Gen. Viktor Chebrikov.

The new Central Committee list contained 81 full members joining the body for the first time but there were no real surprises.

Most of those removed from the committee were officials whose retirement or dismissal from party or government posts had been announced in the last five years.

They included Brezhnev's predecessor as head of state, Nikolai Podgorny, who lost his Politburo seat in 1977, and former Politburo members Kirill Mazurov and Dmitri Polyansky.

The Central Committee remains overwhelmingly a male preserve, with only eight women full members, the same number as elected by the 1976 congress. About 12 of the full members are workers or farmers, while the bulk of the seats go to senior party, government or military figures on an ex officio basis.

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Communist Party
Russia

OUTSIDE SOURCE

Yuri & Brezhnev

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DAILY WORLD
PEOPLES WORLD
THE WASHINGTON POST 3/5/81 pgA27
WASHINGTON STAR-NEWS

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DE-65

Communist Party - Russia

Soviet Scriptwriter Wins Award for Work on Films

MOSCOW (UPI) — The Soviet Union Saturday awarded a Lenin Prize to Leonid Zamyatin for his work on the scripts of two propaganda films glorifying the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President Leonid I. Brezhnev.

Zamyatin was among more than two dozen winners of the country's most prestigious prize for science and the arts, awarded every second year on the anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Lenin, founder of the Soviet state.

A prize also went to Alexander Chakovsky, editor of *Literaturnay Gazeta*, the weekly of the Union of Writers that is often a vehicle for Party-line attacks on Soviet dissidents and Western culture and politics.

Zamyatin, 55, a Brezhnev protege who has acted as Brezhnev's spokesman on foreign travels, served as director general of the official Tass news agency for eight years before his appointment last month to head the Central Committee's International Information Department.

He was awarded the prize along with fellow scriptwriters Vitaly Ignatenko and Dmitry Morozov, directors Igor Bessarabov and Yevgeni Andrikanis and cameramen Alexander Kochetkov for the documentaries "The Story of a Communist" (a film biography of Brezhnev) and "Following Lenin's Course."

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OF CPSU

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DAILY WORLD ____

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The Washington Post ____
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Daily News (New York) ____
The New York Times ____
The Wall Street Journal ____
The National Observer ____
The Los Angeles Times ____

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Plan. & Insp. ____

Halt urged to ALL A-tests

Daily World Combined Services

MOSCOW, Nov. 2 — The Soviet Union today proposed "a moratorium on all nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes along with a ban on all nuclear weapons tests for a definite period," and "a simultaneous halt in the production of nuclear weapons by all states."

Leonid Brezhnev, President

Continued on page 12

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DAILY WORLD

CONTINUING the DAILY WORKER, FOUNDED 1924

Looking Behind the News —and Ahead

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Communist Party - Russia

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Brezhnev urges halt to ALL A-tests

Continued from page 1

of the USSR and general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, making the proposal in his speech at the opening celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Revolution, called it a "radical step."

Brezhnev addressed the Supreme Soviet, the Central Committee of the CPSU, and other Soviet and foreign leaders in the Kremlin.

"If the main task, that of preventing a new world war and ensuring a lasting peace, is successfully tackled, this will open up new prospects before the inhabitants of the earth," he said.

"With the victory of the October Revolution," he stated, "the working people for the first time ever received an opportunity to do away with exploitation and escape the grip of economic chaos. Anarchy of production has given way to the scientific, planned management of the economy.

"In a historically minimum time a vast backward country has turned into a country with a highly developed industry and collectivized agriculture.

"The Soviet Union's industrial production today exceeds thaat of the entire world a quarter of a century ago. . . .

"A new historical entity, the Soviet people, has been formed."

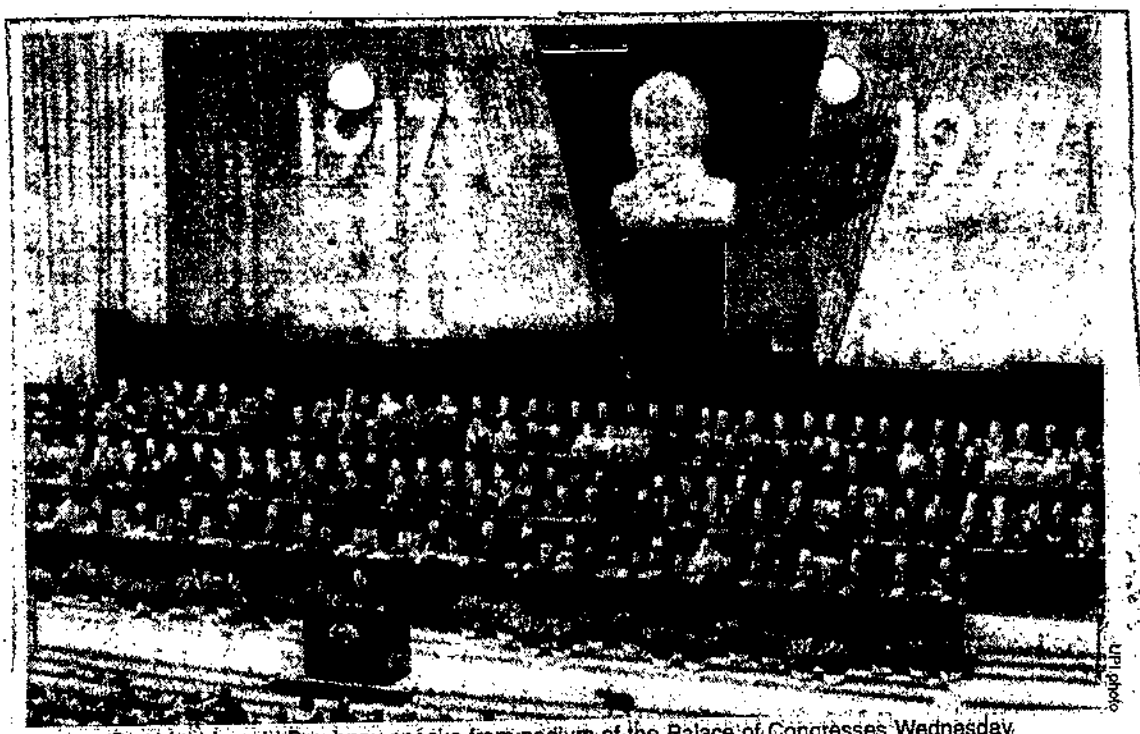
He pointed out that the Soviet citizen does not know the humiliating feeling of fear for the future, the fear to be left without work, without medical assistance, without a shelter. Soviety stands on guard of the citizens' rights and interests and defends their dignity as citizens and human beings.

He noted the progress in the solution of the housing shortage, with about 110 million people over the years moving into new housing.

"The production of consumer goods has been expanded," he said. "In 10 years the industry of the USSR has practically doubled the output of these products and considerably improved them. Wages have substantially increased and social consumption funds have augmented the real incomes of the Soviet people have risen by 1.6 times.

"A new constitution of the Soviet Union has been adopted recently," Brezhnev continued. "It has reaffirmed that all the transformations and all the changes being accomplished in our country have as their primary aim the ensuring of genuinely human living conditions for every person.

"The Soviet people were the first on earth to create a developed socialist society and



President Leonid Brezhnev speaks from podium of the Palace of Congresses Wednesday

they are the first who are building communism.

"Among the international consequences of the October Revolution, the most important one is the emergence and development of the world socialist system.

"There was a time when the bourgeoisie, frightened by the victory of the October Revolution and its mighty influence on the minds of millions, sought to find 'Moscow's hand' in each revolutionary event in the world. Now few people believe these children's tales.

"Revolutions arise and win because of the internal development of each particular country, by the will of the people.

"Transition to socialism is feasible only if the working class and its allies, having won real political power, use it to abolish the social and economic rule of capitalist and other exploiters.

"Socialism will win if the working class and its vanguard, the Communists, are able to rally together the working masses in the struggle to build a new society.

"Socialism will consolidate itself only when the government of the working people is able to defend the revolution from any attacks of the class enemy, and such attacks are inevitable. . .

"The victory of the October Revolution awakened the colonial peoples' consciousness and helped them achieve tremendous successes in the struggle for the liberation from imperialist oppression.

"On the whole the colonial system of imperialism in its classic forms can be considered abolished. Many of the newly liberated countries are rejecting the capitalist path of development and setting themselves the aim of building a society oriented to socialism.

"The socialist part of the world, by its internal development and by its approach to international relations, offers a good example of which ways are the best for solving the big problems arising before mankind. But it cannot, of course, solve them for the rest of mankind.

"The need here is for purposeful efforts by the people of every country, for extensive and constructive cooperation among all countries, all peoples. The Soviet Union is wholly for such cooperation.

"The achievements of the October Revolution and the potentialities of socialism are today the surest guarantee of mankind's further progress. The October Revolution is the banner of great changes raised aloft over the 20th century by the will and hands of the working masses."

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World delegates flock to USSR celebration

By GEORGE MORRIS

MOSCOW, Oct. 31 — Delegations from 100 countries are already here and more are expected by Wednesday morning when festivities begin marking the 60th anniversary of the 1917 Revolution.

Those here represent 12 delegations from socialist countries; 73 from Communist and Marxist-Leninist workers organizations of capitalist countries; 19 from developing countries of Asia and Africa, eight from democratic organizations of Asia, Africa and Latin America and 10 from socialist and democratic parties.

Vadim Zagladin, deputy head of the international department of the central committee of the Communist Party, said 90 percent of the organizations here are represented by their top leaders, an indication of the tremendous significance attached to the festivities.

Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the Communist Party and President of the USSR, will address the opening ceremonies Wednesday at the Palace of Congresses in the Kremlin. Among the events of the day will be addresses by veteran Communists with membership since or before 1917. The conference, with greetings from delegations will continue on Thursday.

On Friday and Saturday, many delegations will shift to Leningrad, the "cradle of the revolution," Kiev and Byelorussia, to attend the celebrations there. Zagladin said every Soviet republic and national autonomous republic will have similar programs.

On Nov. 7 the grand parade will come through the Red Square and pass Lenin's tomb.

On Nov. 10 and 11, a conference of representatives of all parties will be held on the theoretical significance of October for the world's working class movement.

"Communist Party - Russia"

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Djilas: Monolithic Communism Is Dead

By Dusko Doder
Washington Post Foreign Service

BELGRADE, July 1—Milovan Djilas, once President Tito's heir apparent but later an outspoken critic of communism's excesses, said today that the European Communist Party summit meeting that ended yesterday in East Berlin marked the death of "monolithic communism."

Djilas, who was purged and imprisoned in 1954 after an ideological dispute with Tito, said in an interview that the outcome of the East Berlin meeting represented a personal triumph for Tito over the Soviet Union, 28 years after Stalin expelled Tito from the Communist movement.

As a result of the rebuff that Yugoslavia, Romania and several Western Communist parties dealt the Kremlin in East Berlin, Djilas said, "You cannot talk about world communism in the old sense anymore."

Rather than resolving differences between the Kremlin and Communist parties in smaller countries, Djilas said, the result of the meeting could be to deepen the split.

Djilas, 65, is best known in the West for his 1957 book "The New Class," which sharply attacked the postwar Communist system and the privileges enjoyed by its leaders. He said he considers the summit meeting "an extremely important event—not for the text of its final document but for its formal legalization of differences within the Communist movement."

Although he saw it as Tito's final ideological victory over Moscow, Djilas said, "The Yugoslavs coud not have achieved it by themselves." He said they were aided by "the Sino-Soviet split and later emergence of independent-minded tendencies within the Communist parties of Italy, Spain and France."

The most important aspect of the summit, he said, "is that the Russians have agreed to formally accept the existence of ideological differences that arose first in Tito's conflict with Stalin in 1948.

"But all these differences remain. The summit has not resolved them, only ligitimized their existence.

"Moreover, these differences between Soviet-bloc parties and other Communist parties are likely to sharpen in the future, and that will inevitably have repercussions in East European parties.

The principles adopted at East Berlin specifically accept differences among parties and their right to pursue their own courses. According to Djilas, this seems to foreshadow the emergence of national communism in various contries.

"What is called Eurocommunism these days in nothing more than a general trend toward separation [of various parties] from Moscow and a search for their own road," he said.

"But," he continued, "it is impossible that the Italians or th eSpaniards, for example, could advocate pluralism without this having an effect on parties run by dogmatic, totalitarian-minded leaders.

"Hence, the current trend will either isolate the Soviet bloc from other Communist parites or it will encourage moderate forces with in East European parties."

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Europe Summit Rebuffs Soviet Leadership Role

By Michael Getler
Washington Post Foreign Service

EAST BERLIN, June 30—Europe's Communist parties today took a firm step toward ending Moscow's traditional grip on their affairs and diminished the Kremlin's claim to leadership of international communism.

The first major international Communist summit meeting in seven years wound up here today with adoption of a statement of principles that goes further than any other widely accepted Communist document in formally acknowledging the right of every Communist party to run its own affairs without interference from outside, meaning the Kremlin.

The document makes no reference to Soviet leadership, to Moscow's once unquestioned role as the center of Communist thought or to the cherished Soviet concept of "proletarian internationalism," which has long been viewed as a statement of the Soviet right to meddle in the internal affairs of other parties.

The 47-page document on "peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe" was officially adopted by the leaders of all 29 European Communist parties represented here—including Soviet party leader Leonid Brezhnev. Only the Albanian party, which is allied with China, boycotted the conference.

In more human terms than the bland language of the final document, Italy's Enrico Berlinguer, sitting directly opposite Brezhnev in the big conference room

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of the 39-story Stadt [illegible] Hotel, delivered a vi[illegible]us new affirmation of his party's independence from the Kremlin that seemed to capture the significance of what was happening.

Berlinguer called the conference, the first of its size since a rancorous world gathering of Communist parties in Moscow in 1969, a "free meeting among autonomous and equal parties."

Berlinguer, whose party scored significance gains in Italy's election last week, was the only speaker to mention the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. He reminded the Soviets that his party had condemned the invasion and he told the conference: "Methods which are now outdated should be abandoned."

Twice Berlinguer referred to solidarity with Spain's Communist Party, led by Santigao Carrillo, who yesterday made one of the bluntest challenges to the Kremlin.

Although Carillo's party is small and is forced by the Spanish government to operate in exile, his speech has been touted by the Italians and the Yugoslays as the real keynote of the conference.

Carillo, declaring that his party no longer regards Moscow as the center of the Communist movement, said, "We would not accept a return to the ideas of internationalism of the past."

Berlinguer talked of the need "to keep abreast with the unfolding of the real historical process."

While paying his respects to the breakthrough for socialism of the Soviet Communist revolution of 1917, Berlinguer told the 114 delegates here that "development in the elaboration of Marxism has not kept pace with the great transformations taking place in the reality of today's world."

He chided the use of "stereotyped formulations, battles of quotations or arbitrary labeling as revisionist . . . every position that differs from one's own."

"The truth is," he went on in an indirect reference to the Soviets, "that there is not and cannot be any leading party or leading state."

While Brezhnev yesterday was sharply critical of the NATO alliance, Berlinguer said, "In Italy, we are fighting so that the Italian people, within the framework of the international alliances to which our country belongs, can autonomously decide, without any foreign interference, its own political leadership."

Berlinguer talked of "Eurocommunism" as a phrase that seemed to best represent efforts "to see solutions of a new type in the transformation of society in the socialist direction."

French Communist Party chief Georges Marchais also followed the independent line, proclaiming that "socialism in France will be socialism in French colors."

Marchais said, "The dictatorship of the proletariat . . . does not correspond to the reality of a socialist France toward which we are working." He said his country was pursuing a socialism that will be a "profoundly democratic one."

Reporters were able to watch the proceedings live on closed-circuit television, a measure reportedly insisted on by some Western parties, as well as the Yugoslavs and Romanians, to insure full coverage of the remarks.

Some sources surmised that both Tito and Brezhnev, who through their top aides worked out the actual concessions and compromises some three weeks ago, also agreed privately not to further dramatize differences in their own speeches, which were the most closely watched.

In his low-key speech, Tito emphasized that "It is precisely interference in the internal affairs of others that has jeopardized peace and always provoked conflicts between countries in Europe and elsewhere."

While Tito's speech was subdued, the final declaration issued here was viewed as a particular triumph and vindication for the 84-year-old Yugoslav leader who has led the way to nonalignment within the Communist world ever since he was banished as a heretic by Stalin in 1948.

The new Communist declaration adopted today pays tribute to the "great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin" but says clearly that Europe's Communist parties would base their future relations "strictly on adhering to the principles of equality and sovereign independence of each party, noninterference in internal affairs, and respect for their free choice of different roads in the struggle for social change."

The struggle of each party for soc[illegible]m" in its own country, [illegible]e charter continues, is responsible to the working class and people "of that country."

The final document was released after more than 20 hours of speech-making over the past two days by 19 of the 29 party chiefs from eastern and western Europe.

This new document is not the product of events here where there was no actual discussion. Rather it is the result of some 20 months of bitter wrangling between Soviet leaders and their staunchest allies, on one side and the more independent-minded Communist regimes in Yugoslavia and Romania allied with the increasingly important parties of Italy, France and Spain.

Although Brezhnev cautioned his comrades that "all of us are participants in a common struggle" and endorsed the principles contained in the new document, its publication is widely viewed as a setback for the Kremlin leader.

Two years ago, when the Soviets laid initial plans for a European summit that was to take place in 1975 and set the stage for a world Communist summit, it was envisioned that the meeting would reaffirm Soviet leadership.

Changing conditions in the Communist world forced Brezhnev to make concessions to the mavericks, led by Tito, or to lose even more face by displaying an inability to convene such a meeting.

"The real culprit for the Russians," one Western official here said, "is the guy who dreamed up this meeting in the first place."

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FOREIGN NEWS COMMENTARY:
YUGOSLAVIA PLEASED BY "VICTORY" OVER MOSCOW
BY RICHARD C. GROSS

BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA (UPI) -- YUGOSLAVIA IS COOINGNWITH PLEASURE OVER WHAT IT CONSIDERS A VICTORY OVER THE SOVIET UNION AT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES CONFERENCE.

THE SELF-CONGRATULATION HAS APPEARED MOST OFTEN IN THE NATION'S CONTROLLED PRESS.

WITH THE WESTERN PARTIES IN TOW, YUGOSLAVIA SUCCEEDED IN ACHIEVING ON PAPER, AT LEAST, THE DECENTRALIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT FOR WHICH IT HAS BEEN CRYING ALOUD SINCE ITS OWN SPLIT WITH MOSCOW IN 1948.

THE DOCUMENT ADOPTED AT THE SUMMIT CLEARLY STIPULATES THAT EVERY COMMUNIST PARTY HAS THE RIGHT TO ACT INDEPENDENTLY OF MOSCOW ACCORDING TO CONDITIONS WITHIN ITS OWN COUNTRY.

THE WEEKLY MAGAZINE NIN SAID PRESIDENT JOSIP BROZ TITO'F FIRST-TIME PARTICIPATION AT SUCH A CONFERENCE "CROWNED THE GOODWILL AND EFFORTS OF THE YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY TO CONTRIBUTE SUCCESSFULLY TO NEW TYPES OF TALKS AMONG THE PARTIES" IN WHICH DISAGREEMENT WITH MOSCOW WAS DISPLAYED OPENLY.

"UNDERSTANDABLY," NIN SAID, "TITO'S ACTIVE PARTICIPATION LEFT A DEEP IMPRESSION ON ALL PARTICIPANTS AT THE CONFERENCE."

BUT, THE LEADING YUGOSLAV NEWSPAPER POLITIKA CAUTIONED RECENTLY, TIME MAY HAVE TO PASS BEFORE THE BRUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED IN EAST BERLIN JUNE ~~29-30 SINKS IN--PARTICULARLY IN MOSCOW~~ Communist Party Russia WHICH HAS CONTINUED TO DENY THAT "MONOLITHIC COMMUNISM" IS AT AN END.

"A CERTAIN TIME WILL HAVE TO GO BY BEFORE GRASPING FULLY THE EXTENT OF THE INNOVATIONS THAT HAVE OCCURRED, TO PERCEIVE THE DEGREE TO WHICH ONE HAS GIVEN UP THE OLD WHICH HAS BEEN AGGRAVATING AND SPOILING RELATIONS BETWEEN PARTIES IN ORDER THAT THOSE WHO DISLIKE CHANGES SHOULD ADAPT THEMSELVES TO A PERCEPTIBLY DIFFERENT CLIMATE," POLITIKA SAID.

POLITIKA MEANT THAT IT WILL TAKE TIME FOR THE KREMLIN TO GET ACCUSTOMED TO THE "PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY AND SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENCE OF EACH PARTY, NONINTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND RESPECT FOR THE FREE CHOICE OF DIFFERENT ROADS IN THE STRUGGLE FOG SOCIAL CHANGE" THAT APPEARED IN THE DOCUMENT.

THE SOVIET UNION IS HARD PUT TO GIVE UP THE CONCEPT OF "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM." SOVIET GENERAL SECRETARY LEONID I. BREZHNEV MENTIONED IT AT THE SUMMIT AND THE PARTY NEWSPAPER, PRAVDA, HAS BEEN ECHOING HIM EVER SINCE.

THE KEY PHRASE REFERS TO THE KREMLIN'S DOMINANT ROLE WITHIN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

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"PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM HAS BEEN AND REMAINS THE MOST POWERFUL AND WELL-TRIED WEAPON OF COMMUNIST PARTIES, OF THE ENTIRE WORKING CLASS IN THE STRUGGLE TO REFORM THE WORLD IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE," PRAVDA SAID.

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BUT THAT CONCEPT, THE YUGOSLAVS INSIST, DIED WITH THE EAST BERLIN SUMMIT--REGARDLESS OF WHAT BREZHNEV AND PRAVDA SAY. AND THEY HAVE THE DOCUMENT TO PROVE IT IN WRITING.

"NUMEROUS PROGRESSIVE AND NEW THINGS HAVE BEEN ASSERTED," POLITIKA SAID. "CHANGES OF GREAT AND FAR-REACHING IMPORTANCE HAVE OCCURRED.

"AN EQUAL AND FRANK DIALOGUE HAS BECOME A NORMAL PHENOMENON AND THE VIEWS THAT HAD ONCE BEEN STRONGLY DENOUNCED HAVE BEEN TRANSFORMED--IN CERTAIN MOST IMPORTANT PLACES--INTO THE BACKBONE OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT."

WHAT ONCE HAD BEEN "STRONGLY DENOUNCED" WAS THE MOVE BY TITO TO BREAK WITH HIS SOVIET MENTORS IN 1948 BECAUSE HE WANTED YUGOSLAV COMMUNISM TO TREAD A SEPARATE PATH.

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COMMUNIST PARTY - RUSSIA

Soviet Scientist Hints Sakharov Overrated

From News Dispatches

MOSCOW, Feb. 26—The Soviet Union's top-ranking scientist scoffed today at Western descriptions of dissident physicist Andrei Sakharov as the father of the Soviet hydrogen bomb.

Anatoly Alexandrov, president of the Academy of Sciences, said at the 25th party congress that the development of the Soviet hydrogen bomb was a collective effort. Sakharov later told a UPI reporter that he agreed, and had pointed out that it was a collective effort in his book, "Sakharov Speaks."

Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu said at the congress that every Communist Party has the right to its own political line and strategy. Janos Kadar of Hungary and Rodor Zhivkov of Bulgaria praised the policies of Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev and condemned those who deviated from the Soviet line.

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TOBER 26, 1975

Chalmers M. Roberts

Communist Ideology: Aimed at the Masses

A perennial point of contention in the West is the degree to which Communist ideology affects policy making in the Soviet Union. There is no simple answer because ideology is bent to meet the exigencies of any given period of time and/or foreign policy problem. But that does not alter the Kremlin's determination to protect the ideological "purity" of the Soviet masses.

Twenty years ago, after my first visit, I wrote that "all changes in Soviet policy are eventually covered by a dialectical overcoat." That was a year or so before Nikita Khrushchev repealed Lenin's prediction of a final, terrible clash with the capitalist world by his proclamation that war with the West was no longer inevitable because of new Soviet power.

This year I found in the Soviet Union the same kind of "glory to the Communist Party" slogans on buildings and factories that I found both 10 and 20 years ago. Few seem to pay any more attention now than then. As before, the official slogans are the only slogans; there are no spray-can graffiti of a political nature (or any other kind) in the Soviet Union, as there is in the West.

This year there already have appeared generalized slogans anticipatory of the coming 25th Party Congress at which the "new line" will be set. Whether or not it will alter the current Brezhnev line favoring detente is uncertain but it clearly will not alter the line that ideological competition will continue even if there is detente.

In 1955, 1965 and 1975 a simple fact was the same: Kremlin hostility, in differing degrees, was and remains toward the capitalist "rulers" in the United States whereas there is no hostility to the American "people" who, according to the ideology, are simply the victims of that

Twenty years ago an eager guide told me that the five red stars atop Kremlin towers represented the eventual triumph of Communism on all five continents. Now that Moscow has achieved nuclear weapons parity with Washington, ideological explanations are more logical, if no less firm. During a visit to Georgy Arbatov and his associates at the Institute of American-Canadian Affairs, I asked if they approved of President Ford's refusal to see exiled Soviet writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn. The answer was an emphatic "yes" and a "how would you like it if Brezhnev received your draft dodgers or Angela Davis?"

But it is not easy to keep people ideologically pure—or interested. We happened to be in Volgograd when that city was marking the 30th anniversary of the victory

"Foreign radio broadcasts remain the main source of 'outside' news for that fraction that cares, or dares, to listen."

of Stalingrad. (The city's name was changed as part of de-stalinization.) The school children were marched by their teachers into the city's Square of the Fallen Heroes, facing the reviewing stand topped with individual portraits of Politburo members. Banners were flying, a military band played, old soldiers, resplendently decorated with medals from the great victory over Hitler's Wehrmacht, marched proudly. Local political leaders and the ranking surviving general called on one and all never to forget the deeds of the Hero City.

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Associated Press

The slogan under the portrait of Lenin in the foreground: "Forward to Communism."

rule. Hence each time I found no public hostility to visiting Americans.

This reflects the other side of that ideological coin: that constant, and consistent, effort to protect ideological "purity." In 1965, I wrote that "one comes away now, as 10 years ago, with a gloomy feeling; there is no sign that the Soviets will ever let their citizens read about the outside world through other than Communist spectacles." It is true in 1975, as in 1965, that only in Moscow tourist hotels and then only from under the counter can a visitor buy the International Herald-Tribune and LeMonde. It remains to be seen whether that will be altered by the recent Helsinki accords. I suspect a slight easing is probable. Foreign radio broadcasts remain the main source of "outside" news for that fraction that cares, or dares, to listen.

Yet there were few handclaps and before long much youthful disattention was evident. Parade marshals and other monitors, hand-to-hand, did their best to contain the throng but still many youthful defectors from the call to patriotism managed to skip out, much as Americans would at a Fourth of July celebration.

World War II, in the Soviet Union, is called the Great Patriotic War. The short shrift given to the Western allies' contribution to defeating Hitler is evident in the city's museum. One display concerns Volgograd's "sister cities" — Coventry, Liege, Dijon and so on — which suffered likewise from the Nazis. And then there is Hiroshima. Asked why Hiroshima should be a "sister city" since the Soviet Union and the United States were allies against Japan at the moment the atomic bomb fell, the guide replied that "they suffered, too."

The answer to the paradox of detente plus ideological conflict between the two superpowers lies in two facts: the coming of nuclear weapons and Soviet ideology, formulated as a result of those weapons, that Communism can triumph without war. In 1955 I found an ongoing struggle between Malankov and Molotov over this formulation. By 1965 Khrushchev, who won that struggle and established the formulation, had been ousted by Brezhnev who nonetheless, and despite Vietnam, stuck to it. In 1975 the visitor finds scattered about airports a reprint of a recent Brezhnev speech, in many languages, in which he told his own people that "a nuclear missile war would spell inevitable annihilation for the aggressor himself, to say nothing of the vast losses for many other countries and peoples not even formally involved in the war." That is not saying the Soviet Union, too, would be annihilated but the Politburo can have no illusions on that.

In 1975, as in 1955 and 1965, "Communism's aims remain antithetical to democracy," as a report 10 years ago concluded. Paradoxically, the very danger of nuclear annihilation has served so far to keep the peace.

The West pushes, in the wake of the Helsinki accords, to penetrate the Soviet Union ideologically, as Moscow sees it. Moscow is determined to yield little, if anything despite its need for Western material and technological aid. And in the evening on the Soviet shore of the Black Sea giant searchlights suddenly stab into the darkness to pick up any small craft which might try to make it across to Turkey — or to bring in unexpected visitors.

0-19 (Rev. 9-13-71)

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Thousands March in Red Square

By Robert G. Kaiser
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, Nov. 7 — Thousands of paraders marched before a small and select audience in Moscow's Red Square today in the traditional anniversary celebration of the "Great October Revolution" of 1917.

The parade, which lasted for nearly three hours under a steady snow fall, provided no surprises. As usual, an imposing array of weapons including mammoth intercontinental missiles was drawn through the square, but Western experts said none of them was new. No new weapons were displayed last year, either.

Only a few thousand Russians with special passes allowing them through tight and elaborate security checks saw the parade in person, but among them were almost all the country's most important citizens. The Politburo, led by Party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev, Premier Alexi N. Kosygin and President Nikolai V. Podgorny, watched from the traditional perch atop Lenin's mausoleum, about 25 feet above Red Square. The uniform of the day for all of them—and for most of the chilly audience—was fur hats.

Despite the standard display of Soviet military might, including the goosestepping soldiers, tanks and dozens of armed amphibious vehicles, the tone of this 54th anniversary of the Bolshevik uprising in Petrograd (now Leningrad) was not especially strident.

Grechko's Speech

The Soviet defense minister, Marshal A. A. Grechko, made a brief speech after opening the parade himself in an open limousine. Grechko said that "the aggressive forces of imperialism have not given up their expansionist and adventuristic schemes," so "one of the most important tasks is to raise the defense capacity of the U.S.S.R., the combat power of the Soviet armed forces, their vigilance and constant preparedness . . ."

But he named no specific adversaries, and he spoke also of the Soviet Union's current "peace offensive," including the recent visits of Soviet leaders abroad. He said there was a real chance for achieving security in Europe.

One novel float in the parade consisted of a large reproduction of Pravda's front page on the day after the conclusion of Brezhnev's recent visit to France, and a picture of a smiling Brezhnev waving at Frenchmen on a Paris street. So detente seemed to get at least equal billing with military preparedness in the day's festivities.

Most Soviet citizens interested in the parade saw it on television, though several thousand took up positions on Moscow's otherwise deserted streets to see elements of the parade before or after they passed through Red Square. Two of the country's four television networks broadcast the parade, one of them in color.

Cameras on Brezhnev

Viewers saw numerous shots of the leadership watching the parade. Brezhnev got by far the most attention from the cameras.

But the television viewer could not sense the scope or decibel level of the parade itself, which often filled the entire Red Square.

Most of the handsome old buildings around the square were hidden behind enormous posters which praised the revolution and depicted—in poster-style art—idealized Soviet citizens at work.

The numbers 1917 and 1971 in red, outlined in lights dominated the facade of the GUM department store directly across the square from Lenin's mausoleum.

After the military portion of the parade, young acrobats in brightly-colored outfits performed elaborate synchronized demonstrations, reminiscent of a halftime show at an American college football game. They were followed by thousands of ordinary citizens and hundreds of floats, representing factories, schools and other organizations.

Communist Party - Russia

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Podgorny Replaces Kosygin as No. 2

Brezhnev Keeps Top Party Post In Soviet Union

MOSCOW (AP) — Communist Party chief Leonid I. Brezhnev was confirmed in the Soviet Union's top job today but Nikolai V. Podgorny emerged as the country's No. 2 man.

Podgorny, shunted off to the ceremonial role of president of the Soviet Union six years ago, was listed right after Brezhnev in the ruling Politburo announced by the party chief at the close of the 24th party congress. Podgorny's advancement pushed Premier Alexei N. Kosygin down to third place.

The advancement of Podgorny was viewed as an attempt to limit the obvious bid Brezhnev made at the congress for increased power and status.

Podgorny is a long-time advocate of more consumer goods production, while Brezhnev, until the adoption of the new five-year plan, insisted on absolute priority for heavy industry. Podgorny also was a supporter of Nikita Khrushchev's de-Stalinization drive, while Brezhnev is suspected of wanting to revive at least a measure of Stalinist control.

Kosygin, spokesman in the inner circle for the nation's economic managers, had held second place in the Politburo listing since the last congress in 1966.

Politburo Enlarged

Brezhnev announced that the party's Central Committee has added four veteran party workers the ruling Politburo, bringing the total membership to 15.

Three of the men had been among the nine candidates or junior, nonvoting members of the Politburo. They are Viktor V. Grishin, chief of the Moscow party; Dinmukhamed A. Kunayev, first secretary of the party in Kazakhstan and a protege of Brezhnev, and Vladimir V. Shcherbitsky, premier of the Ukraine.

The fourth is Fyodor D. Kulakov, the party secretariat's specialist in agriculture.

Despite the advancement of Grishin, Kunayev and Shcherbitsky, three places among the candidate members were not filled.

Brezhnev also announced that he had been unanimously re-elected general secretary of the party, an action that had been expected.

Brezhnev's speech closed the 24th congress, which met for 10 days and endorsed the Soviet leadership's policies. Foreign newsmen were barred from the sessions, but official announcements of the proceedings added little to plans and policies already announced.

Brezhnev's speech was televised.

The order in which he listed the enlarged Politburo indicated that in adddition to Kosygin's demotion to third place, Alexander N. Shelepin, the ambitious former secret police chief who is also the youngest man in the group, had dropped from seventh to 11th place.

Brezhnev read out the names in this order: Brezhnev, Podgorny, Kosygin, Mikhail A. Suslov, Andrei P. Kirilenko, Arvid Y. Pelshe, Kirill T. Mazurov, Dmitry S. Polyansky, Pyotr Y. Shelest, Gennady I. Voronov, Shelepin, Grishin, Kunayev, Shcherbitsky and Kulakov.

The retention of all previous 11 members reinforced the impression, cultivated throughout the 24th congress, of stability and continuity at the top. This was heightened by the announcement that the 10-man party secretariat, which deals day to day with internal party questions, would be unchanged.

The party chief said the more than 100 foreign parties represented at the congress "unanimously approved our course," apparently including the anti-

RUSSIA

Communist Party - Russia

RE: CPSU

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Chinese remarks made by many of the speakers.

He characterized the foreign policy line laid down at the congress as one of "peace and international security."

Interrupted frequently by applause, Brzhnev told the delegates to go back to their cities, villages and farms and implement the decisions of the congress in their everyday life.

"Now that we have worked out a reliable and correct political course," he said "the most important task is to put it into effect."

LEONID BREZHNEV

NIKOLAI PODGORNY

ALEXEI KOSYGIN

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Hall Hits Nixon At Red Parley, Tass Reports

MOSCOW (AP) — U.S. Communist party General Secretary Gus Hall told delegates to the 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist party that President Nixon's basic foreign policy is "to have no meaningful negotiations anywhere," Tass reported today.

Hall said maneuvering is going on in Washington, "but there is no change in U.S. world policy," the official news agency said.

Tass transmitted this report: "Gus Hall noted that the declining quality of life in the United States is closely related to the aggressive policies of U.S. imperialism and the crisis of that policy. With the ignominious defeat for the forces of U.S. imperialism in Laos, an important nail has been added to the coffin of U.S. imperialism."

Hall's address yesterday drew "stormy applause," according to Soviet correspondents who heard it. The Western press has been barred since the Congress opened Tuesday.

Chilean General Secretary Luis Corvalon also addressed the conference and scored the United States for "deliberately distorting the reality" of the election of Marxist President Salvador Allende last year, Tass said.

"The working class and the people of Chile are firmly resolved to defend the government chosen by them and to carry out revolutionary reforms," Corvalon said.

Russian Defense Minister Andrei A. Grechko told the congress there exists in the Soviet arsenal "a weapon of huge destructive power which is capable of reaching any point on the globe."

Grechko said the Red army and navy are in "constant preparedness to fulfill the orders of the party and the motherland."

If Soviet military strength is being increased, he said, it is "not for attack, but for the defense of the Soviet state and other countries of the Socialist community."

Western diplomats said they were uncertain whether Grechko was referring to some new weapon, or simply to the known Soviet defense system.

Grechko used the word "oruzhie," which can mean either a single "weapon" or an "arm." The Tass English language service changed the word to "weapons."

A Yugoslave delegate defended an independent "path to socialism" by countries that do not want to adopt the Soviet model.

Mijalko Todorovic, whose country was read out of the Moscow dominated Communist camp by Stalin for just such a "revisionist" offense, said there are many "ways and forms of socialism and the differences provide the evolution of society in our time."

Todorovic said Yugoslavia had been able to develop its relations with Russia because it has been done "on the basis of equality, mutual respect and noninterference."

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47 APR 8 1971

51 APR 12 1971

—United Press International

Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist party in the United States, speaks at the 24th Party Congress in Moscow.

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Peace and Consumer Gain Stressed at Soviet Parley

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, March 30—Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Communist party leader, asserted today that the Soviet Union was determined to ease world tensions and promised the Soviet people that further steps would be taken to improve their standard of living.

In a six-hour report at the opening session of the 24th Congress of the party, Mr. Brezhnev, its General Secretary, vigorously defended virtually every aspect of his leadership's domestic and foreign policies over the five years since the last congress. He asserted in his nationally televised address that the future was promising not only for the Soviet Union but for the Communist movement as a whole.

There were few major surprises in the report, which was evidently meant to convey an impression of stability and continuity. On such controversial issues as Stalin's role in Soviet history, Mr. Brezhnev maintained the party's middle-of-the-road position that while it is wrong to dwell on Stalin's crimes, it is equally wrong to "whitewash" the past.

Nearly 5,000 party delegates and 101 foreign delegations had assembled in the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses for the meeting, which is expected to last 10 days.

The audience interrupted the address frequently with applause, and the 64-year-old Mr. Brezhnev, who was bothered by a dry cough, seemed to welcome the applause so he could rest and drink some water.

Communist China and Albania, which boycotted the 1966 congress, were absent today. The leaders in Peking and the Nixon Administration received Mr. Brezhnev's harshest words—Peking for its "slanderous inventions" about Moscow and Washington for its "aggressive actions."

But Mr. Brezhnev, reflecting the conciliatory tone of his report, said the Soviet Union would welcome better relations with both if they would take the necessary steps to adjust their policies.

In the two-hour-long section of his speech on foreign policy, Mr. Brezhnev set forth a six-point program to reduce tensions. Most of his proposals, such as the mutual and simultaneous dismantling of the North Atlantic Treaty and Warsaw Pact alliances, and the convening of a conference of the five nuclear powers, including China, to discuss nuclear disarmament, have been made by the Russians before without arousing much interest.

But Point 6 of the proposal, expressing Moscow's willingness to participate in international efforts to save the environment and combat disease and to join other such projects long advocated by the United States, was regarded by some Western diplomats with a more serious eye.

Mr. Brezhnev's report as a whole—as such documents tend to be—seemed like an effort to assure the peoples of the Communist and "national liberation" movements that the Soviet Union remained a stanch revolutionary power while, at the same time, assuring the Western powers that it sincerely wanted to improve relations.

Familiar Targets Are Hit

The ideological sections of the report comprised familiar attacks on imperialism and capitalism, creating a picture of the capitalist system on the verge of collapse. But then, in the section on peaceful coexistence, Mr. Brezhnev lowered his voice and in calm terms discussed the Soviet desire for peace and better relations.

Mr. Brezhnev stressed his country's wish that relations might be improved with the capitalist world since that might contribute to a further rise in the consumer's standard of living, which was a major point of the report.

In a rare moment of humor, he mocked Western leaders who he said see "a Soviet threat through their 'NATO binoculars' wherever they look. We have no territorial claims on anyone, we threaten no one and have no intention of attacking anyone," he said.

Then, with equal emphasis, he said that the Soviet Union would never be intimidated and that it would continue to spend whatever sums were necessary to maintain its defense might.

On specific foreign policy issues, Mr. Brezhnev generally adhered to well-known Soviet positions. He pledged continued support for the Indochinese Communists and for the Arab states. He expressed some irritation with the West Germans' refusal to ratify their treaty with the Russians until progress was made at the Big Four talks on the Berlin issue. Mr. Brezhnev chastised China for what he termed its splitting actions in the Communist movement and defended the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 as a defense of Communism.

'Shame' on the U.S.

Although the United States received an ultimate in Soviet insults—"pozor" ("shame")—for its Vietnam policies, Mr. Brezhnev said agreement was possible in the talks limiting strategic arms and on other issues, but he expressed concern about the "zigzags" of the Nixon Administration.

On Vietnam, he said that Washington's only way out of "the bog of its dirty war" was acceptance of the Communist side's proposals for complete withdrawal and a coalition government without any representatives from the current government in Saigon.

The party chief warned Israel that the "advantages" gained from the June, 1967, war would prove as illusory as "mirages on the Sinai sands" if she did not agree to recent proposals put forth by the United Arab Republic. Mr. Brezhnev said the Egyptian plan for a complete Israeli withdrawal from occupied territory in exchange for a peace treaty was a realistic basis for a settlement.

He affirmed Moscow's willingness to join in any international guarantee of such a settlement, which he said would meet Israel's interests as well as the Arabs'. He added that the Mediterranean should be a sea of peace—an apparent allusion to an old Soviet proposal to remove all warships from the area.

Mr. Brezhnev paid special attention to the situation in Western Europe, where the Soviet Union has been striving to improve relations, at least partly in the hope that this would weaken NATO.

He praised the current state of French-Soviet relations and said the treaty between Bonn and Moscow was a significant development because it recognized as inviolable the postwar borders in Europe.

But Mr. Brezhnev, in warning Bonn against procrastinating on ratification, said that realists in West Germany and elsewhere should realize "a simple truth: Delay over ratification would produce a fresh crisis of confidence over the whole of the West German policy and would worsen the political climate in Europe and the prospects for easing international tensions."

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Excerpts From Brezhnev's Report to the 24th Soviet Communist Party Congress

Following, as distributed in English by Tass, the official Soviet press agency, are excerpts from the report presented to the 24th Soviet Communist party Congress at its opening yesterday in Moscow by Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the party:

The Soviet Bloc

The past five-year period has seen a considerable contribution to the treasure house of the collective experience of the fraternal countries and parties, and has advanced the development and strengthening of the world socialist system. In the last five years the economic potential of the socialist states has increased substantially, the political foundations of socialism have been strengthened, the people's living standards have been raised, and culture and science have been further developed.

Some difficulties and complications have continued to appear in the socialist world, and this has also had an effect on the development of relations between individual states and the Soviet Union. However, this has not changed the dominant trend of strengthening friendship and cohesion of the socialist countries. On the whole, our cooperation with the fraternal countries has been successfully developing and strengthening in every sphere.

This cooperation, enriching us with each other's experience, has enabled us jointly to work on the fundamental problems of socialist and Communist construction, to find the most rational forms of economic relations, collectively to lay down a common line in foreign affairs, and to exchange opinions on questions relating to work in the sphere of ideology and culture.

The period under review was marked by important successes in coordinating the foreign-policy activity of the fraternal parties and states. The most important international problems and events in this period were considered collectively by representativs of the socialist countries on various levels.

The Warsaw Treaty Organization has been and continues to be the main center for coordinating the foreign-policy activity of the fraternal countries. The Warsaw Treaty countries displayed the initiative of putting forward a full-scale program for strengthening peace in Europe, which is pivoted on the demand that the inviolability of the existing state borders should be secured.

The Warsaw Treaty countries can also undoubtedly count among their physical assets the fact that the plans which had existed within NATO to give the militarist circles of the Federal Republic of Germany access to nuclear weapons have not been realized.

Joint efforts by the socialist states have also made it possible to achieve substantial progress in solving a task of such importance for stabilizing the situation in Europe as the strengthening of the international positions of the German Democratic Republic. The so-called Hallstein Doctrine has been defeated. The G.D.R. has already been recognized by 27 states. And this process is bound to continue.

Cuba

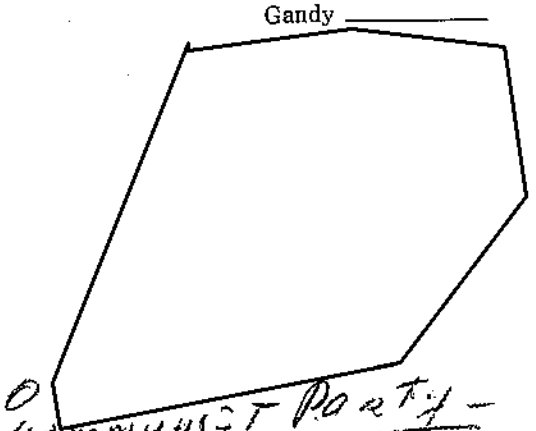
Over these years the Central Committee has devoted constant attention to strengthening cooperation with the Republic of Cuba and the Communist party of Cuba. As a result of joint efforts, considerable successes have been achieved in developing Soviet-Cuban relations. The peoples of the Soviet Union and of Cuba are comrades in arms in a common struggle, and their friendship is firm.

Communist China

It will be recalled that the Chinese leaders have put forward an ideological-political platform of their own which is incompatible with Leninism on the key questions of international life and the world Communist movement and have demanded that we should abandon the line of the 20th Congress and the program of the Soviet Communist party. They unfolded an intensive and hostile propagand campaign against our party and country, made territorial claims on the Soviet Union and in the spring and summer of 1969 brought things to the point of armed incidents along the border.

Our party has resolutely opposed the attempts to distort the Marxist-Leninist teaching and to split the international Communist movement and the ranks of the fighters against imperialism. Displaying restraint and refusing to be provoked, the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government have done their utmost to bring about a normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China.

In the last 18 months, as a result of the initiative displayed on our part, there have been signs of some normalization in relations between the U.S.S.R. and the P.R.C. A meeting of the heads of government of the two countries took place in September, 1969, and this was followed by negotiations in



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COMMUNIST PARTY - RUSSIA

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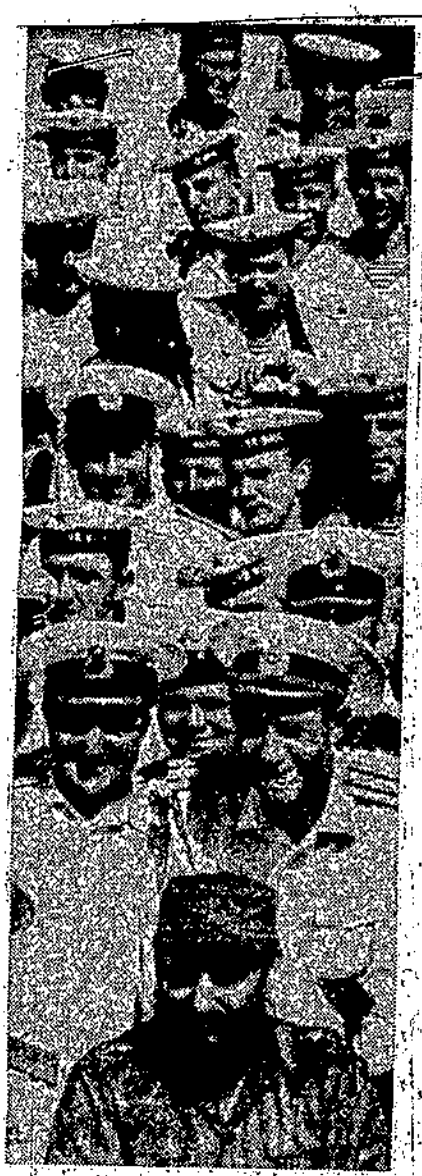

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Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba with visiting Soviet sailors.

"The peoples of the Soviet Union and of Cuba are comrades in arms in a common struggle ... their friendship is firm."

Peking between Government delegations on a settlement of the border issues. These negotiations are going forward slowly, and it goes without saying that their favorable completion calls for a constructive attitude not only of one side.

An exchange of ambassadors took place between the U.S.S.R. and the P.R.C. at the end of last year. After a considerable interval, trade agreements have been signed and trade has somewhat increased. These are useful steps. We are prepared to continue to act in this direction.

But on the other hand, comrades, we cannot, of course, fail to see that the anti-Soviet line in China's propaganda and policy is being continued, and that the ninth congress of the Chinese Communist party has laid down this line, which is hostile to the Soviet Union, in its decisions.

We resolutely reject the slanderous inventions concerning the policy of our party and our state which are being spread from Peking and instilled into the minds of the Chinese people. It is the more absurd and harmful to sow dissent between China and the U.S.S.R., considering that this is taking place in a situation in which the imperialists have been stepping up their aggressive actions against the freedom-loving peoples. More than ever before the situation demands cohesion and joint action by all the anti-imperialist, revolutionary forces, instead of fanning hostility between two such states as the U.S.S.R. and China.

We shall never forsake the national interests of the Soviet state. The C.P.S.U. will continue tirelessly to work for the cohesion of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

Editfoto

Vietnamese fighter

"The Democratic Republic of Vietnam may be sure ... it can continue to rely on the Soviet Union's fraternal support."

At the same time our party and the Soviet Government are deeply convinced that an improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China would be in line with the fundamental long-term interests of both countries, the interests of socialism, the freedom of the peoples and stronger peace. That is why we are prepared in every way to help not only to normalize relations but also to restore neighborliness and friendship between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and we express the confidence that this will eventually be achieved.

Such is our principled stand. We have repeatedly stated it, are firmly committed to it, and are backing it up in practice.

Czechoslovakia

The various remaining internal anti-socialist forces [in Czechoslovakia] may, in certain conditions, become active and even mount direct counterrevolutionary action in the hope of support from outside, from imperialism, which, for its part, is always prepared to form blocks with such forces.

The danger of right-wing revisionism, which seeks, on the pretext of improving socialism, to destroy the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and paves the way for the penetration of bourgeois ideology, has been fully brought out in this connection.

The Czechoslovak events showed very well how important it is constantly to strengthen the party's leading role in socialist society, steadily to improve the forms and methods of party leadership and to display a creative Marxist-Leninist approach to the solution of pressing problems of socialist development.

It was quite clear to us that this was not only an attempt on the part of imperialism and its accomplices to overthrow the socialist system in Czechoslovakia. It was an attempt to strike in this way at the positions of socialism in Europe as a whole and to create favorable conditions for a subsequent onslaught against the socialist world by the most aggressive forces of imperialism.

In view of the appeals by party and state leaders, Communists and working people of Czechoslovakia, and considering the danger posed to the socialist gains in that country, we and the fraternal Socialist countries then jointly took the decision to render internationalist assistance to Czechoslovakia in defense of socialism. In the extraordinary conditions created by the forces of imperialism and counterrevolution, we were bound to do so by our class duty, loyalty to socialist internationalism and the concern for the interests of our states and the future of socialism and peace in Europe.

Sovfoto

Ambassador Liu Hsin-chuan of Communist China presenting his credentials to Soviet President Nikolai V. Podgorny in Moscow last November.

"An improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China would be in line with the fundamental long-term interests of both countries, the interests of socialism, the freedom of the peoples and stronger peace. Such is our principled stand."

The War in Indochina

The continuing U.S. aggression against the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos is the main atrocity committed by the modern colonialists; it is the stamp of ignominy on the United States.

It is hard to keep a calm tone when speaking about the atrocities committed by the interventionists, who are armed to the teeth. Hundreds of thousands of tons of napalm have literally scorched into wasteland whole areas of South Vietnam. Almost 1.5 million Vietnamese have been poisoned, and many have died as a result of the use of chemical weapons.

Chile

Great changes have been taking place in a number of Latin-American countries. The victory of the popular unity forces in Chile was a most important event. There, for the first time in the history of the continent, the people have secured, by constitutional means, the installation of a government they want and trust.

This has incensed domestic reaction and Yankee imperialism, which seek to deprive the Chilean people of their gains. However, the people of Chile are fully determined to advance along their chosen path. The working people of other Latin-American countries have come out in support of Chile's progressive line. The Governments of Peru and Bolivia are fighting against enslavement by the U.S. monopolies.

Southeast Asia

Anyone capable of taking a realistic view of things must realize that neither direct armed intervention nor torpedoing of negotiations nor even the ever wider use of mercenaries will break down the Vietnamese people's determination to become master of its own country.

The so-called "Vietnamization" of the war—that is, the plan to have Vietnamese kill Vietnamese in Washington's interests—and the extension of the aggression to Cambodia and Laos—none of this will get the U.S.A. out of the bog of its dirty war in Indochina or wash away the shame heaped on that country by those who started and are continuing the aggression.

The Soviet Union resolutely demands an end to the imperialist aggression against the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Our country has been and will be an active champion of the just cause of the heroic peoples of Indochina.

The Middle East

The crisis which has arisen as a result of Israel's attack on the U.A.R., Syria and Jordan has been one of the most intense in the development of international relations over the past period.

Together with the fraternal socialist countries we did everything necessary to stop and condemn the aggressor. Our country has helped to restore the defense potential of the Arab states which were subjected to invasion, the U.A.R. and Syria in the first place, with whom our cooperation has been growing stronger from year to year.

The Soviet Union will continue its firm support of its Arab friends. Our country is prepared to join other powers, who are permanent members of the Security Council, in providing international guarantees for a political settlement in the Middle East.

West Germany and Berlin

Throughout the whole postwar period, we, like our allies and friends, have proceeded from the fact that lasting peace in Europe rests above all on the inviolability of the borders of European States. Now the treaties of the Soviet Union and Poland with the F.R.G. have confirmed with full certainty the inviolability of borders, including those between the G.D.R. and the F.R.G., and the western border of the Polish state.

There is a sharp demarcation of political forces in West Germany over the ratification of these treaties. One would assume that realistic-minded circles in Bonn, and also in some other Western capitals, are aware of this simple truth: Delay over ratification would produce a fresh crisis of confidence over the whole of the F.R.G.'s policy and would worsen the political climate in Europe and the prospects for easing international tensions.

As for the Soviet Union, it is prepared to meet the commitments it has undertaken with the conclusion of the Soviet-West German treaty. We are prepared to cover our part of the way toward normalization and improvement of relations between the F.R.G. and the socialist part of Europe, provided, of course, the other side acts in accordance with the letter and spirit of the treaty.

An improvement of the situation in Europe as a whole could be served by the convocation of an all-European conference. This is now being backed by a majority of the European states. Preparations for it is being carried into the plane of practical politics.

If the U.S.A., France and Britain proceed, as we have done, from respect for the Allied agreements which determine the special status of West Berlin,

from respect for the sovereign rights of the G.D.R. as an independent socialist state, the current [Berlin] negotiations could be successfully completed to the mutual advantage of all the parties concerned, including the West Berlin population itself.

Another pressing task is establishment of equitable relations between the G.D.R. and the F.R.G., based on the generally accepted rules of international law, and also admission of both these states to the United Nations.

Talks on Strategic Arms

We are engaged in negotiations with the U.S.A. on a limitation of strategic armaments. Their favorable outcome would make it possible to avoid another round in the missile arms race and to release considerable resources for constructive purposes. We are seeking to have the negotiations produce positive results.

The Policy of the U.S.

We cannot pass over the aggressive U.S. actions in various parts of the world. In the recent period the U.S. Administration has taken a more rigid stance on a number of international issues, including some which have a bearing on the interests of the Soviet Union.

We proceed from the assumption that it is possible to improve relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. Our principled line with respect to the capitalist countries, including the U.S.A., is consistently and fully to practice the principles of peaceful coexistence, to develop mutually advantageous ties and to cooperate with states prepared to do so in strengthening peace, making our relations with them as stable as possible.

Soviet Foreign Policy

The C.P.S.U. regards the following as the basic concrete tasks of this struggle in the present situation:

[1]

To eliminate the hotbeds of war in Southeast Asia and in the Middle East and to promote a political settlement in these areas on the basis of respect for the legitimate rights of states and peoples subjected to aggression.

To give an immediate and firm rebuff to any acts of aggression and international arbitrariness. For this, full use must also be made of the possibilities of the United Nations.

Repudiation of the threat or use of force in settling outstanding issues must become a law of international life. For its part, the Soviet Union invites the countries which accept this approach to conclude appropriate bilateral or regional treaties.

[2]

To proceed from the final recognition of the territorial changes that took place in Europe as a result of the Second World War. To bring about a radical turn toward a détente and peace on this Continent. To insure the convocation and success of an all-European conference.

To do everything to insure collective security in Europe. We reaffirm the readiness expressed jointly by the participants in the defensive Warsaw

Soviet

Soviet soldier and Czech child, 1968

"[We] took the decision to render international assistance to Czechoslovakia in defense of socialism."

Treaty to have a simultaneous annulment of this treaty and of the North Atlantic Alliance, or—as a first step—dismantling of their military organizations.

[3]

To conclude treaties putting a ban on nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons.

To work for an end to the testing of nuclear weapons, including underground tests, by everyone and everywhere.

To promote the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world.

We stand for the nuclear disarmament of all states in possession of nuclear weapons and for the convocation for these purposes of a conference of the five nuclear powers—the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., the P.R.C., France and Britain.

[4]

To invigorate the struggle to halt the race in all types of weapons. We favor the convocation of a world conference to consider disarmament questions to their full extent.

We stand for the dismantling of foreign military bases. We stand for a reduction of armed forces and armaments in areas where the military confrontation is especially dangerous, above all in Central Europe.

We consider it advisable to work out measures reducing the probability of accidental outbreak or deliberate fabrication of armed incidents and their development into international crises, into war.

The Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate agreements on reducing military expenditure, above all by the major powers.

[5]

The U.N. decisions on the abolition of the remaining colonial regimes must be fully carried out. Manifestations of racism and apartheid must be universally condemned and boycotted.

[6]

The Soviet Union is prepared to deepen relations of mutually advantageous cooperation in every sphere with states which for their part seek to do so. Our country is prepared to participate together with the other states concerned in settling problems like the conservation of the environment, development of power and other natural resources, development of transport and communications, prevention and eradication of the most dangerous and widespread diseases, and the exploration and development of outer space and the world ocean.

And we declare that, while consistently pursuing its policy of peace and friendship among nations, the Soviet Union will continue to conduct a resolute struggle against imperialism and firmly to rebuff the evil designs and subversions of aggressors. As in the past, we shall give undeviating support to the peoples' struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism.

'First Among Equals' in the Kremlin Leadership

Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev

Soviets

In 1956, though First Secretary of the party, he took a back seat at this gathering of Soviet officials. In front row, from left, were Anastas I. Mikoyan, Lazar M. Kaganovich, Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Georgi M. Malenkov, Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin and Nikita S. Khrushchev, then Secretary of the Central Committee.

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, March 30—Leonid I. Brezhnev, who delivered the main report to the opening session of the 24th Soviet Communist party Congress today, is clearly the most important man in the world Communist movement and "first among equals" in the Kremlin leadership. Except for the small core privy to the secret world of higher party politics, however, few know with certainty whether Mr. Brezhnev should be regarded more as "the first" or more as an "equal" in the Politburo, the 11-man body that controls the more than 14 million Soviet Communist party members and, through them, the life of the country's 241 million people.

Man in the News

The burley, bushy-browed 64-year-old General Secretary, who rose to power through Nikita S. Khrushchev's patronage and then replaced him as party chief after the bloodless coup d'etat of October, 1964, assumed his office on a platform of "collective leadership."

Led Delegations Abroad

Mr. Khrushchev's government powers were entrusted to the Premier, Aleksei N. Kosygin, and people who had lived through the terror of Stalin and the vicissitudes of Mr. Khrushchev were told that "never again" would one man have supreme power.

In the last 15 months, nonetheless, Mr. Brezhnev has asserted himself into areas that were the responsibility of Mr. Kosygin and of President Nikolai V. Podgorny. He appears to act as the top man—which in fact he is—with less concern about the image of "collective leadership."

Not only did he speak directly about the economy, which is Mr. Kosygin's responsibility, but he led the Soviet side in talks with Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany and President Pompidou of France even though he has no Government position comparable to theirs.

The stress on Mr. Brezhnev's preeminence was most marked last April at the time of the Lenin centenary, when he spoke four times on national television though his colleagues were hardly heard from. Then he broke precedent on New Year's Eve by addressing the nation on radio and television. He also toured Central Asia, giving speeches and appearing in front-page newspaper pictures in his shirtsleeves.

Some of the more conservative journals began printing panegyrics about him and a two-volume collection of his speeches was published in almost all the major Soviet languages (he is the only Politburo member to have that honor).

It seemed clear that the leadership—or Mr. Brezhnev himself—wanted to establish a more impressive image of the party leader in time for the party congress.

Despite the efforts to distinguish Mr. Brezhnev from his Kremlin colleagues, he does not appear to be a man of unlimited power. He is apparently held in check, either voluntarily or by the pressure of others. The periods of preeminence seem balanced by periods when his name is hardly seen in print. When he appears in public, it is with other Politburo members.

Mr. Brezhnev appears to enjoy a good laugh, a hearty meal or a soccer match (he seems to be the Politburo's leading fan). In his younger days he had a reputation, possibly mythical, as something of a ladies' man and a man about town, but his demeanor as party leader appears as correct as need be.

In keeping with traditional Kremlin secrecy, little is known of his personal life. He and his wife, Viktoria, are said to live in the Kuntsevo section of Moscow. Their daughter, Galina, who is said to look like her father, works for Novosti, the feature syndicate. He is believed to have a son, who is an engineer.

Switch to Metallurgy

The party chief is not a particularly good speaker, and when he puts on his glasses and begins to read a dry report, ennui often sets in even though he is usually less verbose than was Mr. Khrushchev.

Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev was born of Russian parents on Dec. 19, 1906, in the Ukrainian river town of Kamenskoye, now the industrial city of Dneprodzerzhinsk, where his father was a steel worker. He held his first job at the age of 15. After being graduated as a land surveyor in 1927, he worked for three years in Kursk and then moved to Moscow in 1930 for a year of study at the Agricultural Institute. While there he was admitted to the party.

In 1931, at the age of 24, he returned to his home town to study metallurgy. He graduated in 1935 and remained as an engineer at the local iron and steel mill. Then he had to spend two years in the army.

Returning home, he was given his first political job as assistant mayor. Because of the widespread purges in the Ukraine, young men were often moved ahead quickly, and Mr. Brezhnev was tapped by Mr. Khrushchev, the head of the Ukrainian party organization, in 1939.

After the Germans attacked in 1941 he re-entered the army, was made a political officer and rose to the rank of major general. He then started up the party ladder, helped by Mr. Khrushchev.

In 1952 he was elected to the Central Committee, becoming a secretary and an alternate member of the Presidium. His further rise was delayed by Stalin's death, but in 1954, thanks to Mr. Khrushchev, he was sent to Kazakhstan, where he became First Secretary and guided the virgin-lands campaign to a successful start.

After the purge of the "antiparty" group headed by Vyacheslav M. Molotov in 1957, he was named a full Presidium member. In May, 1960, he was designated President, which enabled him to travel and meet foreigners. In 1963, following the death of Krol R. Kozlov, he became the heir apparent to Mr. Khrushchev.

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British Experts Doubt Authenticity of 'Khrushchev Remembers'

By ANTHONY LEWIS
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Jan. 24—British experts on the Soviet Union, reviewing "Khrushchev Remembers," have been much more skeptical than some American reviewers about the authenticity of the purported memoirs of the former Soviet leader.

"Totally worthless for the serious student of contemporary history"—that was the judgment of Leonard Schapiro, professor at the London School of Economics, in The Sunday Times of London today.

Professor Schapiro suggested that the Soviet secret police had concocted the book of purported memoirs and had got it out to the West to cause confusion and to advance the Communist cause.

David Floyd, Communist Affairs expert for The Daily Telegraph, concluded that the book was "not genuine." He believes that somebody in the West prepared the book.

Victor Zorza, in The Guardian, devoted a series of five long articles to arguing that the United States Central Intelligence Agency was the source.

Book Termed Hoax

He termed the book a hoax and a scissors and paste job of the C.I.A., which, he said, hoped to repeat its "most successful operation of all time"—the publication of Mr. Khrushchev's anti-Stalinist secret speech to the Soviet party congress in 1956.

A group of 30 experts on the Soviet Union, meeting in Washington earlier this month, concluded that the memoirs were authentic and had been released to the West with the approval of the present Soviet leadership. The panel believed that most if not all the published material was in Mr. Khrushchev's words.

Sir William Hayter, who was British Ambassador in Moscow from 1953 to 1957, believes that the book is "basically genuine" despite "odd and sometimes inexplicable mistakes."

In a review in The Observer today, Sir William says: "I knew Khrushchev fairly well, emerged from obscurity and I was in Moscow when he came to supreme power. I met him frequently on social occasions. . . . Having just emerged from reading the book I have the strong impression of having resumed my personal intercourse with him."

Sir William found that a disturbing feature of the book was "Khrushchev's extraordinary incomprehension of the realities of other countries."

The Sunday Times, in addition to Professor Schapiro's review, ran in full the review in The New York Times on Jan. 3 by Harrison E. Salisbury saying that the book was authentic. The book was published in the United States on Dec. 21 by Little, Brown & Co.

Professor Schapiro, who is Professor of Economics With Special Reference to Russian Studies, specifically rejected one theory that had been discussed in the United States about the possibility of preparation by the K.G.B., the Soviet Secret Police. This was that elements in the Soviet police agency had slipped the book out to the West as part of a campaign in the Soviet to stop a return to Stalinism.

"Moonshine" was Professor Schapiro's word for that idea. The K.G.B., he said, would be the first to promote a return to Stalin's methods.

For Professor Shapiro the book also fails on the test of novelty. He argues that to his own knowledge it contains "only a very few facts or statements which are new."

Mr. Floyd, in The Daily Telegraph, concluded:

"My impression is that compilation of the 'memoirs' could well have been done in the West where all the material for such an operation was available. I would not care to guess who or what institution was responsible. I will only venture the opinion that, with a little more knowledge and more trouble, they could have done a much better job."

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The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World

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Henry Taylor / Bear baiting

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The power struggle has grown as relentless as the hidden battle before Nikita S. Khrushchev's Oct. 14-15, 1964, ouster. And you need only read "Khrushchev Remembers" to glimpse how the baiters bait with the swiftness and precision of switchblade fighters in a barroom brawl.

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The Communist Party Central Committee's Glavnoe Politcheskoe Upravlenie (main political administration) is the Kremlin's political arm within the military forces. The department is independent of the Defense Ministry but parallel to the armed forces command setup. It originated with the stationing of a party commissar alongside a military commander. And that is where Brezhnev gets his most vital support — the military.

Brezhnev had forecast to the Central Committee of the Supreme Soviet 13 major consumer category deficiencies in the 1971-74 development plan and insisted its targets be drastically reduced. Then in his wild July confrontation with Kosygin he took the side of Army Chief of Staff Marshal Matvei Zakharovis as opposed to civilian priorities.

Brezhnev won out, according to Zakharovis' private statement to French Army Chief of Staff General Michel Fourquet, who visited Moscow for a week last August and told the SDECE.

• • •

BUT BREZHNEV won at the cost of a knock-down, blood-provoking split in the Kremlin hierarchy, inadvertently indicated by Commissar Valerian Zorin, long the Soviet ambassador to France and chief of the KGB's western espionage, well known to the SDECE. The destruction went up like Vesuvius. And new evidence mounts in the banishment of the party's Leningrad leader, powerful Brezhnev supported Vasily Tolstikov to Peking as ambassador.

This opening put the sword into the hand of the embittered man, Aleksander N. Shelepin, demoted by Brezhnev to chief of the All-Central Council of Trade Unions.

This swipe at relatively young Politburo member Shelepin was perhaps the biggest mistake of Brezhnev's life. For absolutely unique among all Kremlin leaders, Shelepin had five sources of power: (1) As a member of the government itself. (2) A senior member of the party and thus (3) a member of both the Secretariat and the Presidium of the Central Committee. (4) President of the youth organization in control of all youth and student organizations. (5) Chief of the KGB secret police.

Despite Shelepin's official detachment from the incredibly vast and powerful KGB, his appointees remain entrenched at all levels, and the French SDECE considers Shelepin still the man who pulls the KGB strings.

It is this which threatens Brezhnev and Kosygin.

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The Sun (Baltimore)
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The National Observer
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U.P. Russia

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Stalinists chart comeback

By Paul Wohl

Written for The Christian Science Monitor

Soviet Stalinists appear confident that they will get their own way at the 24th Communist Party Congress.

The all-important, long-delayed congress is scheduled to open March 30.

Hard-liners hope it will go down in history as the congress of re-Stalinization.

This is the burden of statements attributed to a senior official of the Soviet Embassy in Prague by the respected French daily Le Monde. Reports about these statements also have reached American diplomats.

The article in Le Monde of Jan. 12 is signed AMB, a hint that the French Embassy (ambassade) in Prague may be connected with the "good source" of the report.

'Khrushchevism be gone!'

According to the French source, Second Secretary Nikolai G. Starikov of the Soviet Embassy declared on Nov. 18 at a dinner attended by some 40 Czechoslovak "ultras" (to the hard-line right of embattled Czechoslovak First Secretary Gustav Husak):

"Khrushchevism is a poison in the arteries of the international Communist movement. This poison must be eliminated if the movement is to regain its health!

"One should understand how harmful the fight against the personality cult was for the Communist movement in Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. It is all Mr. Khrushchev's responsibility for having launched the attack on Stalin at the 20th party congress in 1956," the Soviet diplomat is reported to have said.

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Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Brennan CD
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
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"The 14 years since the 20th congress have proved the correctness of Stalin's thesis on the aggravation of class struggle under socialism and on the penetration of the class enemy into the party. By rejecting this thesis, the 20th congress has paved the way for the intrusion of the enemy into the ranks of the Communist parties. The 24th congress will repair this [mistake]."

Appeal publication sought

These are ominous words because the thesis to which Mr. Starikov referred served as the justification for Stalin's purges.

Earlier the day of the dinner, on the occasion of a ceremony at which medals of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship Society were conferred, several speakers demanded publication of the appeal for Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, which allegedly had been made Aug. 21, 1968, and which the Warsaw Pact countries invoked to justify the occupation. Secretary Starikov was present at this ceremony. Publication of the signed appeal would be a victory for the hawks and would make things easier for the Soviets in their relations with West European parties.

There are other indications that the hawks are on the wing. Shortly after the Leningrad trial against 11 Jews, who supposedly intended to hijack a plane, a propaganda campaign was launched in the Ukraine designed to offset the goodwill toward the Federal Republic of Germany which had grown up as a result of Chancellor Willy Brandt's nonaggression treaty with Moscow.

Extradition demanded

Mass graves suddenly were discovered close to the village of Dubki, in the Crimea, containing the remains of 1,480 persons in 28 graves. According to Soviet reports, the victims, adults and children, had been shot from behind.

UKRAINE

Ukrainian Deputy Premier Pyotr T. Tronko on Dec. 25 demanded "in the name of the Ukrainian people and of all Soviet people from the Government of the Federal Republic" the extradition of the "war criminals responsible for these acts." Mr. Tronko listed six West German citizens by name and added that more might be involved.

"There can be no statute of limitation for these crimes," said Mr. Tronko. The Dubki case was given maximum publicity by the Ukrainian government. Foreign journalists were led to the graves and gruesome pictures sent to newspapers all over the world. The campaign is still going full blast, especially in Soviet hard-line journals and in the East German and Czechoslovak press.

War crimes charged

A few days earlier, at a Leningrad trial of war criminals accused of having collaborated with German-occupation authorities, prominent West German specialists of East European affairs and former officials of the West German embassy in Moscow were named as war criminals.

The internationally known director of the West German research institute for East European countries, Prof. Boris Meissner, and Stuttgart attorney Egon von Waken-

WICZEK

bar, were charged by the Soviet press with murdering 4,000 Soviet citizens.

The timing of the Dubki case and of the accusations launched against prominent West Germans in Leningrad is not fortuitous. Initiatives of the Soviet press with a bearing on foreign affairs, and public statements by so important a figure as Mr. Tronko, always are keyed to a political purpose.

Operatives in the dark?

The purpose in both cases must have been to trouble relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic. Since this can hardly be the objective of General Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev or Premier Alexei N. Kosygin, hard-liners must be operating in the dark.

This would not be the first time that unknown wire-pullers have interfered with attempts to improve Soviet-West German relations. Certain incidents in the summer of 1964 prior to former Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev's projected visit to the Federal Republic come to mind.

The two latest attempts to arouse public opinion against West Germany and, generally, envenom relations with the West, originated in the Ukraine and in Leningrad. Ukrainian First Secretary and Politburo member Pyotr Y. Shelest is a noted hardliner and friend and admirer of East German party chief Walter Ulbricht. The Leningrad war-criminal trial was started when Vasily S. Tolstikov, another noted hardliner, was first secretary of Leningrad. (Mr. Tolstikov now is Soviet Ambassador in Peking.)

These are conjectures, of course. But whoever was responsible for these interferences with what appeared to be a Soviet policy of détente toward Bonn and the West, it is the Soviet hawks who benefit.

UKRAINE

RUSSIA

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Henry Taylor / Bear baiting

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Soviet Renames Kosygin And Podgorny to Posts

By JAMES F. CLARITY
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, July 15—The Supreme Soviet today reappointed Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin and President Nikolai V. Podgorny, keeping intact the collective leadership structure established after Nikita S. Khrushchev was deposed in October, 1964.

Before ending its two-day summer session the Legislature also approved the draft of a new labor code and resolutions on the Middle East and Indochina. The resolutions contained no indication of Soviet policy shifts.

The session was attended by the party's ruling 11-member Politburo and by President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic, who has been here since June 29 for talks.

Proposed by Brezhnev

The reappointments of Mr. Kosygin and Mr. Podgorny were proposed by the third member of the Soviet leadership team, Leonid I. Brezhnev, the party chief, who said their nominations had been previously approved by the party's Central Committee. The nominations came as no surprise to the 1,517 deputies, who were elected June 14. They approved the nominations unanimously, without debate.

Mr. Kosygin, 66 years old, has been Premier since the ouster of Mr. Khrushchev. Mr. Podgorny, 67, has been President since 1965. His position carries prestige, but little power compared with that of Mr. Kosygin and Mr. Brezhnev.

The entire Government was reappointed together with Mr. Kosygin. The only addition was that of Sergei G. Lapin, chairman of the State Radio and Television committee, which was recently raised to ministerial level.

The Supreme Soviet, sitting in the ornate hall of the Great Kremlin Palace, applauded Mr. Nasser when he entered the chamber this afternoon. He wore a gray suit with a handkerchief in his breast pocket and applauded speakers several times as he sat a few feet from Mr. Brezhnev at the front of the hall.

The labor code was apparently framed to stimulate governments of Soviet republics to implement stricter local laws to punish shirkers and persons who changed jobs frequently. Soviet authorities have been urging a tightening of labor discipline to improve labor productivity and a maldistribution of manpower.

In submitting the draft to the deputies, Vasily I. Prokhorov, secretary of the Central Trade Union Organization, said that "among the mass of honest toilers, who constitute the overwhelming majority, there are people who are careless and undisciplined, who do not realize their responsibility to society and who do a great harm to the collective, to industry, the national economy, and society."

No Speed by Gromyko

The draft law, he said, emphasizes that "the legislation on labor is to play an important role in strengthening further conscious labor discipline."

The resolutions on the Middle East and Indochina were read by high party officials, but diplomats noted that in

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People's World
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recent years Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, who did not speak today, had used the summer session to make a policy speech. The absence of policy pronouncements, the diplomats said, indicated that the Kremlin leadership did not want to enunciate new positions.

The Middle East resolution, read by Mikhail A. Suslov, a national party secretary, reiterated the Soviet policy that calls for a political solution to the Arab-Israeli dispute.

The Indochina resolution, read by Boris N. Ponomarev, another party secretary, accused the United States of "having provoked the coup d'etat in Pnompenh," but did not mention Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the former Cambodian chief of state who was deposed in the coup. Moscow recognizes the new Cambodian Government, but supports the Cambodian rebels led by Prince Sihanouk.

United Press International

CONFER AT MEETING OF SUPREME SOVIET: Aleksei N. Kosygin, left, and Leonid I. Brezhnev, Communist party chief, at meeting at which Mr. Kosygin was renamed as Premier. Seated behind them at yesterday's session were Andrei P. Kirilenko, right, and Dmitri S. Polyansky. Topics discussed at the meeting included draft labor law.

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COMMUNIST PARTY - RUSSIA

Soviet Union

One Courageous Kremlin Critic Springs Another

B. APTHON 1925

THE DREAD KGB, latest in the long line of Soviet secret police systems and heir to the power of the CHEKA, OGPU and NKVD, lost a victim last week. Zhores Medvedev, a respected scientist, was released after his colleagues strongly protested his arrest.

Medvedev, 45, a biologist who worked at the atomic research center of Obninsk, 60 miles southwest of Moscow, was taken from his home May 29 after complaining about Soviet censorship. He was confined to a mental hospital—the Kremlin's current form of punishment for its opponents.

The strongest protest came from Alexander Solzhenitsyn, novelist, author of "The Cancer Ward" and "The First Circle," best sellers abroad but unpublished in the Soviet Union.

"The incarceration of free-thinking healthy people in madhouses is spiritual murder," he said in a statement circulated in Moscow, by Medvedev's friends.

"Like the gas chamber these crimes will never be forgotten, and all those who take part in them will be condemned endlessly, while they live and after they are dead."

Solzhenitsyn, in a rare disclosure of secret police procedure, gave a vivid description of Medvedev's arrest. He said the policemen went to Medvedev's house with two doctors.

"The doctors declare that he is crazy," Solzhenitsyn wrote. "The police officer shouts, 'We are the organ of force! Get up!' They bend his arms back and take him to the madhouse."

Medvedev's friends said that he was locked up in the mental hospital at Kaluga, near his home, and examined repeatedly by teams of doctors. The doctors reported that he was suffering from a split personality, although his colleagues vouched for his sanity.

The protests over his detention grew so loud that a meeting of leading scientists, including Medvedev's supporters, was called at the ministry of public health.

As a result of the discussion, Medvedev was released provisionally and permitted to return to his home.

But the KGB, which does not surrender its victims easily, warned that he had not been discharged and might be recommitted to the hospital, presumably if he resumed his criticism of censorship of mail and control of travel abroad.

The case, widely publicized abroad, was not reported in the Soviet press. There was no question of loss of face by the secret policemen or their leader, Yuri Andropov, former secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party.

But Medvedev's release indicated that the Committee on State Security was no longer the power it used to be and the Kremlin was being forced to pay heed to politics.

In matter of locked-away Soviet scientist Zhores Medvedev, the public outrage of novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn (left) has proved mightier—for the moment, at least—than secret police powers of Yuri Andropov (right). Medvedev was released from mental hospital, Kremlin's current place of punishment for political opponents.

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I-18
(COMMUNISTS)
MOSCOW--RUSSIA AND FOUR LOYALIST COMMUNIST ALLIES PLEDGED TODAY TO MAINTAIN A SOLID IDEOLOGICAL FRONT IN A SURPRISE SUMMIT HELD WITHOUT THE SOVIET BLOC'S TWO MAVERICKS -- CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND ROMANIA.

TASS SAID THE FIVE NATIONS "EXPRESSED FIRM RESOLUTION TO CONTINUE DOING THEIR UTMOST TO DEVELOP FRIENDSHIP AND ALL AROUND COOPERATION..." JOINING THE SOVIET UNION AT THE ONE-DAY CONFERENCE WERE PARTY LEDERS OF POLAND, BULGARIA, HUNGARY AND EAST GERMANY.

THE SUMMIT WAS DESCRIBED OFFICIALLY AS DEALING WITH "THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM AND THE WORLD COMMUNIST AND WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT."

THE KREMLIN WAS BELIEVED TO HAVE SUMMONED ITS CLOSEST COMMUNIST ALLIES TO MOSCOW TO EXPRESS ITS CONCERN OVER CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S RAPID ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REFORMS.

POLISH PARTY LEADER WLADYSLAW GOMULKA, BULGARIA'S TODOR ZHIKOV, HUNGARY'S JANOS KADAR, AND EAST GERMANY'S WALTER ULBRICHT REPRESENTED THE ONLY EAST EUROPEAN NATIONS WHERE, IN THE SOVIET VIEW, COMMUNISM IS NOT YET ENDANGERED BY "NATIONALISM."

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1,000 Here Hail 50th Soviet Anniversary

CAROLYN BLACK, national field secretary of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, told over 1,000 people assembled in Carnegie Hall last Tuesday night to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, that "our best tribute to the Russian Revolution will be what we accomplish in the months and years ahead here in the U.S.A."

Pointing out that the forces which threaten national liberation movements throughout the world today are the same as those who attempted to strangle the Bolshevik movement 50 years ago, she added: "Our best tribute is to multiply our efforts and put an end to U.S. imperialism and intervention throughout the world. The Vietnamese cause is our cause!"

The meeting was sponsored by the National Council of American Soviet Friendship, and was chaired by Dr. Corliss Lamont, the organization's first chairman.

The audience booed when Lamont announced that two Soviet citizens, who had been invited to address the gathering, had been refused visas by the State Department. The two, Dr. Nikolai N. Blokhin, president of the Soviet Academy of Medicine, and Vikenty Matveyev, a writer for Izvestia, were told that if they desired to come to this country, tours would be arranged for them, and meetings set up for them with others in their professions. The State Department felt, however, that to meet with the National Council would not put them in touch with the "mainstream" of American life.

The high point of the evening was a showing of excerpts from Eisenstein's film, "Ten Days That Shook the World," accompanied by a narration by Ossie Davis, which utilized quotes from John Reed's book and from the writings of Albert Rhys Williams.

Other speakers were the Rev. Richard Morford, head of the National Council; Rockwell Kent; Jessica Smith, editor of New World Review, and Aleksei Stepunin, cultural counselor of the Soviet Embassy in Washington. Entertainment was provided by folksinger Jacqueline Sharp.

Among the guests of honor was a delegation of Soviet film makers currently touring the U.S.

Communist Party - Russia

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°Communist Party - Russia

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Trio Becomes Quartet

Shelepin Moves Up in Russia

MOSCOW, Oct. 23 (UPI) — Moscow observers today said Kremlin troubleshooter Alexander N. Shelepin is emerging as a potential fourth member of the Soviet Union's collective leadership.

Shelepin, 49, has long been considered an heir to the ruling Russian troika. But the observers said he may already have achieved a position as one of the nation's top decision makers.

The basis for their speculation was a government decree honoring the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Shelepin's name appeared with those of President Nikolai Podgory, Party Secretary Leonid Brezhnev and Premier Alexei Kosygin.

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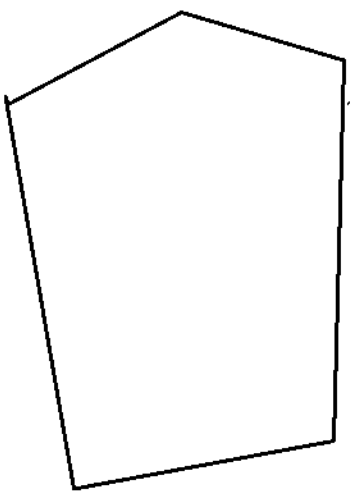

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UPI-239
(SOVIETS)
MOSCOW--THE KREMLIN'S TOP THREE LEADERS PAID A SECRET VISIT TO POLAND THIS WEEK FOR TOP-LEVEL TALKS ON THE CRISIS IN COMMUNIST CHINA, IT WAS ANNOUNCED TODAY.

IT WAS THE FIRST TIME SINCE THEY TOOK POWER THAT SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY SECRETARY LEONID I. BREZHNEV, PREMIER ALEXEI KOSYGIN AND PRESIDENT NIKOLAI PODGORNY HAD TRAVELED ABROAD TOGETHER.

THIS "TROIKA" TRIP TO WARSAW ILLUSTRATED THE KREMLIN'S CONCERN WITH RECENT EVENTS IN CHINA AND GAUGED THE DEPTH OF THE CHINESE "CULTURAL REVOLUTION'S" THREAT TO THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, OBSERVERS WERE SAID.

COMMUNIQUES ISSUED HERE AND IN WARSAW SAID BREZHNEV, KOSYGIN AND PODGORNY WERE IN POLAND TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY AND FOUND "FULL IDENTITY OF VIEWS" WITH THE POLES ON "THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT"--A REFERENCE TO THE SINO-SOVIET SPLIT.

THE COMMUNIQUES DID NOT SAY THE THREE SOVIETS HAD RETURNED TO MOSCOW, RAISING THE POSSIBILITY THAT THEY MIGHT HAVE GONE ON TO OTHER EAST EUROPEAN NATIONS FOR MORE SECRET TALKS.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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Sovfoto

Aleksandr P. Rudakov

A. P. RUDAKOV, 55, SOVIET SECRETARY

Heavy-Industry Head Who Began as a Miner Dies

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, July 10 — Aleksandr P. Rudakov, a secretary of the Soviet Communist party's Central Committee and the overseer of heavy industry, died here today of a heart ailment. He was 55 years old.

Mr. Rudakov, who rose from a job as a coal miner to the center of power in the Soviet Union, will be buried beside the Kremlin wall, one of the highest honors in this country.

Mr. Rudakov worked for some years with former Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev serving with him in the Ukrainian Communist party apparatus before and after World War II. Mr. Rudakov also served with Mr. Khrushchev during the war in the military council of the Southwestern Front.

Mr. Rudakov went to work as a youth as a laborer in the mines of the Donet Basin. After joining the Communist party at the age of 21, he entered the Leningrad Mining Institute and graduated in 1937. The next year he went to the Ukraine as an official in the apparatus of the Ukrainian party's Central Committee.

In 1954, after Mr. Khrushchev had become head of the Soviet Communist party, Mr. Rudakov was summoned to Moscow to take charge of the Central Committee's Department of Heavy Industry.

The official obituary, which was distributed by the Soviet press agency Tass, was signed by the three top Soviet leaders, Leonid I. Brezhnev, the head of the Communist party; Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin and Nikolai V. Podgorny, the head of state.

This obituary said Mr. Rudakov had "devoted all his life to serving the cause of our party, of which he was a loyal son to his last days."

"Wherever the party sent him, Aleksandr P. Rudakov worked with passion and self-abnegation, giving all his strength, all his knowledge and all his talents to the cause of Communist construction," the obituary said.

Although Mr. Rudakov held posts of great responsibility and was decorated with the Order of Lenin, little was known about his personal life.

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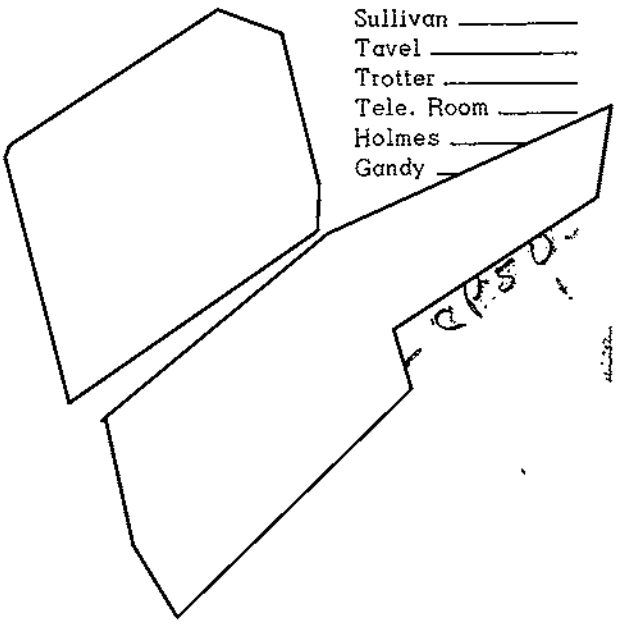

The Washington Post and Times Herald
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Deaths Elsewhere

Active Soviet Revolutionist

MOSCOW, April 5 (AP)—Serafima I. Gopner, one of the oldest members of the Soviet Communist Party and a revolutionary associate of Lenin, has died at the age of 86.

Pravda and other central newspapers published an obituary last weekend signed by Soviet Party Leader Leonid I. Brezhnev, Premier Alexei Kosygin and other top leaders. The obituary did not give the date or cause of her death.

Miss Gopner worked actively in the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917, she was arrested six times by the Tsarist government and fled abroad in 1910. In exile she met Lenin.

After the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, she was made a party secretary in the Ukraine and then deputy commissar of education there. After becoming a doctor of historical sciences, she worked at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism from 1945 on.

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Moscow unity plea answered

Communist International

People's World Foreign Dept.

The appeal for world Communist unity issued by 19 Communist parties at the conclusion of a consultative meeting in Moscow last March 5 drew significant responses recently in Havana, Moscow and Peking.

In Moscow, Pyotr Demichev, a secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party, in a major speech in the Kremlin (April 22) urged "strengthened unity of the Socialist community" and "unity of all anti-imperialist forces" for "joint actions in the struggle for common goals."

In Havana, Fidel Castro, speaking at the University (March 13), made an impassioned plea that "division in the face of the enemy was never a revolutionary or intelligent strategy."

In Peking, scathing editorials in The People's Daily and Red Flag (March 23) called the March 5 unity appeal "high sounding hypocritical phrases" and accused the Soviet leadership of "serving U.S. imperialism" in the Vietnam war.

'NO JUSTIFICATION'

Castro named no names in his speech to the students, but since the United party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba participated in the March meeting in Moscow and joined in the 19 party unity appeal, there was little doubt as to the direction of his remarks. Referring to the "bitter circumstances" of the existing divisions in the Communist movement, Castro said:

"For us small countries, that do not base ourselves on the strength of armies of millions of men, or on the strength of atomic power, small countries like Vietnam and Cuba, We have enough instinct to understand that these divisions and differences that weaken the strength of the Socialist camp hurt no one more than us who are in special situations: here, 90 miles from the Yankee empire; there, attacked by Yankee planes."

Castro declared that in the face of "men and women of the people dying in Vietnam . . . there is no justification for division . . . And who benefits from this? The imperialists! And who are the victims? The Vietnamese! And what suffers? The prestige of socialism, the prestige of the international Communist movement, of the international revolutionary movement!"

In apparent reply to the Chinese Communist charge of non-revolutionary, "revisionism" against the parties attending the March conference, Castro passionately proclaimed his country's revolutionary record and right to plead for Communist unity. . .

WHO BENEFITS?

". . . We speak in the name of a people who for six years irrevocably and unhesitatingly resisted the ambushes and the threats of imperialism . . . A people who did not hesitate to risk the danger of thermonuclear war, of a nuclear attack, when in our country and on our territory — with the full and absolute right that we have never abjured, an absolutely legitimate act that we will never regret — we agreed to the installation of thermonuclear strategic missiles on our territory. And not only did we agree that they should be brought here, but we disagreed that they should be taken away.

"We are a country and a nation in whose name I speak that receives no Yankee credits, or Food for Peace, and we haven't the slightest relation with the imperialists . . . We are the people (who are) deeply revolutionary and highly internationalist . . . and we have the

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right to ask, as many other peoples must ask — who benefits from these circumstances if not our enemies?"

Obviously referring to a situation which caused the 19 party March 5 statement to declare against "the interference by any party in the internal affairs of other parties," Castro said, "And it should be known that it is our party who gives guidance here . . . and if we don't want the apple of discord to come here, because we simply don't want it here, then no one can smuggle it in."

A CENTRAL TASK

Returning again and again to the unity theme, Castro emphasized, "The imperialist enemy is not fought effectively anywhere in the world when revolutionaries are divided, insulting each other, attacking each other, but only with unity and cohesion in the revolutionary ranks. And to those who may not believe that this is the correct tactic for the international Communist movement, we say that for us here on our small island, on our territory, in a frontline trench 90 miles from the imperialists, it is the correct tactic . . ."

In Moscow, Demichev told a Kremlin audience on the 95th birthday anniversary of V. I. Lenin, "Our party regards the strengthening of the Socialist community one of the central tasks of its policy" and added, "all Communists (should) press for the overcoming of the differences and difficulties and to develop friendly relations among all Socialist countries and among all Marxist-Leninist parties."

He saw these differences as being rooted, in part, in "the differences in the objective conditions in which the fraternal parties are fighting, the variety of the historical situations in which socialism is being built, the unequal level of countries' social and economic development and other objective and subjective reasons."

Referring to "a number of fresh steps" taken by the Soviet Communist party "at developing cooperation and strengthening the unity and cohesion of the Socialist countries," Demichev added, "however, the improvement of relations between the Communist party of the Soviet Union and the Communist party of China, between the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China, does not depend only on us." He said his party favored "a steady, gradual, step-by-step advance towards unity and of launching joint actions in the struggle for common goals."

'WE SHALL EXPOSE'

The lead editorials out of Peking dealing with the March 5 unity appeal did not indicate much hope for a favorable response. The Chinese Communists charged:

- "The new leaders of the CPSU are still peddling Khrushchev's old wares . . . revisionism, great power chauvinism and splittism . . ."
- "The leaders of the CPSU and the U.S. imperialists have joined in a love feast, exchanging information and working in common against communism, against the people, against revolution and against the national liberation movement . . . We shall expose the intrigues and plots of the new leaders of the CPSU . . ."
- "The new leaders of the CPSU are now loudly proclaiming their support for the revolutionary struggle of the people of Southern Vietnam, but in reality they are trying to gain political capital for their dealings with the U.S. imperialists . . ."

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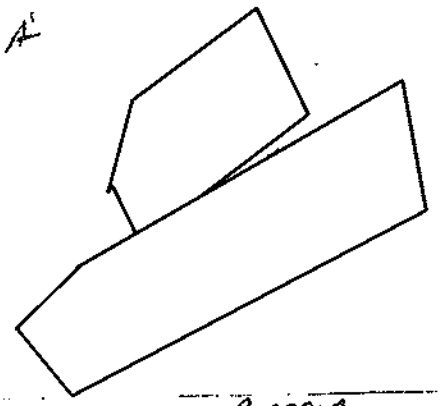

Russia

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ADD SOVIETS MOSCOW

PROMOTED TO FULL MEMBERSHIP ON THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WERE ORGANIZATION OF SUBJECT C. ALTERNATE MEMBERS A. A. YEPISHEV, V. F. ZHIGALIN, V. I. KONOTOP, I. K. LUTAK, P. M. MASHEROV, G. I. POPOV, V. E. SEMICHASTNY, AND G. F. SIZOV.

THE COMMUNIQUE ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT THE COMMITTEE ADOPTED A DECISION TO REORGANIZE THE PARTY TO GET RID OF KHRUSHCHEV'S DIVISION OF IT INTO AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL BRANCHES. THIS DIVISION HAD BEEN DESCRIBED AS ONE OF KHRUSHCHEV'S "HARE-BRAINED SCHEMES."

"IT IS NECESSARY TO REVERT TO THE TERRITORIAL-PRODUCTION PRINCIPLE IN THE STRUCTURE OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR LEADING BODIES, THE PRINCIPLE OF WHICH WAS INCORPORATED AS THE MOST IMPORTANT COMPONENT PART IN THE CPSU (COMMUNIST PARTY SOVIET UNION) RULES ADOPTED AT THE 22ND PARTY CONGRESS," THE COMMUNIQUE SAID.

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UPI-161
ADD SOVIETS, MOSCOW
THEY SAID IT MAY TAKE MONTHS FOR THE FULL REASONING TO SEEP OUT.
BUT THEY SAID IT IS APPARENT THE MEN WHO OUSTED KHRUSHCHEV WANTED TO
DEPRIVE OF ANY REAL AUTHORITY THE MEN WHO WERE CLOSEST TO HIM--
ESPECIALLY IN SUCH PROGRAMS AS FARMING WHICH FAILED TO DISASTROUSLY.
THERE WERE REPORTS THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ALSO CONSIDERED ASKING
KHRUSHCHEV TO STEP DOWN FROM HIS COMMITTEE SEAT AND THE SUPREME
SOVIET BUT THERE WAS NO ANNOUNCEMENT. THE 330-MEMBER COMMITTEE
IS ONE THAT MEETS OCCASIONALLY TO SURVEY THE WORK OF THE PRESIDIUM.
TODAY'S CHANGES LEAVE THE PRESIDIUM WITH 11 FULL MEMBERS.
11/16--N555PES

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE 2

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UPI-193
ADD SOVIETS MOSCOW (UPI-161)
UNDER COMMUNIST PARTY RULES, A MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, SUCH AS ABZHUBEI, CAN BE EXPELLED ONLY BY A FULL PARTY CONGRESS SESSION. HOWEVER, BETWEEN SESSIONS, THE RULES ALLOW EXPULSION OF A MEMBER BY A TWO-THIRDS VOTE OF COMMITTEE MEMBERS. THIS APPARENTLY WAS DONE IN ABZHUBEI'S CASE.
11/16--N855PES

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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RE: COMMUNIST PARTY - RUSSIA
OF THE SOVIET
UNION (CPSU)

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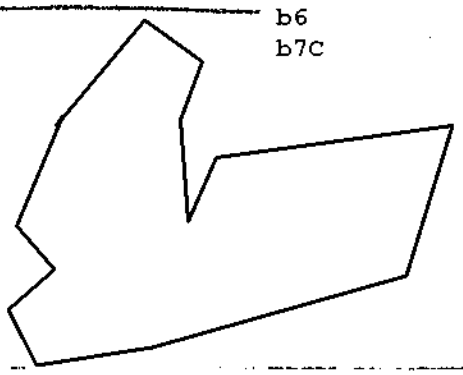

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UPI-57
(SOVIETS)
MOSCOW--THE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, MEETING IN SECRET SESSION, DEBATED TODAY WHETHER TO ASK DEPOSED NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV TO RESIGN VOLUNTARILY FROM HIS REMAINING POSTS IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE SUPREME SOVIET, COMMUNIST SOURCES SAID.
THE COMMUNIST DIPLOMATIC SOURCES SAID THE SECRET KREMLIN MEETING OF THE RULING SOVIET COMMUNIST BODY ALSO DISCUSSED UNDOING KHRUSHCHEV'S "HARE-BRAINED" SCHEMES AND HEARD A REPORT ON SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS IN THE WAKE OF RECENT MOSCOW TALKS.
KHRUSHCHEV RETAINED HIS CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND SUPREME SOVIET (PARLIAMENT) SEATS AFTER HIS OUSTER OCT. 14 AS PARTY LEADER AND PREMIER.
THE SOURCES SAID THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, IN RAISING THE QUESTION OF ASKING KHRUSHCHEV TO STEP DOWN FROM HIS REMAINNG JOBS, POSSIBLY WAS TRYING TO AVOID HAVING TO SUMMON KHRUSHCHEV'S MOSCOW ELECTORS TO VOTE HIM FORMALLY OUT OF OFFICE.
SUCH A CONSTITUENCY VOTE IS THE USUAL WAY OF DISMISSING A SUPREME SOVIET DEPUTY BETWEEN NATIONAL ELECTIONS.
SIMILARLY, KHRUSHCHEV'S VOLUNTARY RESIGNATION FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WOULD AVOID THE NECESSITY FOR TAKING FORMAL ACTION. THE COMMITTEE IS NOT EMPOWERED TO REMOVE ITS OWN MEMBERS. SUCH A DECISION MUST BE TAKEN BY THE MORE COMPREHENSIVE PARTY CONGRESS WHICH IS NOT SCHEDULED TO MEET BEFORE NOVEMBER, 1965.
COMMUNIST SOURCES SAID TODAY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING HEARD A REPORT FROM NEW PARTY LEADER LEONID I. BREZHNEV ON "PEACE FEELERS" TALKS WITH CHINESE COMMUNIST PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI IN MOSCOW LAST WEEK.
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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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Soviet Premier Khrushchev has listed three men as his likely successors. They are (from left to right) Leonid I. Brezhnev, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and Nikolai V. Podgorny and Vasily I. Polyakov, secretaries of the party Central Committee. (Story on Page A-1) AP Photos.

A6

OCP - Russia

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date

61-16-A
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C.P. - Russia

Khrushchev Is Said to List 3 As His Likely Successor

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN
Star Staff Writer

Soviet Premier Khrushchev, who will turn 70 next Friday, has listed three men as the leading political candidates to replace him.

This evaluation of the Kremlin political scene reportedly was made privately to Guy Mollet, French Socialist leader, in Moscow last November. The substance of the conversation was learned today.

All three men have risen to high party positions during Mr. Khrushchev's reign as party and state chief. They are regarded as moderates, in the Khrushchev tradition.

3 Men Are Listed

The three men, according to Mr. Khrushchev, are:

Leonid I. Brezhnev, 57, a member of the Soviet Communist Party Presidium, and the chairman of the Presidium of the Soviet Supreme Soviet. In the latter job, Mr. Brezhnev is the ceremonial chief of state, entrusted with meeting visiting foreign dignitaries.

Nikolai V. Podgorny, 60, a member of the party presidium and a secretary of the party central committee.

Vasily P. Polyakov, 51, a secretary of the party central committee.

Similar Judgments

Mr. Khrushchev's rating partly agrees with independent judgments by Western observers. They had estimated Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Podgorny as "front runners" for Mr. Khrushchev's position. But Mr. Polyakov's name has been virtually unknown to them.

Pictures on Page A-6

Observers point out that Mr. Khrushchev's evaluation does not mean that one of these men will succeed him as either First Secretary of the party or chairman of the Council of Ministers (premiership).

That selection will depend on the situation when Mr. Khrushchev vacates his offices. There is no indication now that Mr. Khrushchev is contemplating such a step. Nor are there any signs that his health is bothering him.

The only other time Mr. Khrushchev is known to have discussed Kremlin politics with a foreigner was several years ago when he told W. Averell Harriman, now Undersecretary of State but then a private citizen, that Frol Kozlov probably would be his successor.

Mr. Kozlov, still officially listed as a member of the party presidium and a member of the secretariat, suffered a crippling stroke last spring and is believed finished politically.

Mr. Brezhnev is a Ukrainian with extensive training in agriculture and metallurgy. he also was a lieutenant general during the Second World War. He has traveled extensively around the world (but never to the United States) and is considered an intelligent, highly capable leader.

Visited U. N. In '60

Mr. Podgorny, also a Ukrainian, recievied his training in the food processing industry and rose to prominence via party ranks in the Ukraine. As head of the Ukrainian party he visited the United Nations in 1960 with Mr. Khrushchev. (The Ukraine is a member-nation of the U. N. even though it is only a Soviet republic.)

Little is known about Mr. Polyakov, other than that he was born in Moldavia of Russian parents and was graduated from the Leningrad Journalists School in 1939. After the war he worked on a variety of party papers as an agricultural expert.

He was promoted from head of the agricultural section of Pravda to editor of "Country Life," the leading agricultural paper of the party. In 1959, he was one of the journalists accompanying Mr. Khrushchev to America.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date

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46 APR 20 1964

Article Hints Stalin Foiled Ouster Plot

From News Dispatches

A Pravda article yesterday hinted that the assassination of Sergei Kirov, Stalin's heir-apparent, 30 years ago may have thwarted a movement to oust the Soviet dictator.

In giving the first Soviet indication that a movement to unseat Stalin had been considered at that time, the official Communist Party newspaper apparently left the role of now-Premier Khrushchev in doubt.

The murder of Kirov, the Leningrad party chief, on Dec. 1, 1934 triggered the great purges. The case is still treated as a considerable mystery and as a Pandora's box by Soviet authorities.

Liberalization Delayed

Observers in Moscow saw in the article the indication that Kirov's death delayed the liberalization of Russia for almost 20 years, Henry Shapiro of United Press International reported. Stalin died in 1953.

Observers in Washington, who had not seen the Pravda story, felt that it was more than another dose of de-Stalinization. They wondered if it had been printed as a warning to political opponents of Khrushchev, or as a hint to worried Russians that no more purges lie ahead. Everybody was fascinated and nobody was sure.

The article was written by an 85-year-old Armenian Bolshevik, L. S. Shaumian, an intellectual severely punished by Stalin and rehabilitated after 1956.

He described the 17th Communist Party Congress of early 1934. "Several delegates," he wrote, "thought that the time had come to transfer Stalin from the post of secretary-general (the top post)."

"This idea could not but have reached Stalin," Shaumian stated.

He noted that the Kirov murder followed. He called it "a premeditated and carefully organized crime whose circumstances, N. S. Khrushchev (said in 1961), have not yet been fully explained."

"Stalin exploited the murder as a pretext for brutal reprisals," Shaumian continued. Reporting figures first disclosed by Khrushchev in the 1956 Secret Speech, he said that 1108 of the 1966 delegates to the 17 Congress were later wiped out, as well as 98 of 139 members of the party's Central Committee.

Shaumian was one of the delegates who survived this Congress. Another was Khrushchev, who was at that time well below the Party's policy level.

Khrushchev Spoke

Khrushchev spoke at the Congress. According to the Associated Press, Shaumian quoted a passage from his speech in which he praised the Central Committee of the party.

The record of the congress indicates that Khrushchev lavishly praised Stalin in the same speech ("genius-like leadership") but it was not clear whether this part of the speech was quoted by Shaumian.

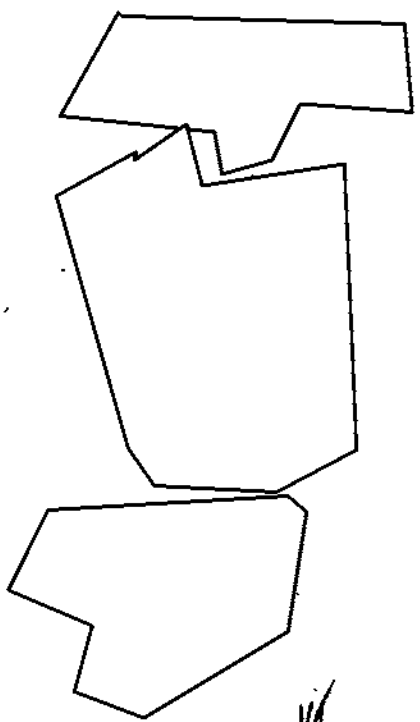
Nor was it clear from the AP and UPI accounts of the Pravda article whether it mentioned Khrushchev's relation to the "several delegates" who wanted to "transfer" Stalin.

The question of what Khrushchev knew and did during the Stalinist period has given him much embarrassment and political trouble ever since he openly began to de-Stalinize Russia in 1956.

Deceased Russia

Deceased Russia

C. P. Russia



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The Washington Post
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UPI-11

(KHRUSHCHEV)

MOSCOW.--PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV TODAY ANNOUNCED AN "UNPRECEDENTED" PLAN AIMED AT MORE THAN TRIPLING DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOVIET CHEMICAL INDUSTRY IN THE NEXT SEVEN YEARS IN A CRASH PROGRAM TO BOOST RUSSIA'S FARM AND INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION.

THE PROGRAM, UNDER WHICH 200 NEW CHEMICAL PLANTS ARE TO BE BUILT AND OVER 500 EXISTING ONES RECONSTRUCTED AT AN EXPENSE OF ABOUT $46 BILLION, WAS OUTLINED BY KHRUSHCHEV TO A PLENARY MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

KHRUSHCHEV ALSO TOLD THE ASSEMBLED COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERSHIP THAT TWO OF HIS PREDECESSORS, JOSEF STALIN AND V. M. MOLOTOV, SOLD GRAIN ABROAD WHILE PEOPLE WERE STARVING IN THE SOVIET UNION.

KHRUSHCHEV SAID THAT AS RECENTLY AS 1947, STALIN KEPT SELLING WHEAT ABROAD EVEN THOUGH THERE WERE CRITICAL SHORTAGES IN AREAS OF THE SOVIET UNION.

"IT IS A FACT," HE SAID, "THAT IN 1947 IN CERTAIN AREAS OF THE COUNTRY, FOR EXAMPLE IN KURSK, PEOPLE DIED OF HUNGER AND BREAD WAS SOLD ABROAD."

THE SOVIET PREMIER, IN A SPEECH OF NEARLY FIVE HOURS, TOLD THE WESTERN POWERS THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT WEAK ECONOMICALLY AND WARNED THEM NOT TO "PUT YOUR KNEE ON OUR BREAST" BY IMPOSING CONDITIONS ON WHEAT SALES TO RUSSIA.

IN AN APPARENT REFERENCE TO AMERICAN GRAIN DEALERS WHO ARE NEGOTIATING WITH SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES ON THE SALE OF UP TO $250 MILLION WORTH OF U. S. WHEAT, KHRUSHCHEV SAID:

"THOSE WHO THINK THEY WILL GET FABULOUS PROFITS BY EXPLOITING THE PRESENT SITUATION WILL BE CRUELLY DISAPPOINTED. THOSE WHO THINK THE SOVIET UNION WILL BE COMPELLED TO ACCEPT ANY CONDITIONS BECAUSE THERE IS NO OTHER WAY OUT WILL BE CRUELLY DISAPPOINTED." 12/9

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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WESTERN NEWSMEN WERE NOT ADMITTED TO THE MEETING, WHICH WAS CALLED TO DISCUSS THE DISASTROUS SOVIET HARVEST AND THE CRASH PROGRAM KHRUSHCHEV HAS DEMANDED TO BUILD UP THE CHEMICAL FERTILIZER INDUSTRY TO REMEDY FARM FAILURES.

KHRUSHCHEV AGAIN BLAMED THE WEATHER FOR THE FACT THAT "THE GOVERNMENT WAS COMPELLED TO PURCHASE A QUANTITY OF GRAIN FROM ABROAD."

KHRUSHCHEV'S LONG SPEECH WAS THE FIRST POLICY STATEMENT HE HAS MADE SINCE THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY. BESIDES AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS, IT WAS EXPECTED TO DEAL ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION SINCE THE PRESIDENT'S DEATH AND ON THE SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE.

MOSCOW RADIO SAID KHRUSHCHEV WAS RECEIVED WITH "HEARTY APPLAUSE" BY MORE THAN 6,000 DELEGATES IN THE KREMLIN PALACE OF CONGRESSES.

HE TOLD HIS AUDIENCE THAT THE GROSS OUTPUT OF INDUSTRY HAS NEARLY TREBLED IN THE PAST 10 YEARS.

AGRICULTURE, TO, HAS REGISTERED GAINS SINCE THE DEATH OF STALIN, HE SAID, AND THE SOVIET UNION NOW IS PRODUCING 1.8 TIMES AS MUCH GRAIN, 2.4 TIMES AS MUCH MEAT, 2.7 TIMES AS MUCH MILK, AND 3.2 TIMES AS MANY EGGS.

THE CURRENT HARVEST WAS SMALLER THAN LAST YEAR'S BECAUSE OF A SEVERE WINTER, FOLLOWED BY SUMMER DROUGHTS, WHICH TOGETHER KILLED CROPS ON MILLIONS OF ACRES, HE ADDED.

"THE SOVIET STATE IS SO STRONG AND POWERFUL THAT ONLY HE WHO HAS LOST HIS REASON CAN THINK THAT HE CAN HINDER THE FULFILMENT OF OUR PLANS," KHRUSHCHEV SAID.

ACCOUNTS OF KHRUSHCHEV'S SPEECH RELEASED TO THE PRESS MADE NO MENTION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S ASSASSINATION OR OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

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C. P. Russia

UPI-28
(RUSSIA)
MOSCOW--RUSSIA'S ENERGETIC ECONOMIC "CZAR" DMITRY USTINOV SHAPED UP TODAY AS A GOOD BET TO MOVE INTO THE SELECT RANKS OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY'S RULING PRESIDIUM.
DIPLOMATIC SOURCES DID NOT BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT A PROMOTION FOR USTINOV WOULD MEAN HE WOULD STEP INTO THE SHOES OF AILING FROL KOZLOV, WHO IS BELIEVED PARTIALLY PARALYZED AND POSSIBLY TOO ILL EVER TO RESUME HIS DUTIES AS PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV'S CHOSEN SUCCESSOR.
KOZLOV IS A PRESIDIUM MEMBER AND SECOND RANKING PARTY SECRETARY TO KHRUSHCHEV.
USTINOV, A WARTIME MILITARY PRODUCTION CHIEF WHO WAS NAMED IN MARCH TO HEAD THE NATION'S TOP ECONOMIC DIRECTING ORGANIZATION, THE SUPREME NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, ALREADY HOLDS THE GOVERNMENT RANK OF FIRST DEPUTY PREMIER.
THIS PUTS HIM IN A SELECT CATEGORY RIGHT UNDER KHRUSHCHEV WITH THE NATION'S ONLY OTHER FIRST DEPUTY PREMIERS, ALEXEI KOSYGIN AND ANASTAS MIKOYAN.
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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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Radio and Television

White Paper on Communism Offers an Admirable Review

A 15

By Lawrence Laurent

THE TWO REPORTS on the power struggles inside the Soviet Union between 1952 and 1958 turned up nothing new but the two programs did provide an admirable review on "The Death of Stalin" and "The Rise of Khrushchev." The programs were the beginning of our "NBC White Paper" reports on Communism (WRC-TV).

Laurent

Some reviewers found fault with the first show for the most curious reasons: Objections were made to the use of correspondents who related what they had been told by trusted sources. This is a strange kind of falling, for surely a television producer would be criticized even more strongly if he had gone to any "official" version of U. S. S. R. history.

Producer Fred Freed's crews did turn up film footage that had never been shown this side of the Iron Curtain. And he did offer a well ordered review of the tactics used by Nikita Khrushchev to get rid of enemies.

THE GENERAL REACTION to the Khrushchev of 1953 was recalled by Flora Lewis of The Washington Post Foreign Service. Khrushchev was called the Russian word for corn, "but what they meant by it was hayseed," she said.

"It was a form of criticizing his rowdy, boisterous manners. And I remember one young man saying to me, 'But how can we be represented by somebody like that in the world? He doesn't even know how to use his knife and fork right.'"

A similar memory is held by Sir William Hayter, formerly British ambassador to the U. S. S. R. He recalled: "I think most of us probably had our money on Malenkov. We thought he was the one most likely to get away with it. He was in a very powerful position. He was Stalin's heir, he had the support of the (Communist) Party, so it seemed, and he had the temperament which seemed most likely to succeed. He was very calm, reserved, seemed rather kind, very clever. Khrushchev, on the other hand, seemed to be rather all over the place."

CHET HUNTLEY provided the narration that went with pictures of the manner in which Khrushchev eliminated his rivals. He gambled on producing new food supplies in an underdeveloped region. He toured the Soviet Union "like a ward politician." He was the first Communist leader to go to the people for support.

Khrushchev got past Molotov by attacking him in the field where Molotov had made his reputation. This was foreign policy and Khrushchev was willing to be humiliated in Yugoslavia "to get what he wanted."

A description of the visit came from Edward Crankshaw of The Observer, London: "There he (Khrushchev) was—a tiny little man, bald, unimpressive—in a mauve colored, flapping suit with a tie that didn't show . . . blinking in these immense lights, which he had never met before because he had never made this kind of public appearance."

Huntley summarized: "On this trip, Khrushchev had been insulted, laughed at, made to look foolish. But he had gotten what he wanted."

THE STRENGTH of the first two White Paper reports on communism has left producer Freed with a formidable problem. He has now traced Russia through its changes in leadership, detailing the ruthless techniques of the rulers. There are two hours to go and there isn't much left to review.

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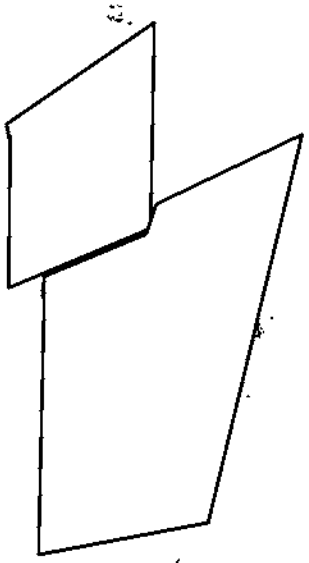

C.P. Russia

The Washington Post and Times Herald A-15
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The Evening Star
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New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
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THE SAN JUAN STAR — Saturday, January 12, 1963 14

How Many Communists?

By RALPH McGILL
Editor, Atlanta Constitution

WASHINGTON — It was but little more than a year ago the Russian people officially were told, via proceedings of their 22nd Congress, that Joseph Stalin, for whom they had sacrificed so much of blood and self, was not the father-genius of all Communist virtues. He was, instead, a most bloody and villainous man who had killed and imprisoned millions without reason and, certainly, without justice.

McGILL

They had, to be sure, heard rumors since the 20th session of the party congress in 1956. But in 1961 they were told the facts. Nikita Khrushchev, himself an eye-ball witness, revealed stories of ruthless cruelty that moved even people in distant lands to pity. Mr. Khrushchev spoke of sons, now middle-aged, who had come to him and demanded to know the true story of fathers unjustly accused and callously killed without trial. "How can I answer them?" he asked of the Congress.

Now, in early 1963, we see again the truth of the adage that times change and men are changed with them. There is an ideological rift. The Communist Chinese have accused Mr. Khrushchev of cowardice in Cuba and of betraying Mr. Castro to appease the bourgeois capitalists. Mr. Khrushchev, apparently knowing the temper of his own people, denounces the Chinese as recklessly urging a nuclear war which would destroy millions of lives and poison the earth.

Nor is this all. Mr. Khrushchev seems personally to like the original revisionist, Yugoslavia's Tito, whom Stalin sought to kill. Mr. Tito finds Mr. K. charming. The French and Italian Communist parties, the largest in Europe, are engaged in what seems to be an airing of mild differences of opinion.

And, according to Soviet figures, somewhat surprisingly published early last December, there has been a falling off of Communist strength in Europe. The world total also is less than before.

COMMUNIST PARTY - RUSSIA

COMMUNIST Party membership

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"The San Juan Star", p14

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
Date 1-12-63.

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According to the Soviet publication there are 88 Communist parties in the world. The total membership is given as 41,600,000. Seventy-five of these parties are in non-Communist countries. By Moscow's figures they share a total of 5,200,000 members. (It must be kept in mind that even in Russia and China only a small percentage of the population is in the party. It is kept small for purposes of discipline and administration.)

Not too surprisingly, Indonesia has kept the largest party outside the Communist countries. Sukarno's nation, so lately wrested from the Dutch, is listed as having 2,000,000 members. This reflects early Soviet work in that country.

Equatorial Africa is reported to have only about 40,000 members. Forty-nine "underdeveloped countries" of Latin America, Asia and Africa are given 2,000,000 members.

Twenty-six "developed capitalist countries," including, of course, the United States and those of non-Communist Europe, reportedly have a total of 2,500,000 members. Record keepers note that this represents a substantial falling off. In 1946 the Communist parties of Europe attracted some 16,000,000 voters. Today popular support is, on the basis of recent elections, down to about 13,500,000 voters. Party membership, estimated at 4,000,000 or more in 1946, is now down to about 2,500,000. Most of these are concentrated in France and Italy. In the United States membership is at a low mark.

But the statisticians raise a warning finger: Those Communists who have remained faithful have never stopped working. Here and there, there have been Communist gains. Greece has shown some small Communist increases. The abrasive conditions of life in Spain have given encouragement to Communist efforts there. Nothing, in fact, has happened to change the old pattern. Wherever there is much poverty, hunger, political and economic exploitation, and injustice —there Communism has a seedbed. This is why Latin America offers so many potential explosions. And this is why American aid, reorganized and given new directions, must be a companion of foreign policies.

The San Juan Star, p. 14

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
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The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
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Soviet Arrests Officer In Army as Spy for U. S.

A-14

Reuters

MOSCOW, Dec. 20—Security Police have arrested a Soviet army officer—"this Judas"—who was working for United States intelligence, the Defense Ministry newspaper Red Star, disclosed today.

It said Security Police had also "recently" arrested a West German spy named "Mansfeld," alleged to have been gathering information about Soviet army units in Germany.

Red Star named the army officer as "Popov" and said the U. S. Defense Department had tried to use "this Judas for gaining information about Soviet rockets and the location of important military objects."

"Nevertheless, this card of United States imperialism was trumped," the newspaper said.

The arrests were mentioned briefly in a long article by Gen. A. Guskov to mark today's 45th anniversary of the formation of the Security Police, now called "the Committee for State Security" (KGB).

It also said army security police had played an active part in the recent arrest of Soviet trade official Oleg Penkovsky, alleged to have had espionage links with five U. S. Embassy officials and British businessman Greville Wynne, held here on spy charges.

[In London, Mrs. Wynne, just back from visiting her husband in Moscow, told reporters she knew Penkovsky in London, United Press International reported.

[She said: "I remember Mr. Penkovsky coming to London with a trade delegation. I met him myself. He was quite jovial and pleasant . . . He did not strike me as a spy."

[She denied that her husband was a spy.

Vladimir Semichastny, chairman of the Soviet Security Police, said in a Pravda article today the organization now is a "truly political organ carrying out the measures of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union . . ."

"The personality cult weakened the ties between the state security organs and the people, which resulted in the loss of confidence of the working people, indispensable for the effective struggle against the real enemies of the Soviet state," he said.

"The exposure of Beria (former security chief) and his gang, and particularly the 20th Party Congress (in February 1956) ushered in a period of radical reorganization of the entire work of the state's security organs . . ."

"The intelligence organs of imperialist powers . . . have been stepped up of late," Semichastny said, but Soviet security organs "have cut short the espionage activities of many of their permanent intelligence men, who camouflaged themselves as diplomats, tourists, businessmen, scientists, etc."

C.P. RUSSIA

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New York Herald Tribune
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New York Mirror
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The Worker
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The Wall Street Journal
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UPI-9
(RUSSIA)

MOSCOW--PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV SAID TODAY RUSSIANS HAVE NEVER HAD IT SO GOOD BUT THINGS COULD BE BETTER.

KHRUSHCHEV ANNOUNCED SWEEPING ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S STRUCTURE TO TIGHTEN CONTROL OF INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE.

HE TOLD THE POWERFUL COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE THAT THE SEVEN-YEAR-PLAN OF 1959 TO 1965 IS BEING "OVERFULFILLED" AND PAINTED A GENERALLY GLOWING PICTURE OF THE ECONOMY.

BUT HE SAID THERE COULD BE IMPROVEMENTS AND HE ANNOUNCED CHANGES DESIGNED TO STEP UP PRODUCTION WITHOUT CURTAILING KEY MILITARY AND SPACE PROGRAMS.

IN HIS HOURS-LONG SPEECH, KHRUSHCHEV OUTLINED STEPS WHICH WOULD PLACE PARTY SUBDIVISIONS LESS ON GEOGRAPHICAL LINES TO PROMOTE GREATER EFFICIENCY IN OVERALL OUTPUT. BUT WESTERN OBSERVERS NOTED THAT THE PLANNED REFORMS COULD WELL INCREASE BUREAUCRATIC RED TAPE.

THE SOVIET PREMIER DELIVERED THE KEYNOTE SPEECH AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE PARTY'S 330-MEMBER CENTRAL COMMITTEE CALLED OSTENSIBLY TO STUDY THE NATION'S MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY AND FARMING. THE SESSION WAS SECRET BUT KHRUSHCHEV'S REMARKS WERE DISTRIBUTED BY TASS.

KHRUSHCHEV SAID THAT "CONCERN FOR THE STEADY RAISING OF THE LIVING STANDARD OF THE PEOPLE, FOR THE FULLER SATISFACTION OF THE MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL REQUIREMENT OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE WILL CONTINUE TO BE AT THE CENTER OF ATTENTION OF THE PARTY'S ACTIVITY."

KHRUSHCHEV SAID THE SOVIET UNION WOULD KEEP EMPHASIS IN THE YEARS AHEAD ON DEVELOPMENT OF HEAVY INDUSTRY OVER CONSUMER GOODS. BUT "WE MUST TAKE ADDITIONAL MEASURES TO ENSURE THAT THE PRODUCTION OF CONSUMER GOODS PROCEEDS AT FASTER RATES."

IN FOUR YEARS HE SAID, CONSUMER GOODS INCREASED 34 PER CENT COMPARED TO A PLANNED 33 PER CENT.

"ON THE WHOLE, INDUSTRY IS DOING WELL BUT IT COULD DO CONSIDERABLY BETTER," HE SAID.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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UPI-19

ADD RUSSIA, MOSCOW (UPI-2)

KHRUSHCHEV SAID PARTY MEMBERSHIP TOTALS 10 MILLION, THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE 20 MILLION AND TRADE UNIONS HAVE A MEMBERSHIP OF 66 MILLION--ALL CONSTITUTING "A TREMENDOUS FORCE" FOR IMPLEMENTING ECONOMIC PROGRAMS.

THE PARTY MUST NOT ONLY ENSURE "MORE CONCRETE GUIDANCE OF INDUSTRY, CONSTRUCTION AND AGRICULTURE" BUT CONCERN ITSELF EQUALLY WITH "PROBLEMS OF EVERY DAY LIFE, EDUCATION AND CULTURE," HE SAID.

THE PREMIER TICKED OFF EXAMPLES OF THE SUCCESS OF THE SEVEN-YEAR PLAN:

INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT UP 45 PER CENT COMPARED TO A PLANNED INCREASE OF 39; CAPITAL GOODS ROSE 51 PER CENT COMPARED TO THE TARGET OF 41; CAPITAL INVESTMENT GREW 11 PER CENT AGAINST A PREDICTED 8.6 PER CENT.

IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS THE 3,700 NEW STATE INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES PUT INTO SERVICE HAVE A CAPACITY EXCEEDING ALL THAT OF THE PREWAR FIVE YEARS PLANS OF STALIN; RETAIL TRADE GAINED 32 PER CENT AGAINST A PLANNED 30.4 PER CENT; ABOUT 4 MILLION WORKERS' FLATS WERE BUILT AND HOUSING CONDITIONS IMPROVED FOR 50 MILLION RUSSIANS.

THE 1963 DRAFT PLAN CALLS FOR AN 8 PER CENT INCREASE IN GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT, HE SAID.

KHRUSHCHEV PROPOSED TO ABOLISH SMALL ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS IN RURAL AREAS TO HELP SOLVE THE NATION'S FARM PROBLEMS, REPLACING THE UNITS WITH 1,500 LARGER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION DIRECTORATES.

HE SAID IT WAS EXPEDIENT TO SET UP A SINGLE AGENCY TO MANAGE INDUSTRY IN ALL THE REPUBLICS OF CENTRAL ASIA. THE AGENCY WOULD ANSWER DIRECTLY TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

KHRUSHCHEV'S SPEECH TOUCHED STRICTLY ON DOMESTIC ISSUES.

LAST NIGHT, CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY BORIS PONOMARYEV STERNLY DEFENDED KHRUSHCHEV'S CUBAN POLICY AGAINST COMMUNIST CHINESE CHARGES OF "RETREAT AND BEGGING BEFORE THE IMPERIALISTS."

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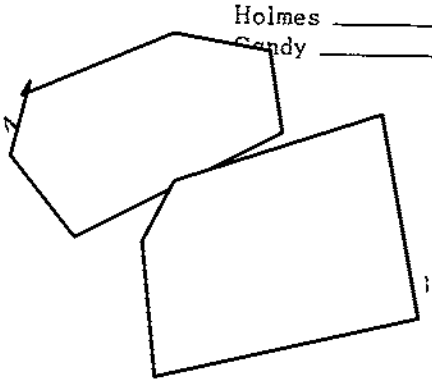

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UPI-56
ADD RUSSIA, MOSCOW (UPI-15)
KHRUSHCHEV SAID THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES BY MAKING EXTENSIVE USE OF INDUSTRIAL SPECIALIZATION.

"WE SHOULD REMEMBER LENIN'S INJUNCTION TO BE ABLE, IF NECESSARY, TO LEARN FROM THE CAPITALISTS, TO IMITATE THE GOOD AND THE PROFITABLE THEY HAVE," KHRUSHCHEV DECLARED.

IF CAPITALISTS CAN ACHIEVE "TREMENDOUS PROFITS" AS A RESULT OF INDUSTRIAL SPECIALIZATION AND DESPITE STIFF COMPETITION, "WHY DON'T WE?" THE SOVIET PREMIER ASKED.

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C. P. RUSSIA

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Power Struggles in the Kremlin

By Drew Pearson

PERHAPS the most important part of the White House briefing given to congressional leaders just before the President's momentous Cuban quarantine announcement had to do with Russian reaction.

Pearson

John A. McCone, head of Central Intelligence, gave Senators and Congressmen a diagnosis of what was probably going on inside the Kremlin.

The chief point McCone made was that the missile buildup in Cuba was a sign that the central committee of the Communist Party was dominated by the Red Army.

McCone further predicted that as a result of the U. S. blockading of Soviet arms to Cuba, a power struggle would take place inside the Kremlin not unlike that which occurred during the Hungarian crisis in 1956 when the liberal Russian factions battled it out with a diehard faction as to whether Moscow should send troops into Hungary.

The diehard faction won; Red Army troops were sent into Hungary. McCone told the Senators and Congressmen that probably a similar debate was going on inside the Kremlin today.

K Not Uncontrolled

My own observations, a result of interviewing President Tito of Yugoslavia last summer and talking to Premier Khrushchev earlier, coincide with those of CIA Chief McCone.

The Western world is inclined to think of Khrushchev as the uncontrolled boss of the Kremlin, and for that matter of the Communist world. He is not. He has three important groups influencing his policies against the United States and one important group for.

The three "anti" groups are:

1. THE RED ARMY — Khrushchev himself told me that the military leaders had been pressuring him during the Berlin crisis to resume nuclear testing as a result of new U. S. tactical weapons. Approximately one week later he did so.

Tito, who knows the Soviet Union second only to his own country, said, in reply to a question, that "of course the Red army has great influence with Khrushchev." Tito added that all military men do influence their country's policy—and he might have gone on to cite military turnovers in Argentina, Brazil, Peru and the French army troubles of President de Gaulle.

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The Washington Daily News
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2. THE OLD STALINISTS—Their leadership was wiped out with the demotion of ex-Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov one year ago, but it's reported they still have influence inside the Kremlin. How much influence is difficult to estimate.

But the creed of the Stalinists, as enunciated by Molotov, is that war with the capitalist world is inevitable. They differ drastically with Khrushchev regarding "coexistence."

3. THE RED CHINESE—While they are at odds with Khrushchev right now, the Cuban crisis could pull them back together. Regardless of this possibility, the Chinese influence is important in the Communist world, and their thesis is that war with the capitalist world is inevitable.

At one time Khrushchev, at the urging of President Eisenhower after the Camp David meeting, went to Peking and tried to get the Red Chinese to calm down their differences with the United States over the Formosan islands. He was given the brushoff.

All three of these "anti" groups lean to war. The fourth, which is opposed to war, is the Russian people. This is not only my own firm conclusion, but also that of recent U.S. Ambassadors to Moscow.

The Russian people suffered terribly during the last war—some 20 million casualties. Their concern for peace, and their desire to get along with the United States is almost the first thing that comes up in any conversation. They are eager, even plaintive about it.

On top of this, the Russian government by continually propagandizing for peace, has further sold the Russian people on peace.

No Face-Saver

When top strategists advised President Kennedy what should be done about the Cuban missile bases, they considered the above factors and tried to figure how they could give Khrushchev an "out" to save face. National prestige is important with any nation, especially one with an Eastern orientation. The Russians have tried to give us a face-saver in such difficult situations as Laos, where we withdrew.

Knowing the manner in which Khrushchev and the Kremlin reacted to the U-2 incident, it was figured that he would react even more violently to the sinking of Russian ships.

The strategists and diplomats, however, were never able to figure out a face-saver.

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Drew Pearson, in addition to reporting on the Cuban crisis, will predict the outcome of key election races over WTOP Radio tonight at 6:45.

0 9 (Rev. 3-2-62)

Communist International

40 Millions In Red Party, China Leads

By James E. Warner
A Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON.

Using Moscow's own figure that there aren ow 40 million Communist party members over the world, this government has broken it down into how many are in each of 124 countries and political subdivisions.

The data, compiled with use of Red claims and estimates made from intelligence and other sources, is contained in a 126-page report giving a thumbnail digest of Communist membership situation in each foreign country. Moscow gave no such breakdown.

Red China, te report shows, has many more claimed Communists than the Soviet Union itself—17 million against 9.7 million in Russia. Both countries are prime examples of how Red minorities can rule huge populations.

Communistic-bloc countries account for 36 million out of the world total. Indonesia, with 1.7 million, and Italy, with 1.2 to 1.5 million, have the largest number outside the Red bloc.

The United States Communist membership was not included in the report, which dealt exclusively with foreign countries. But Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy estimated recently that there are only 8,000 to 10,000 domestic party members, which is about what party secretary Gus Hall claimed in December, 1961.

This is a rather sharp drop from the 17,360 members estimated by FBI director J. Edgar Hoover as of Jan. 1, 1957, the last time the FBI, charged with keeping track of such matters, gave a nose count estimate.

A Gain Abroad

Some foreign countries showed a drop in membership, but more gained. Communists are hard at work seeking to influence governments of new nations in Africa, but their work is not yet reflected in actual party membership.

"In Africa," the report said, "the main Soviet thrust continued to be directed toward the encouragement [illegible] Left-wing nationalist movements on the assumption that they will prove susceptible to Communist penetration and capture.

"Communist movements of some significance exist in Morocco, Tunisia, Sudan, Madagascar and the Union of South Africa, but the emergence of full-fledged Communist movements has not yet paralleled the constitutions of new states in the are south of the Sahara."

The report said "the most significant change" in the status of a Communist party occured last year in Cuba, where in 1958 there were an estimated 12,000 Communists. The Reds themselves now claim 27,000 members in Cuba, but the U. S. surve estimates "the number of persons in Cuba now calling themselves Communist may exceed 100,000." (Cuba has nearly 7 million people) the report said:

"The role of the Cuban Communist party (Partido Socialista Popular-PSP) was considerably altered in mid-1961 by its integration into ORI (Integrated Revolutionary Organizations), which also included the moribund 26th of July Movement and 13th of March Revolutionary Directorate.

The Transition

"The ORI is the transitional vehicle toward a single Marxist-Lenininst party, the PURS (United Party of the Socialist Revolution). This will undoubtedly dominate the government and other institutions through joint participation by members in both party and government, as in Communist countries.

"Good standing in the PURS will probably be a prerequisite to official advancement. The PSP has been theoretically dissolved, but its membership, now largely transferred to the ORI, remains under Communist discipline. Further, top PSP leaders largely control ORI and will undoubtedly control PURS, thus placing Cuba under effective Communist domination.

"To supplement already extensive penetration by PSP members in most Cuban institutions including labor, the government bureaucracy and the armed forces, the government is sponsoring widespread indoctrination programs to inculcate Marxism-Leninism among all sectors of the population. Membership in the ORI and later in PURS will be on a highly selective basis."

It is this Communist practice of placing persons picked on such a "highly selective basis" in key posts which enables Reds to infiltrate and sometimes take over governments even though they are in the minority. Taking cognizance of this, the summary says:

"This report does not pretend to present a definitive picture of Communist strength and capabilities. While size is one indicator of party strength, it is not necessarily a perfect one; the vulnerability of a country may have no direct relationship to the size of its communist party."

Peiping's Aim

A good example of this is Red China, with a population of 669,000,000, ruled by a very small minority of Communists, as is the Soviet Union itself. Of China the report says:

"Since the end of 1957, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has grown from 12.7 million members to over 17 million. The expansion of membership has been due primarily to a deliberate aim to increase the proportion of party members to the population (currently 2.4 per cent or roughly half that in the USSR, to reward cadres who proved their loyalty. . . . and to tighten party control over the population."

Of Russia itself, with a population of 214.4 million, ruled by 9.7 million Communists, the report says:

"2.7 million persons were admitted to membership and candidate membership in the CPSU between February, 1956, and October, 1961; 200,000 were expelled during the same period. The party constitutes about 7 per cent of the adult population; 1 million of the 2.5 million net gain took place since January, 1960.

"These statistics mark an unusually rapid and accelerating growth with a preponderance of new members drawn from workers in industry and agriculture (63 per cent) plus technicians and engineers (about 20 per cent).

"By massive injection of fresh personnel from the population's primary fields of endeavor the leadership hopes to counteract the tendency of the party to become isolated from the public at large and to become a conventional ruling caste more conscious of its power, privilege and promotion than its revolutionary mission."

The Communist-bloc parties account for 36 million of the 40 million total communists in the world.

The largest Communist groups in non-Red bloc countries are in Indonesia, with 1.7 million Communists out of a total population of 92.6 million, and Italy with 1.2 to 1.5 million Reds in a population of 50.7 million.

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SENT DIRECTOR
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In Italy, where the Reds claimed 1.8 million members in 1958, they now claim 1.7 million. The 1.7 million estimate for Indonesia is a 750,000 gain for the Communists over their own 1958 claim of strength there, and may well be on the conservative side, as the Communist front labor federation Sobsi alone claims 2.7 millions.

Aside from Cuba, there are no Communist governments in Latin America, although Moscow and, to an increasing extent, Peiping both are seeking to infiltrate countries there, as in Africa.

In North Viet Nam, source of military pressures which have caused the U. S. to send combat teams of instructors, to aid the South Vietnamese to repulse their thrusts, there are at least 600,000 Communists in a population of 16 million.

Beleaguer South Viet Nam, with a population of 14.6 million, is an unwilling host to at least 17,000 Communists, mostly guerrillas.

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These Days

By George E. Sokolsky

The Party

FOR AN AMERICAN to understand what is going on inside the Soviet Universal State, he must first adjust his mind to the Party. Nothing like it exists in our country. President Kennedy has in his Cabinet some Republicans and some who are unrelated to parties. This is impossible in any state within the Soviet Universal State. To belong at all, to hold any position, to function in any manner, it is essential to be a member of the Party.

Sokolsky

Such membership does not involve mere belonging; it is a total acceptance of the Party line of the moment. It means the devotion of all the hours of one's life to the Party. There can be no deviation even of the minutest nature.

Khrushchev's Party line is based upon the general principle of competitive co-existence with capitalist countries. Such co-existence means that ultimately the Soviet Universal State will absorb all nations in the world without exception. This will be accomplished without war, and even with a reduction of Communist penetration. Khrushchev assumes that Marxist economics and sociology are so superior to capitalism that there can be no resistance to this movement.

THE PRESENT struggle within the Communist Party is perhaps the most serious that has ever taken place. Actually, from a strict Marxist-Leninist standpoint, what Khrushchev proposes is nationalistic Communism. Under Khrushchev's system Russia could become the richest and most powerful nation in the world, but it would not be a Marxist nation. The idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat would be abandoned, and in its place would appear a managerial society utilizing capitalistic techniques.

Whereas such a system might raise the standard of living of the Russian people, or of the people of any state, beyond the conception of man at the present time, it would nevertheless be a total rejection of Marxism. The struggle between Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung is on this issue; the struggle between Khrushchev and the remaining Stalinists is on this issue. For anyone to compromise would mean an abandonment of the Revolution.

WE ENTER HERE upon a concept of the Party which is strictly ecclesiastical. Those who accept the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist line regard the success of the Revolution as more important than the welfare of the people. They believe that when the Revolution has succeeded throughout the world all the benefits to man now existing in a capitalist state will automatically accrue to the people. They would use any method to achieve their end, including war, and regard Khrushchev's abandonment of war as a betrayal of the Revolution.

From an American standpoint the defeat at this moment of Khrushchev would mean the success of Mao Tse-tung, Molotov and Suslov. It would mean the success of the "Albanians." This could mean immediate war. This puts the Government of the United States in a very precarious situation. It has no techniques for supporting Khrushchev; at the same time it must recognize the enormous peril in the "Albanians." Mao Tse-tung wants war. From every logical standpoint it is sound for him to have war, provided that Russia does the fighting. Red China would come out of such a situation as the principal Communist State unless there were a total defeat.

This is a horrible picture that I paint, brutal in every aspect, but I am convinced that it is the picture that we face today and that we may have to meet by war.

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6 Communist International

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The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
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(CAUTION: ADVANCE LEWIS COLUMN FOR RELEASE FRIDAY, JANUARY 5, A.M. AND P.M. PAPERS. MUST NOT BE PUBLISHED BEFORE THAT DATE.)

WASHINGTON REPORT

BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.

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Mr. Ingram
Miss Gandy

WASHINGTON, JAN. 4--The underpaid, overworked Soviet doctor has been given a new task: to "educate the working people to scientif[redacted] atheism."

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The edict was laid down a year ago at a special Kremlin [redacted] ference, sponsored by the Moscow City Committee of the Communist Party. It is spelled out in a recent issue of Voprosy Filosofi ("Problems of Philosophy").

The chairman of the Moscow parley was DR. P.V. Svechnikov, who told the assembled delegates that medical workers can play an exceptionally important role in breaking down "religious superstition."

The physician, Svechnikov noted, "occupies a unique position in the system of anti-religious education. He is close to the sick individual. He enjoys authority among the people. It is not only the sick who come to him for advice and assistance. Often the word of the doctor is taken as law not only by the sick but by the well.

"The personal contacts of the doctor with representatives of the most varied sections of our population are very broad. The physician is in a position not only to lecture, but to make use of house visits or hospital examination of the patient to explain, if necessary, the lack of validity of a religious understanding of his illness, show how science struggles for the health of the individual, how much damage is done by religious prejudices."

Doctors are under orders to brand all religious customs as "unscientific" and dangerous to health. For instance: "Nor can we remain silent with regard to the harm done by certain religious practices. For example, if a cross or icon has been kissed by a person with syphilis, this may cause wide dissemination of the disease."

Broadcast in the Ukrainian language over Radio Kirovgrad was a viciously anti-Semitic attack upon the Jewish rite of circumcision. Listeners were told that circumcision is "strikingly nationalistic, cruel, dangerous."

(MORE)

XX dangerous."

One problem currently troubling Soviet leaders is that students admitted to medical school often harbor bourgeois ideas about religion.

For this reason a series of lectures in scientific atheism has been initiated at Moscow Medical School No. 1 under the direction of the Council of Education. The lectures are entitled: "Marxist Atheism -- the Highest Form of Atheism," "a Critique of Religious Morality," "a Critique of the Major Religions," "the Attitude of the Communist Party to Religion and the Church."

* * *

Arkansas Congressman Dale Alford has made a bold move in announcing early for the Governor's chair now occupied by Orval Faubus. But it is virtually the only one open to him.

Alford announced five months before the filing deadline that he was a candidate for the Governorship. He could not run again for Congress as he had been thrown into the same district as Wilbur Mills in a redistricting compromise and would almost certainly be defeated.

A tour of the state indicated that he could not hope to best William Fulbright for the Senate. He announced, therefore, for the state house, hoping a primary fight would convince Faubus not to run again.

Faubus now has three alternatives: to run against Fulbright, to retire or to take on Alford. The last seems the most likely, with Faubus the clear favorite.

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Mr. Conrad
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Mr. [illegible]
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
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C. P. — RUSSIA

Debate With A Communist

A few years ago, a debate of the type staged Sunday at the youth conference of the Chicago YMCA at the Conrad Hilton Hotel would have been unthinkable.

But bringing an American businessman and a Soviet government official on the same platform to debate "Democracy vs. Communism" was a sign that as a people Americans are becoming more realistic in their attitudes.

There still may be some Americans who believe that communism is not a fit subject for young people to discuss. Such persons seem to fear that if young Americans study about communism they will be attracted to it. This attitude shows a distressing lack of confidence in the American system.

This attitude was well exemplified by the classic remark of an Illinois legislator a few years ago that there were too many books on Marxism in the public library. He said Americans need only know the "highlights" of communism.

Americans should know as much as they can about communism. The more they know, the more they can appreciate their own system of government, society and industry. That is why the American Bar Assn. and other such organizations now advocate the teaching of courses about communism in our schools.

Debates, such as the one held here Sunday, should serve to stimulate interest in such courses, and to allay the fears of those who have little faith in the good sense of our youngsters.

The YMCA teen-agers listened with serious interest to the arguments for communism put forth by Ivan P. Azarov, second secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington. They listened to the arguments for democracy made by Charles H. Percy, board chairman of Bell & Howell Co., and a Republican Party leader. Ill.

The arguments on either side may not have been new to many of the youngsters in the audience. But their appreciation of democracy should be even greater as a result of the face-to-face meeting.

For example, they saw and heard first hand the Communist mishandling of fact and truth. Percy pointed out that the Russian people were not told when the Soviets resumed nuclear testing. Azarov insisted they had been—that Nikita Khrushchev told the 22d Communist Party Congress testing was being resumed.

The youngsters laughed out loud when Azarov was reminded that the Khrushchev revelation came quite some time after the tests were resumed. They were resumed Sept. 1 and by the time the Communist meeting began Oct. 17, at least 20 bombs had been exploded. And the fact is, Khrushchev's subsequent statement to the party congress was only an oblique reference to the resumption of testing.

The youngsters laughed again when Azarov insisted that there were elections in Russia and Percy asked "Who ran in the last election against Khrushchev?"

Perhaps Russian youngsters would laugh at an American's expense if a "Democracy vs. Communism" debate were to be held in Moscow. Are the Russians willing to find out? They recently showed a willingness to let America's views be published when the newspaper Izvestia carried President Kennedy's statements to its editor. Open and free debates could be next on the agenda. Do the Russians dare?

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CHICAGO SUN TIMES
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Fear of Rising Power

Former Head of Young Communists Replaces Soviet Secret Police Chief

By Reinhold G. Ensz

MOSCOW, Nov. 13 (AP)—A former official of the Young Communist League was named to head the Soviet secret police today, apparently to dispel fears the once dreaded agency was regaining some of its old power.

Vladimir E. Semichastny, former chief of the Young Communist League, replaces Alexandr N. Shelepin, who last month was one of five new men appointed to the all-powerful secretariat of the Soviet Communist Party.

There had been speculation that if Shelepin continued to hold both jobs, there could be only one meaning: that the secret police were regaining some of the power they lost after Police Chief Lavrenti Beria was disgraced and executed in 1953, shortly after Stalin's death.

The appointment of Semichastny is apparently an effort to dismiss such speculation.

He headed the Young Communist League, the Party's junior organization, in 1958-59. More recently he was second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan.

Stalinallee renamed Karl Marx Alley as Russian leaders pursue name purge. Page A8.

At last month's 22d congress of the Soviet Party Semichastny was elected an alternate member of the Party's Central Committee.

Semichastny's willingness to do the Party's bidding was perhaps best exemplified in 1958, when he denounced the late author Boris Pasternak as a "pig" on the 40th anniversary of the Young Communist League.

His audience included Premier Khrushchev, who joined in the loud applause that greeted Semichastny's remark about Pasternak.

It was one of the highpoints of the Soviet campaign against Pasternak and against the fame the Nobel Prize-winning author got with his book "Dr. Zhivago."

Shelepin was head of the League for a somewhat longer period, from 1952 to 1958. As head of the secret police from 1958 until now his most well known act was the signing last year of the indictment of U-2 pilot Francis Gary Powers.

C.P. Russia

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New Soviet Police Head Named; Downgrading of Unit Indicated

Choice of Youth Leader for Security Post Held by Beria Under Stalin Follows Cutting of Its Powers

By THEODORE SHABAD

Special to The New York Times.

MOSCOW, Nov. 13—A former Communist youth leader was appointed today as chief of the Soviet security police amid indications of a further downgrading of the once all-powerful police appartus.

Observers were quick to note that the new police chief, Vladimir V. Semichastny, was only an alternate or nonvoting member of the Communist party's Central Committee, which is regarded as the elite of Soviet society.

Aleksandr N. Shelepin, the outgoing security police chief, is a full member of the Central Committee. He was released from his police duties because of his recent appointment as one of the national party secretaries under Premier Khrushchev.

Party Control Is Firm

The power of the secret police has been greatly reduced since the days of Lavrenti P. Beria, when it virtually rivaled the Communist party as a seat of power in the Soviet Union. Mr. Beria, who headed the police under Stalin, was tried and executed on treason charges in 1953 after the dictator's death.

Since then the secret police has been brought under firm party control and its functions have been limited largely to counter-intelligence.

Alluding to the earlier police terror, Mr. Shelepin told the recent Communist party congress: "We are happy to report that the state security organs have fully liquidated distortions in their work and violations of Socialist legality. Decisive measures of the party's Central Committee and the Soviet Government have finished with this, finished forever.

"The state security organs have been reorganized, greatly reduced in number, deprived of their improper functions and freed of careerist elements. Many party, Government and youth officials have been assigned to work in the police organs."

Both Rose in Youth Group

The career of Mr. Semichastny, who is in his mid-thirties, has closely paralleled that of his predecessor, who is 43 years old. Both have come up in the Komsomol (Communist Youth) leadership and have reached the highest rank, that of First Secretary, in the youth organization.

Mr. Shelepin became the Komsomol leader in 1952 and held that post until 1958. He was appointed to head the secret police later that year after having served several months in the Central Committee apparatus.

Mr. Semichastny succeeded Mr. Shelepin as First Secretary of the Komsomol in April, 1958, and served in that capacity for about a year. He was then named to a party post in the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan, which he held until today's appointment.

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The New Woman On Rostrum of CPSU Congress

By MARGRIT PITTMAN

MOSCOW — A red-haired, round-faced young women with laughing grey eyes, a spinner by trade, a wife and mother, she is one of the common people of the Soviet Union. But she also represents the future of the country, who will assure the creation of an affluent society for all, the builder of communism.

She was a member of the Presidium of the Twenty Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a rostrum she shares with such illustrious persons as the President of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, cabinet ministers and theoreticians, political leaders and diplomats, she represents what Khrushchev calls 'the cream' and pride of our society."

She is twenty-nine year old Valentina Gaganova, whose name has become a household word in Soviet life. This is her story:

Valya, as her fellow workers affectionary call her, was born in 1932. While she was still studying multiplication tables, Hitler's hordes invaded the country and Valya's father was killed.

At the age of sixteen, with only seven years of schooling, Valya went to work Soon she became an excellent spinner at the Vyshnivolochuk cotton combine and started sharing her experiences with others on her team. Soon the team showed top performance.

Next, Valentina Gaganova and her team-mates started sharing experiences with other teams. They raised the quality and quantity of production. By that time Valya had become secretary of the Young Communist League on her shift and was quite a well-known person in the mill.

The big step came in 1958, when Valentina decided to join a backward team and help them develop. This was something new, and it involved taking a considerable pay-cut. But Valentina speaks lightly of it, pointing out that she felt raising a whole team's level far more important than taking a temporary cut in pay.

With this, Valentina set an example which was soon followed by many workers throughout the country. Asked to explain her interest in raising production, Valya has many answers, all of which amount to this: Since we own the factory, we are interested in working as well as we can. Improved production will help us to a better living standard, will usher in an economy of abundance so much faster.

It was with pride that she announced to the Congress the achievements of her combine. They produced two and a half million meters of textiles above plan, enough for half a million garments.

By now, Valentina has raised the level of one team and taken on a second one. But more than that, she has shared her experiences with workers in Ivanov, Smolensk, Leningrad and many other places in the Soviet Union. Valentina is a member of a large number of executive committees and boards of party and trade union organizations but with all this glory, she is an exceedingly modest young woman, immersed with her job, her husband Sasha and two-year old Sergei who is very much in the center of her thoughts as a huge, shiny toy car in her hotel room testifies.

She speaks tenderly of her husband, a truck-driver by trade. He helps with everything in the house, she proudly points out,

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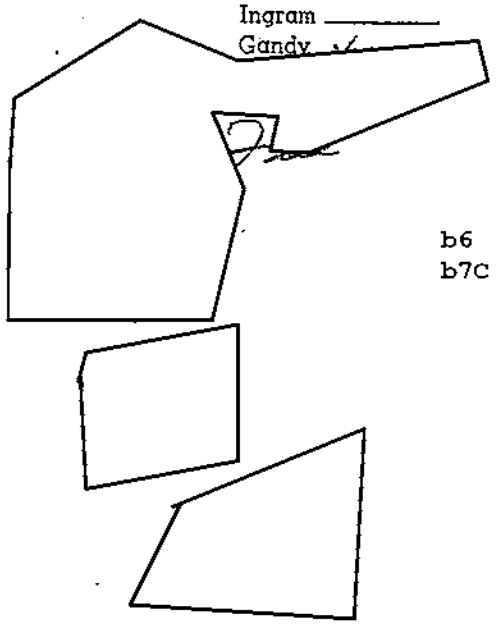

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even the ironing And this is indispensable to her plans for the future, because she is planning to attend an evening school of Textile Technology to improve her qualifications Also, she says, her eyes laughing, there is a girl baby in her plans after she receives her diploma.

Again and again talk reverts to the workers of the plant and the members of Valya's team. With a mother's pride she recounts their accomplishments. "Last year six of the girls graduated evening high-school, some of the mill's workers have gotten a college degree and are now doing post-graduate work, of the town's thirty-three thousand workers, twenty-four thousand are involved in some type of study. Most girls in my and other teams are training to learn all the operations, so that we can take one-another's place."

All over the Soviet Union people have followed Valentina's example, have volunteered to raise the productivity of other teams, have increased production by changing their methods and improving skills.

But this movement has done more than to change the approach to production. It has gone a long way to increasing the realization that the factory does, indeed, belong to the workers and that its destiny depends on them.

Public self-government develops hand in hand with this new, responsible attitude toward production. Valentina's team works without control point. The team leader takes over that function. If Valya is there, it is her job, but if she is away at meetings or conferences, her substitute takes over. An increasing number of workers participate in public affairs. They are on commissions controlling kindergartens and nurseries, on "Comrade's Courts" to take care of violations of general behavior and discipline that can be settled outside regular courts, on public welfare and cultural organizations.

Valentina Gaganova never finds her work dull. Every day presents a challenge of mastering the machine even more completely, of organizing the team so that work will be easier for all, of creating the abundance which is growing bit by bit before their eyes with every extra ton of yarn produced.

Valentina Gaganova, who is interested in all people, everywhere, asks about the workers in the United States, but it is hard for her to understand that young women in our country who work in textile factories do their job just to get paid and dread the day when a new tool is introduced that might put them out of a job.

Valentina Gaganova fervently loves life and has great confidence in her future, a confidence from which her selfless example was born. She is one of the millions of builders of a new society, which will not only guarantee her happiness shining from her eyes for all to see, but will open new horizons to her.

Only one cloud hangs over her life and she described it in her speech to the congress. "We need peace," she said, "to raise our children, to live with confidence, to go to work in the morning with calm minds and to sleep soundly. May the tragedy of Hiroshima never been repeated. May rockets of science fly over the world, not rockets of war."

(This page presents the opinion of the Editor. The news pages are written by other staff members independently of these editorial views.)

YOU CAN'T BURY THE FACTS, MR. KHRUSHCHEV

BY DAVID LAWRENCE

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV recently ordered the body of Joseph Stalin removed from the mausoleum in Moscow's Red Square and the remains buried in a simply marked grave inside the Kremlin walls.

The Soviet Premier and his party sought thus to bury the record of Stalin. They tried to imply to people everywhere that somehow the Communists of today deprecate the acts of their hero of other days.

But can the record of Stalin be buried? And can Nikita Khrushchev and his comrades exculpate themselves for the part they played, without protest, in the Stalin years? And does the Soviet ruler of today really believe the world will regard the current methods of the Kremlin and the crimes being committed in the name of Communism as any different from those of Stalin?

Going back to the days when Nikita Khrushchev was serving under Stalin as First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, we find that, in a "purge," tens of thousands of persons were put to death and many thousands more were imprisoned. Who else but Mr. Khrushchev gave that order?

Mr. Khrushchev, moreover, was Premier of the Soviet Union when the Government of the United States, on July 17, 1958, issued this statement:

"The U.N. Report makes it abundantly clear that the Hungarian regime, which was forcibly imposed by the Soviet Government in November 1956, and has since been supported by the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary, secretly tried and executed Imre Nagy and his associates in flagrant violation of assurances of safe conduct and of recognized conditions of immunity."

Perhaps one of the best analyses of Communist operations in the world is to be found in a textbook widely used today in American schools and by the Department of Defense in all its training courses. It was written by Professor Kenneth Colegrove of Northwestern University with the help of many persons prominent in the teaching profession. It was prepared under the auspices of the Institute of Fiscal and Political Education, a non-profit organization with headquarters in New York City. The book, entitled "Democracy versus Communism," was published in November, 1957, but it is significant to note certain passages which read as if they might have been written this very month. Here they are:

"Suddenly the Party Presidium denounced Stalin and his 'crimes.' In a speech before a secret session of the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, Khrushchev declared that Stalin's dictatorship and the 'Stalinist cult of the individual' had been a violation of Lenin's 'holy' teachings—namely, that a 'core' of leaders should act as the Party's vanguard. He also recited a long list of Stalin's crimes, trying to give the impression that the present members of the Presidium had taken no part in them. Other attacks on Stalin followed. Radio Moscow broadcast articles from *Pravda* denouncing Stalin.

"It seemed to foreign observers as if everybody was 'trying to get in on the act' and help downgrade Stalin. The dead dictator was to blame for all the mistakes, murders, and atrocities of the previous twenty-five years. In mid 1957, Khrushchev's power was again demonstrated when Molotov, Malenkov and two other 'Stalinists' were dropped from the Party Presidium at his demand.

"What did the Russian people think of this sudden turn against their former dictator, whom they had for years been taught was faultless? Very few know, for Russians do not have freedom of speech or press. Foreigners, however, began to ask embarrassing questions. Even foreign Communist leaders dared to speak out. Why had Khrushchev, Bulganin, and others co-operated with Stalin? Why had they waited until three years after his death to denounce him?

"So far, the answers have been feeble excuses. . . .

"The sincerity of Khrushchev's downgrading of Stalin has been seriously doubted. Seven months later he suppressed the revolt of the workers and students in Hungary with the same brutality used by Stalin. On New Year's Day, 1957, the press had quoted Khrushchev as highly extolling the dead dictator and saying, 'We are all Stalinists.'"

And that simple truth cannot be buried.

For Nikita Khrushchev and his henchmen of today are all Stalinists in action as well as in thought. Burial of Stalin's earthly remains in an obscure location will not erase either his sins or those of his collaborators who today rule the Kremlin and make speeches threatening nuclear destruction to the whole world.

Sooner or later, the concerted will of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain will bury Khrushchev and his partners in crime. For the facts of their infamy still live in the minds and hearts of the millions of relatives and friends of those who have been murdered by the dictatorship in the Kremlin.

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Tools of Dictatorship Remain

Will Stalinism Rise Again? A Question Faces Russia

By Roscoe Drummond

WASHINGTON.

Now that the body of Josef Stalin is being removed from public view in Red Square and Soviet history again re-written, there are three matters to keep in mind:

What were Stalin's crimes?

What made it possible for Stalin to fasten his evil rule on the Russian people?

What security is there that it won't come about again?

At a time when the Kremlin is telling the world to embrace communism as the ideal government, the answers to these questions are pertinent.

Khrushchev's speech before the party congress in January, 1956, is the most authoritative review of Stalin's offenses.

"Grave abuse of power," "untold harm," "brutal violence," "cruel repression," "physical annihilation," "thousands of people executed without trial or investigation," "methods of terror," "mass repressions," "death of innocent people," fabrication of cases," "death of innocent people," "70 per cent of party's central committee to the 17th congress arrested and shot," "vile provocation," "odious falsification," "degenerate practices," "untold number of corpses."

At one point Khrushchev illustrated with this incident:

"Present at this congress as a delegate is the former minister of state security, comrade Ignatiev. Stalin told him curtly: 'If you do not obtain confessions from the doctors we will shorten you by a head.'

"Stalin personally called the investigative judge, gave him instructions, advised him on which investigating methods should be used; these methods were simple—beat, beat, and once again, beat."

And so forth.

Khrushchev raises a question for those who might think that Communism would be good for their country:

"Why is it," he asked his colleagues, "that we see the truth of this affair only now and why did we not do something earlier, during Stalin's life?"

Khrushchev gave a very superficial, perhaps wishful, answer to his question. He claimed that Stalin produced Stalin and that the dictator became so powerful that the whole Communist party and its leadership were helpless either to prevent him or to check him.

This does not answer the question. The question is what is wrong with the Communist method of government that it could give birth to such pervasive evil and have no capacity to prevent it?

I suggest that dictatorship at the top of the Communist party is the result of the dictatorship the Communist party imposes upon the nation.

The only way to guarantee that another Stalin will not rule the Communist party and the Soviet people is to permit the Soviet people to have free elections, to choose an alternative government, if they wish, to have an independent judiciary and a free press.

In his 1956 party congress address Khrushchev promised that Stalinism would never rise again. But he suppressed his own speech. The Soviet press was not allowed to print it; the Russian people were not allowed to read it—nor even the rank and file members of the Communist party.

The truth is that Khrushchev is keeping the tools of dictatorship in his hands, only criticizing Stalin for the way he used them.

Will Stalinism return?

Six years ago Khrushchev blamed Stalin for the break with Tito and said in the Yugoslav affair "there were no problems which could not have been solved through discussion among comrades."

Now Khrushchev has denounced Albania as Stalin denounced Yugoslavia and Red China's Chou En-lai calls Khrushchev to account for not solving the problem "through discussion among comrades."

Six years ago Khrushchev blamed Stalin for mistreating "one of the oldest members of our party, comrade Voroshilov," whom Khrushchev is reading out of the party along with Molotov, Malenkov, Bulganin, Kaganovich and Marshal Zhukov.

Absolute power still corrupts—absolutely.

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UPI-50 (COMMUNISTS)

MOSCOW--SIX PROVINCIAL COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERS TODAY CHORUSED UNQUALIFIED BACKING TO PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV'S 20-YEAR-PLAN FOR COMMUNISM AND HIS SHARP ATTACK AGAINST THE STALIN PERSONALITY CULT.

THE PARADE OF SPEAKERS AT A FOUR-HOUR MORNING SESSION OF THE 22ND SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS, NOW IN ITS THIRD DAY, PRAISED KHRUSHCHEV AS AN EXAMPLE FOR ALL COMMUNISTS TO FOLLOW.

UKRANIAN PARTY SECRETARY NIKOLAI PODGORNY ANNOUNCED THAT THIS YEAR'S HARVEST IN HIS AREAWAS THE BEST IN HISTORY, THAT THE UKRAINE IS GENERALLY ONE YEAR AHEAD IN FULFILLING THE SEVEN-YEAR ECONOMIC PLAN.

THEN PODGORNY SHARPLY DENOUNCED LAZAR KAGANOVICH, A FORMER PRESIDIUM MEMBER WHO WAS UKRANIAN PARTY SECRETARY IN 1947.

HE REFERRED TO KAGANOVICH'S LEADERSHIP AS THE "BLACK DAYS OF THE UKRAINE."

LENINGRAD PARTY LEADER I. V. SPIRIDONOV SIMILARLY DENOUNCED FORMER PREMIER GEORGI MALENKOV WHOM HE ACCUSED OF COMPLICITY IN THE "LENINGRAD CASE."

ANOTHER SPEAKER, BYELORUSSIAN PARTY SECRETARY KYRIL MAZUROV, ALSO ACCUSED MALENKOV OF COMPLICITY DURING THE 1935-36 PURGES IN BYELORUSSIA THAT LED TO WHOLESALE EXPULSIONS OF BYELORUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS. HE SAID MALENKOV CAN NOT REMAIN IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

MOSCOW PARTY SECRETARY PETER DEMICHEV SAID THAT MOSCOW HAD MADE UNPRECEDENTED PROGRESS IN HOUSING CONSTRUCTION, EXCEEDING ITS PLAN BY 200 PER CENT. LARGE HOUSES CAN BE BUILT IN 24 DAYS WITH PREFABRICATED BLOCKS, HE NOTED.

DEMICHEV REPORTED A 15 PER CENT INCREASE IN THE OUTPUT OF MOSCOW'S INDUSTRIES DURING THE PAST YEAR.

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UPI-2

(KHRUSHCHEV)

MOSCOW--PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV TODAY RELAXED THE YEAR-END DEADLINE ON A GERMAN PEACE TREATY AND SAID THE WEST SEEMS READY TO SOLVE THE GERMAN AND WEST BERLIN PROBLEMS "ON A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS."

SPEAKING TO THE OPENING SESSION OF THE 22ND SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS, KHRUSHCHEV SAID IF THE WEST SHOWED A "READINESS TO SETTLE THE GERMAN PROBLEM THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NOT INSIST THAT A GERMAN PEACE TREATY BE SIGNED BY DEC. 31 OF THIS YEAR.

KHRUSHCHEV THEN MENTIONED THE RECENT TALKS SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO HAD IN WASHINGTON WITH PRESIDENT KENNEDY AND SECRETARY RUSK AND LATER IN LONDON WITH PRIME MINISTER MACMILLAN.

"WE HAD THE IMPRESSION (FROM THESE TALKS) THAT THE WESTERN POWERS WERE DISPLAYING A CERTAIN UNDERSTANDING OF THE SITUATION AND THAT THEY WERE INCLINED TO SEEK A SOLUTION FOR THE GERMAN PROBLEM AND FOR THE WEST BERLIN ISSUE ON A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS," KHRUSHCHEV SAID.

MORE THAN 5,000 DELEGATES, VISITING COMMUNIST LEADERS, DIPLOMATS AND A HANDFUL OF WESTERN NEWSMEN LISTENED TO KHRUSHCHEV'S WORDS IN THE NEW PALACE OF CONGRESSES WITHIN THE KREMLIN.

MOSCOW RADIO AND TELEVISION COVERED THE OPENING CEREMONIES LIVE BUT ENDED THEIR TRANSMISSIONS WHEN KHRUSHCHEV BEGAN DELIVERING HIS ADDRESS 45 MINUTES LATER. FIRST ACCOUNTS OF THE SPEECH WERE DELIVERED BY TASS. 10-17-61-

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KHRUSHCHEV CHARGED THE WESTERN POWERS WITH DELIBERATELY CREATING A BERLIN CRISIS -- AND IN FACT WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL THE WORLD'S MAJOR INTERNATIONAL TROUBLES.

HE SAID THE WEST MUST "SHOW READINESS TO SEEK WAYS OF SETTLING DISPUTED ISSUES ON A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS" BECAUSE THE SOVIET UNION FOUND IT "HARD TO REMOVE THE WAR MENACE BY UNILATERAL ACTION."

HE SAID HIS "GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT" PROPOSALS WERE AN IMPORTANT MEANS OF SETTLING INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS.

"WE ARE READY NOW ALSO TO SEEK JOINTLY WITH THE WESTERN POWERS A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AND AGREED SETTLEMENT THROUGH TALKS," HE SAID.

KHRUSHCHEV SAID HE BELIEVED ALL COMMUNIST FORCES WERE MIGHTIER THAN THE "AGGRESSIVE IMPERIALIST FORCES."

"BUT EVEN IF WE SHOULD AGREE WITH THE UNITED STATES PRESIDENT, WHO QUITE RECENTLY STATED THAT OUR FORCES WERE EQUAL, EVEN THEN IT IS PLAINLY UNREASONABLE TO USE THE THREAT OF WAR," HE SAID. "SINCE EQUALITY IS ADMITTED, THE PROPER CONCLUSIONS MUST BE DRAWN FROM THAT. IN OUR TIME IT IS DANGEROUS TO PURSUE A POLICY FROM POSITIONS OF STRENGTH."

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UPI-6
ADD KHRUSHCHEV, MOSCOW (UPI-2)
THE PARTY CONGRESS ADJOURNED AT 8:30 A.M. EDT FOR A TWO-HOUR LUNCH RECESS.
UP TO THAT POINT, KHRUSHCHEV HAD SPOKEN FOR THREE HOURS AND 50 MINUTES. HE WAS EXPECTED TO CONTINUE AFTER THE LUNCH BREAK.
AT OTHER POINTS IN HIS WIDE RANGING SPEECH, KHRUSHCHEV:
--ATTACKED YUGOSLAVIA FOR "TURNING FROM THE STRAIGHT MARXIST-LENINIST ROAD ONTO A WINDING PATCH WHICH HAS LANDED THEM IN A FOG OF REVISIONISM."
--COMPLAINED THAT HALF OF THE WORLD'S NEWLY-INDEPENDENT STATES ARE "SHACKLED" BY UNEQUAL TREATIES WITH FORMER COLONIAL POWERS SUCH AS THE U.S., BRITAIN AND WEST GERMANY.
--CALLED FOR "CONSIDERABLE IMPROVEMENT" IN THE "RUSTY MACHINERY" OF THE UNITED NATIONS, RECOGNIZING THAT THERE ARE THREE MAJOR GROUPINGS: COMMUNIST, NEUTRALIST AND "IMPERIALIST."
--DEMANDED A U.N. SEAT FOR COMMUNIST CHINA.
--SAID SOVIET RELATIONS WITH TURKEY HAD IMPROVED SLIGHTLY.
--SEVERELY CRITICIZED THE SHAH OF IRAN.
--PLEDGED AID TO THE CONGOLESE PEOPLE TO OVERCOME "COLONIAL OPPRESSION."
--SAID THE SOVIET UNION WAS EXPANDING COOPERATION WITH SUCH ASIAN AND AFRICAN NATIONS AS INDIA, INDONESIA, BURMA, CAMBODIA, CEYLON, THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC, IRAQ, GUINEA, GHANA, MALI, MOROCCO, TUNISIA AND SOMALI.
--CALLED FOR ATOM FREE ZONES IN EUROPE AND THE FAR EAST, A NON-AGGRESSION PACT BETWEEN NATO AND THE WARSAW TREATY POWERS, DISENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE ARMED FORCES OF EAST AND WEST AND REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES ON FOREIGN SOIL.

KHRUSHCHEV ALSO SAW MORE EXTENSIVE BUSINESS RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES" AS A MEANS TO A BETTER INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

WESTERN CALCULATIONS HAVE BEEN BASED ON SOVIET STATEMENTS THAT RUSSIA WOULD SIGN A SEPARATE PEACE TREATY WITH EAST GERMANY THIS YEAR UNLESS AN ALL-GERMAN PEACE TREATY COULD BE WORKED OUT WITH GERMANY'S OTHER WORLD WAR II FOES.

KHRUSHCHEV DID NOT CHANGE HIS PROPOSALS FOR A GERMAN SETTLEMENT BUT HE DID RELIEVE THE TIME LIMIT PRESSURE.

"THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AS BEFORE INSISTS ON THE SPEEDIEST SOLUTION OF THE GERMAN PROBLEM," HE SAID. "IT IS AGAINST PUTTING IT OFF TO INFINITY. IF THE WESTERN POWERS DISPLAY READINESS TO SETTLE THE GERMAN PROBLEM THE QUESTION OF THE TIME LIMIT FOR THE SIGNING OF A GERMAN PEACE TREATY WILL NOT BE SO MATERIAL; WE SHALL NOT INSIST THEN THAT THE PEACE TREATY BE SIGNED BY ALL MEANS BEFORE DEC. 31, 1961."

"THE MAIN THING IS TO SOLVE THE QUESTION OF ELIMINATING THE REMNANTS OF WORLD WAR II, TO SIGN A GERMAN PEACE TREATY," HE SAID. "THIS IS THE BASIS, THIS IS THE CRUX OF THE MATTER."

HE REPEATED THAT WEST BERLIN MUST BE ESTABLISHED IN THE TREATY AS A "FREE DEMILITARIZED CITY."

HE PICTURED A WORLD IN WHICH COMMUNISM WAS GROWING STEADILY STRONGER AND THE "CAPITALIST" STATES WEAKER -- BICKERING IN CONFUSION AND RIVALRY AMONG THEMSELVES.

HE SAID THE WEST CONTINUALLY THREATENS THE COMMUNIST NATIONS IN ORDER TO KEEP ITS MILITARY ALLIANCES TOGETHER.

KHRUSHCHEV SAID HE WAS CONFIDENT WORLD COMMUNISM WOULD WIN OUT OVER CAPITALISM IN "PEACEFUL COMPETITION." BUT HE WARNED THAT IF THERE IS A WAR IT WILL MEAN THE "END OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM."

KHRUSHCHEV SAID THAT IF THE CAPITALIST NATIONS "DARE TO ATTACK THE SOCIALIST (COMMUNIST) COUNTRIES AND HURL MANKIND INTO THE ABYSS OF A WORLD WAR OF ANNIHILATION, THAT MAD ACT WILL BE THEIR LAST."

KHRUSHCHEV REAFFIRMED HIS THESIS THAT WAR IS NOT INEVITABLE FOR THE ULTIMATE VICTORY OF COMMUNISM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

HE DENIED THAT COMMUNISTS HAD ANY "RIGHT" OR DESIRE TO EXPORT REVOLUTION TO NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES AND SAID THAT ON THE OTHER HAND COMMUNISM WOULD NOT TOLERATE THE EXPORT OF "COUNTER-REVOLUTION" INTO SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

HE SAID THAT SINCE THE 20TH PARTY CONGRESS IN 1956, "THE CONTINUOUS DECAY OF CAPITALISM HAS CONTINUED TO OPERATE RUTHLESSLY" AND THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD LOST "ABSOLUTE SUPREMACY IN WORLD CAPITALIST PRODUCTION AND COMMERCE."

INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT OF COMMUNIST NATIONS IN 1960, HE SAID, WAS 6.8 TIMES THAT OF 1937. THE NON-COMMUNIST NATIONS, HE SAID, INCREASED THEIR FIGURES IN THAT TIME ONLY 2.5 TIMES.

KHRUSHCHEV SAID COMMUNIST COUNTRIES ACCOUNTED FOR 36 PER CENT OF WORLD INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IN 1960 COMPARED TO 27 PER CENT IN 1955.

"COMMUNISM IS BECOMING THE DECISIVE FACTOR IN WORLD DEVELOPMENT," KHRUSHCHEV SAID.

HE SAID THAT WHILE THE UNITED STATES, "THE CHIEF CAPITALIST COUNTRY," HAD SUFFERED TWO "CRITICAL RECESSIONS" IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS AND FOUR SINCE WORLD WAR II, THE COMMUNIST WORLD HAS MOVED STEADILY TOWARD NEW ECONOMIC GOALS.

KHRUSHCHEV SAID PRE-WAR ANTAGONISMS BETWEEN THE NON-COMMUNIST POWERS HAD APPEARED ALONG WITH SOME NEW ONES.

"THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN BRITISH AND WEST GERMAN IMPERIALISM FOR SUPREMACY IN WESTERN EUROPE IS GROWING FIERCER," HE SAID.

"FRENCH IMPERIALISM, IN ITS STRUGGLE AGAINST BRITISH IMPERIALISM, IS ATTEMPTING TO FIND SUPPORT IN YESTERDAY'S ENEMY -- THE WEST GERMAN MONOPOLIES."

HE SAID THERE ALSO WERE "PROFOUND CONTRADICTIONS" DIVIDING THE UNITED STATES, BRITAIN AND OTHER WESTERN NATIONS AND THAT THESE WERE MANIFEST IN NATO AND OTHER WESTERN ALLIANCES.

HE SAID THE 1960'S WOULD BE THE YEARS OF "THE COMPLETE DISINTEGRATION OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM" IN ASIA, AFRICAN AND LATIN AMERICA.

10/17--GE911A

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RE: 22nd SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS

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UPI-30
ADD KHRUSHCHEV, MOSCOW
KHRUSHCHEV ALSO LAUNCHED INTO A REVIEW OF SOVIET INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS. IN PRODUCING ALMOST ONE-FIFTH OF THE WORLD'S GOODS, HE SAID, THE SOVIET UNION "GREATLY SURPASSED THE UNITED STATES" IN "ABSOLUTE GROWTH" IN PRODUCTION OF MANY ITEMS.
HE SAID THERE WAS NOW EVERY POSSIBILITY THAT THE SOVIET UNION'S CURRENT SEVEN-YEAR PLAN WOULD BE OVERFULFILLED. THE SOVIET UNION'S BASIC ECONOMIC TASK, HE SAID, WAS TO "OVERTAKE AND OUTSTRIP THE MOST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES IN PRODUCTION PER HEAD OF POPULATION."
LISTING SOVIET DOMESTIC ACHIEVEMENTS, HE SAID: 1 6-16-A NOT RECORDED
--THREE QUARTERS OF THE NATION'S INCOME IS SPENT ON THE "PERSONAL REQUIREMENTS" OF THE PEOPLE. 184 OCT 20 1961
--BY THE END OF 1965, NOBODY WILL HAVE TO PAY TAXES IN THE SOVIET UNION.
--THE SOVIET UNION IS BUILDING MORE HOUSING THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY IN THE WORLD.
--SOVIET SCIENTISTS WERE TRYING TO CONTROL THERMONUCLEAR REACTIONS AS A NEW POWER SOURCE.
--ABOUT 40 PER CENT OF RUSSIA'S WORKERS AND MORE THAN 23 PER CENT OF ITS COLLECTIVE FARMERS HAVE SECONDARY OR HIGHER EDUCATION.
--THE SOVIET POPULATION HAS GROWN 20 MILLION SINCE 1956 FOR A TOTAL OF ALMOST 220 MILLION PERSONS.
KHRUSHCHEV ANNOUNCED THAT INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IN THE LAST SIX YEARS INCREASED BY ALMOST 80 PER CENT. STATE INVESTMENTS IN THE ECONOMY TOTALLED 156 BILLION RUBLES SINCE 1956, HE SAID. THIS WAS MORE THAN THE TOTAL INVESTMENTS FROM 1917 TO 1956, HE SAID.
BACK ON THE SUBJECT OF THE PRODUCTION RACE WITH THE UNITED STATES, KHRUSHCHEV CLAIMED "THE MATTER IS NOW ONE OF RAPIDLY CLOSING THE GAP IN THE LEVEL OF PRODUCTION, OF THE SOVIET UNION GAINING FIRST PLACE IN THE WORLD FOR THE OUTPUT OF A NUMBER OF FOODSTUFFS AND MANUFACTURED GOODS."
WITH SOVIET INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION TOTALLING SOME 60 PER CENT OF U.S. PRODUCTION, KHRUSHCHEV SAID IT ALSO IS MORE THAN THE INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT OF BRITAIN, FRANCE, CANADA, JAPAN, BELGIUM, ITALY AND THE NETHERLANDS COMBINED.
IN FARMING, HE SAID HIS "VIRGIN LANDS" SCHEME TO OPEN UP VAST UNDEVELOPED LANDS IN THE EAST AS GRAIN FARMS, "HAS BEEN SUCCESSFULLY ACCOMPLISHED." THE "VIRGIN LANDS," HE SAID, SUPPLY 40 PER CENT OF THE GRAIN PURCHASED BY THE STATE.
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UPI-34
ADD KHRUSHCHEV, MOSCOW
IN THE MORNING SESSION KHRUSHCHEV ALSO:
--SAID THE UNITED NATIONS MACHINERY HAS "GROWN RUSTY IN THE COLD WAR," AGAIN CALLED FOR HIS SYSTEM OF A "TROIKA" TO RUN IT, AND DEMANDED ONCE MORE THAT COMMUNIST CHINA BE ADMITTED TO MEMBERSHIP.
--CLAIMED THAT COMMUNISM IS BECOMING THE DECISIVE FACTOR IN WORLD DEVELOPMENT, AND EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE OF COMMUNISM'S VICTORY OVER CAPITALISM THROUGH "PEACEFUL COMPETITION."
--INDICATED THAT IT MIGHT BE FEASIBLE TO BANISH WORLD WARS AND FOLLOWED THROUGH ON HIS FAMILIAR THEME OF COEXISTENCE BY CONCEDING THAT CAPITALISM COULD SURVIVE ALONGSIDE COMMUNISM IN PART OF THE WORLD.
--REPEATED HIS OFFER TO DISCUSS WITH THE WESTERN POWERS HIS AIM OF SEEKING A "MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AND AGREED SETTLEMENT" OF GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT.
10/17--GE1039A

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SHIFTS IN SOVIET SHOW A SHAKE-UP

Half of Provincial Chiefs Changed Since 1960

By HARRY SCHWARTZ

Almost half of the provincial Communist party chiefs in the Soviet Union have been replaced in little more than a year.

This major shake-up of the Soviet Communist party has been disclosed with the publication in Pravda, the official party newspaper, of lists of present provisional Communist party First Secretaries. The lists permitted comparison with the names of those known to have filled the posts last year.

Since a significant number of those removed from provincial party leaderships were members of the Central Committee, the shifts suggest that there may be many new faces in the Central Committee to be elected at the twenty-second Communist party Congress opening tomorrow.

44 of 100 are Newcomers

On the basis of information recently printed in Pravda, about 100 provincial Communist party First Secretaries can be identified. Of these forty-four are new to their posts, having replaced individuals known to have occupied the posts a year to a year and a half ago.

A somewhat lower rate of political mortality is indicated for Secretaries of Communist parties in the constituent republics of the Soviet Union. Of the sixty-six identified in recent days as holding Republic secretarial posts, twenty-one are newcomers.

The magnitude of these personnel shifts indicates what may well have been the most extensive purge of the provincial Communist party leadership since World War II.

Although a few officials may have dropped out because of death or serious illness, the indications are that the majority of the shifts were dictated by Premier Khrushchev's dissatisfaction with the individuals' production performance or political loyalty.

At the republic level, Armenia, Tadzhikistan, Georgia and Moldavia lost most of their old republic party secretaries in the last year.

The most important provinces in the Russian Republic that have received new top Communist party chiefs include Omsk, Stalingrad, Chelyabinsk, Smolensk, Kaliningrad, Ryazan, Orenburg, Altai, Khabarovsk, Belgorod, Astrakhan, Voronezh, Bryansk and Tula.

A partial list of full members of the Central Committee affected by the shift includes Pavel I. Doronin, Semyon D. Ignatyev, Aleksei I. Khvorostukhin, Vasily K. Klimenko, Yevgeny P. Kolushchinsky, Nikolai V. Laptev, Aleksei N. Larionov, Ivan S. Latunov, Vasily A. Moskvin, Konstantin G. Pysin, Vital N. Titov, Suren A. Tovmasyan, Ivan D. Yakovlev and Ivan K. Zhegalin.

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PAGE 4

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RE: SHIFTS IN SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY
INFO CONCERNING

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File 5-CDS

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REC-40

UPI-97
(COMMUNISTS)
MOSCOW--THE SOVIET UNION'S COMMUNIST PARTY HAS A MEMBERSHIP OF 9,716,000, AN INCREASE OF 2.5 MILLION IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS, THE GOVERNMENT NEWS AGENCY TASS REPORTED TODAY.
TASS SAID OUT OF 296,000 PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE COUNTRY, MORE THAN 75,000 UNITS ARE IN INDUSTRY, CONSTRUCTION, COMMUNICATION AND THE TRANSPORT SERVICES.
THERE ARE 4,408 DELEGATES ELECTED TO ATTEND THE 22ND PARTY CONGRESS WHO HAVE A VOTE, AND 405 OTHERS "WITH A VOICE BUT NO VOTE," TASS SAID. WOMEN DELEGATES NUMBER 1,073, IT ADDED.
TASS SAID NEARLY 73 PER CENT OF THE DELEGATES HAVE A SECONDARY EDUCATION OR BETTER.
AMONG THE DELEGATES ELECTED TO THE CONGRESS ARE 42 "OLD BOLSHEVIKS" WHO JOINED THE COMMUNIST PARTY BEFORE THE OCTOBER 1917 REVOLUTION, TASS SAID.
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EX.-124

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184 OCT 23 1961

56 OCT 27 1961 WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

6-19 (Rev. 6-1-61)

Communist Party - Russia

SOVIET FORGERIES REVEALED BY C.I.A.

Fake Papers Attribute Plots to U.S., Senators Hear

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 17—The Senate Judiciary Committee published today materials gathered by the Central Intelligence Agency to demonstrate the Soviet Union's use of forged documents in its world-wide propaganda campaign against the West.

Richard Helms, assistant director of the C. I. A., cited thirty-two forged papers. These included one attributing to Governor Rockefeller of New York a program for United States domination of the world.

The C. I. A. official linked the forgeries directly to the leaders of the Soviet Communist party of which Premier Khrushchev is first secretary.

His testimony was given in a closed session on June 2 and cleared for publication today. In it, Mr. Helms cited rumors that the French generals who revolted over President de Gaulle's Algerian policies had received backing for the C. I. A.

These rumors were widely published in the wake of the abortive revolt. For a time official sources in Paris treated them gingerly, refusing to brand them as false. Later, the rebellious generals refuted the rumors.

Gives Evidence of Rumors

Mr. Helm cites newspapers throughout Europe that either regularly transmitted false rumors or charges or, that were duped by Soviet propagandists into doing so. He presented the committee with charts and illustrations of newspauper articles and forged documents.

In the last four years, Mr. Helm said, his agency has found "no fewer than thirty-two forged documents designed to look as though they had been written by or to officials of the American Government."

"We have found that [illegible] Soviet forgery is manufactured and spread according to a plan," Mr. Helms told the committee. "Each is devised and timed to mesh with other techniques of psychological warfare in support of Soviet strategy. Our analysis shows three main urpposes."

"The first is to discredit the West generally and the United States and its Government specifically in the eyes of the rest of the world.

"The second purpose is to sow suspicion and discord among the Western allies, and especially between this country and our friends.

"The third purpose is to drive a wedge between the peoples of non-bloc countries and their Governments by fostering the line that these Governments do not represent their citizens because they are the puppets of the United States."

'Cynical Plan' Faked

"Campaigns to sell these themes to the world," Mr. Helms went on, "are planned by the leaders of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Staff units of the party's Central Committee work out the details. If the plan includes forgeries, they are prepared by a Soviet or satellite intelligence service."

As an example of a "documentary deception surfaced by a known Communist organ," the intelligence official called attention to the publication in the East German newspaper Neues Deutschland in 1957 of what purported to be facsimile letter in the "original" English from Governor Rockefeller to President Eisenhower.

"The letter spelled out a cynical plan for American manipulation of military and economic aid in order to gain domination of the world," Mr. Helms said. "It is an example of the first category, the forgery designed to damage the reputation of the United States."

As another example of forgery, Mr. Helms told about a pamphlet that he said was now being circulated in Africa. It is entitled "To Our Dear Friends" and "overflows with horror pictures and atrocity stories about the treatment of Negroes in America," he said.

The authorship is [illegible] to a group of Americans known as "The African Friends Association," Mr. Helms said. There is no such organization, he reported.

Technical analysts, he said, disclosed that the pamphlet was printed in East Europe, probably in eastern Germany.

Still another forgery, Mr. Helms said, was a letter that was supposed to have been written by Dr. Frank Berry, former Assistant Secretary of Defense for Medical Affairs. The letter was asserted that 67.3 per cent of all flight personnel in in the United tates ir orce were psychoneurotic, addicted to excessive drinking, the use of drugs, sexual excesses and perversions "and the capitalistic sin of card playing."

he document was fabricated in ay, 1958. t appeared in the ommunist press at the time time that the ussians were conducting a campaign emphasizing the possibilities of accidental war.

Plays Into Soviet Hands

"Some five weeks after this forgery saw print, the Soviets got lucky," Mr. Helms said. "An American plane mechanic named Morgan managed to get into the air with an nonoperational United States Air Force bomber which he was neither authorized nor qualified to fly.

"It crashed soon after take-off, killing the would-be pilot. Three days later Radio Moscow announced in foreign news broadcasts this 'evidence' that its Berry report had indeed been prophetic.

Mr. Helms also named as a forgery a purported letter from the Secretary of State to the Ambassador of Iran that contained insults to the Shah. Similarly, Mr. Helms mentioned a fraudulent State Department cable to the effect that Ambassador Karl Rankin was to be dismissed because of the anti-American riots in Japan.

According to Mr. Helm's testimony, other persons whose names have been affixed to forged documents include Ambassador David K. E. Bruce, when he was assigned to Paris; Elim O'Shaughnessy, when he was counselor in Bonn, Germany; and former Under Secretary of State Herbert Hoover

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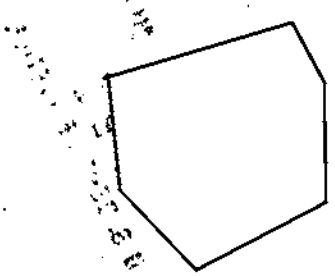

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune 1
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times 8
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Communist Party - Russia

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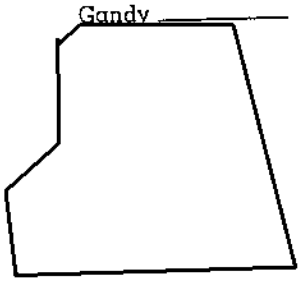

UPI-14
(PURGE)

MOSCOW--THE COMMUNIST PARTY NEWSPAPER PRAVDA TODAY REPORTED A SWEEPING PURGE IN THE CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLIC OF TADZHIKISTAN, WITH A WHOLESALE REMOVAL FROM OFFICE OF TOP PARTY LEADERS AND MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT CHARGED WITH FRAUD, INCOMPETENCE AND MISMANAGEMENT.

PRAVDA SAID THAT AT A RECENT MEETING OF THE TADZHIK STAN COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, ATTENDED BY COMMUNIST PARTY SECRETARY FROL KOZLOV, "GROSS FRAUD AND MISMANAGEMENT WAS DISCOVERED AND IMMEDIATE CORRECTIONS ORDERED.

Former member of [illegible]

ORDERED EXPELLED FROM THE PARTY WERE TADZHIKISTAN PARTY FIRST SECRETARY T. ULDZHABABYEV, PREMIER N.D. DADHKUDOYEV, VICE PREMIER B. DODOBAYEV, LOCAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL VICE CHAIRMAN K. YUSUPOV, LENINABAD DISTRICT PARTY COMMITTEE FIRST SECRETARY K. IBRAGIMVOV AND OTHER HIGH PARTY OFFICIALS, PRAVDA SAID.

Russia

THE MEETING WAS HELD APRIL 11 AND 12.

PRAVDA SAID THE TADZHIKISTAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE EXPOSED "GROSS DISTORTION OF LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF LEADERSHIP, INCORRECT ELECTION OF OFFICIALS, AND THE PRACTICE OF DECEIT AGAINST THE PARTY AND STATE."

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File 5 WAB

Cont. Party - Soviet Union

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56 MAY 1 1961

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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WASHINGTON REPORT

BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.

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WASHINGTON, March 8 -- From behind the Iron Curtain come indications that the regime of Nikita Khrushchev faces rising opposition.

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The Soviet press regularly carries news of "industrial sabotage," and arrests for anti-government activity. Severe shortages of consumer goods and basic essentials have led to sitdown strikes and other demonstrations in many parts of the U.S.S.R.

Opposition is perhaps most serious in the Soviet Union's bread basket, the Ukraine. This is the very region in which millions of farmers were starved to death in the thirties for resisting collectivization of the farms.

At that time Joseph Stalin sent to the Ukraine a rising new Communist star to organize mass purges of anti-Communist Ukrainians. His name was Nikita Khrushchev and the present Soviet Premier justly won the nickname, "Butcher of the Ukraine."

Despite continuing purge activities, anti-Communist resistance in the area remains strong. An American journalist, Paul Meskil, spent several months in the Ukraine, not long ago, and has come back to tell of the situation there. He writes in the Ukrainian Quarterly, a scholarly periodical for students of Iron Curtain affairs:

"The Ukrainian underground has survived purges, mass deportations, torture and slaughter -- and today it is as strong, or stronger, than ever."

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army remains the strongest partisan force in the Soviet empire, including the captive nations of Eastern Europe.

Units of the Army (UPA) still roam [redacted] Black Forest. Other units engage in hit-and-run guerrilla assaults. During the 1956 uprising in Hungary, these armies came down from the hills to blow up Red Army troop trains and to free hundreds of Hungarian freedom fighters who were being shipped to permanent exile in Siberia. (MORE)

66 APR 3 1961

xx Siberia.

Rails, ammunition trains and bridges between the Soviet Union and Hungary were destroyed.

In 1957, MVD Lt. General Ivan Sovetnikov was killed near Lviv in a clash between Soviet troops and Ukrainian freedom fighters. UPA chiefs viewed this as revenge for the 1950 murder of Commander-in-Chief Chuprynka, trapped by Soviet forces in his underground headquarters.

In 1958, the UPA began operating a secret radio station, Radio Free Kiev, its transmitter hidden in the hills. The broadcasts continue to this day, and the Soviets have been unable to locate the transmitting base.

A little more than a year ago Premier Khrushchev admitted serious troubles in the Ukraine, when he called a special session of the Ukrainian Communist Party's Trans-Carpathian Regional Committee and fired its committee chairman, Ivan Vash.

Demyan Korotchenko, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Socialist Republic, was ordered to stamp out growing anti-Soviet efforts by the UPA. In previous weeks UPA troops had raided Communist police and military posts throughout Carpatho-Ukraine. Red soldiers and MVD agents were killed. Stores of Red arms were seized, their empty supply posts dynamited.

Korotchenko is an old hand in purge activities. He worked closely two decades ago with Khrushchev in the brutal suppression of Ukrainian patriots.

Within the past year, the official Ukrainian Radio Network announced that five leading resistance leaders had been shot as "agents of international reaction" after secret trials. The broadcast said the partisans had confessed a five-year series of raids and sabotage, during which several high-ranking Red officials were killed.

But the executions have not wiped out anti-Soviet resistance. If anything, feeling against the Communist tyrants is stronger now than ever before. And Mr. Khrushchev realizes this. He has appointed Andrei Danilovich Kaba, specialist in political indoctrination, to be Minister of Education.

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(MP)

0-19 (Rev. 1-11-60)

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Khrushchev Fires Odessa Party Chief

MOSCOW, Feb. 9 (AP) — A. I. Fedoseyev was fired as first secretary of the Communist Party's Odessa Regional Committee, Tass reported last night. Mr. Fedoseyev's successor is M. S. Sinits.

The dismissal came in the wake of Premier Khrushchev's crackdown on party leaders responsible for agricultural shortcomings last year.

REC- 42

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star A-2
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
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Poland

Shift of Soviet Aide Viewed As Demotion

MOSCOW, Feb. 6 (AP) Pravda today announced the transfer of Averki Aristov, a member of the Presidium of the Communist Party Central Committee, from his Moscow job to be ambassador to Poland.

There was strong belief that the transfer represented a sharp demotion, and that Aristov was one of the first in a high place to be hit by Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev's attack on those responsible for agricultural shortcomings last year.

Aristov replaces Byodr Abrosimov, whose new post has not been announced.

The last full member of the Presidium to be transferred in such a manner was Vyacheslav Molotov. He was expelled from the Presidium and sent to Outer Mongolia as ambassador after the party shakeup that brought Khrushchev to power. Now he is Soviet representative to the U.N. Atomic Agency in Vienna.

Aristov had not been mentioned in the Soviet press for some time until Pravda announced his transfer today.

Instead, Gennabi Ivanovich Voronov had been mentioned as working at the right hand of Khrushchev. This young agricultural specialist has been named a deputy chairman of the party bureau of the Russian Federal Republic, the Soviet Union's biggest republic. He recently was made a candidate member of the Presidium.

His job in the Russian Republic's bureau puts him directly under Khrushchev, who is chairman.

Aristov also has been a deputy chairman of the Russian Republic's bureau. The announcement of his new post did not say he had lost his previous job or that he had been ousted from the Presidium.

But observers found it hard to see why he had been sent to a post so far removed from the center of party activities if he was to retain the Moscow posts.

former Russian ambassador to Poland

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Poland

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Communist Party - Russia

The Washington Post and Times Herald A-9
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2 Khrushchev Men Climb A Step Up Kremlin Ladder

By Tom Lambert
From the Herald Tribune Bureau

MOSCOW, Jan. 18.—The Soviet Communist party's Central Committee today named two more men as candidate members of the partys' ruling Presidium, bringing the total of such candidates to nine.

Candidate membership in the Presidium is a step up in the party hierarchy toward the ruling group, but not all candidate members are promoted to the Presidium.

The two new candidate members of the fourteen-member Presidium are Viktor V. Grishin, head of the Soviet Union's type of trade unions, and Gennadi I. Voronov, first secretary of the Communist party regional committee at Chkalov (formerly Orenbury) in the Urals. Both are disciples of Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev.

The Central Committee also adopted "appropriate decisions" on Soviet agricultural and Communist party ideological issues, the Moscow radio reported, and then concluded a closed Kremlin meeting which opened Jan. 10.

Reorganization Seen

The "appropriate decision" on agriculture has not yet been made public, but it possibly was approval of an agricultural reorganization plan drafted by Mr. Khrushchev to try to increase farm output here to meet the needs of the Soviet Union's growing population.

In the ideological field the "appropriate decision" possibly was approval by the Central Committee of the work of the Soviet delegation at the meeting here of world Communist leaders in November and December.

The Central Committee session ended after speeches by Mr. Khrushchev on Soviet farm problems and by Presidium member Mikhail A. Suslov on the world Communist meeting. Neither speech has yet been made public.

Appointment of Mr. Grishin and Mr. Voronov as Presidium candidate members caused some surprise, especially in the case of the latter, about whom little is known.

A Farm Expert

A Communist party member and functionary since 1931, the fifty-year-old Mr. Voronov was a Deputy Minister of Agriculture in 1956. He spoke at the Central Committee meeting and was lauded by Mr. Khrushchev for farm work last year in the Chkalov region.

Mr. Grishin, forty-six, a Communist party member since 1939 and a Central Committee member since 1952, has been chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions since 1956. He is a vice-president of the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions.

Two candidate members, Dmitri S. Polyansky and Nikolai V. Podgorny, were promoted to the Presidium last year.

RUSSIA

The Washington Post and Times Herald
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81 Nations' Reds Reject War as Road to Victory

LONDON, Dec. 5 (AP)—The Communist world declared unanimously tonight that war is not inevitable and that communism can win out over the capitalist West in peaceful coexistence.

Its manifesto, approved at a recent Moscow meeting of Red leaders from 81 countries, said war will come only if the West starts one.

The solid front reversing Marxist doctrine and bringing Communist China into line was disclosed by Communist papers outside the Soviet Union—in London, Paris and Rome. The Moscow radio later broadcast the Pravda version, which followed the same general line.

Red China confirmed that it concurred and broadcast the text in the Chinese and Japanese. The Peking radio said all the papers there carried the declaration on Page 1.

Backing for Khrushchev

The 20,000-word Communist statement represented strong endorsement of Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev's peaceful-coexistence line and just as strong rejection of Red China's war-is-inevitable philosophy.

The manifesto pointed up two important shifts from old Communist theory by arguing that:

1. East and West can get along, and must if the appalling destruction of nuclear war is to be avoided.

2. Communists in Western countries can proceed in building toward eventual power without revolutions.

In its own summary, the Daily Worker—which like all Communist organs receives direction from Moscow—chose to single out these subcaptions as to the import of the manifesto.

On excluding war—"In the near future the superiority of the forces of socialism and peace will be absolute. In these conditions a real possibility will have arisen to exclude war from the life of society even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world."

On action for peace—"The struggle against war cannot be put off until war breaks out, for then it may prove too late for many areas of the globe and for their population to combat it. The struggle against the threat of a new war must be waged now, and not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall . . ."

On disarmament—"The implementation of the program for general and complete disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union would be of historic importance for the destinies of mankind. To realize this program means to eliminate the very possibility of waging wars between countries."

Colonialism's End Seen

On colonialism—"The complete collapse of colonialism is imminent. The breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialistic system."

On the unity of Socialist countries—"Imperialist, renegade and revisionist hopes of a split within the Socialist camp are built on sand and doomed to failure. All the Socialist countries cherish the unity of the Socialist camp like the apple of their eye."

On the transition to socialism—"Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class, headed by its vanguard, has the opportunity to unite a majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people."

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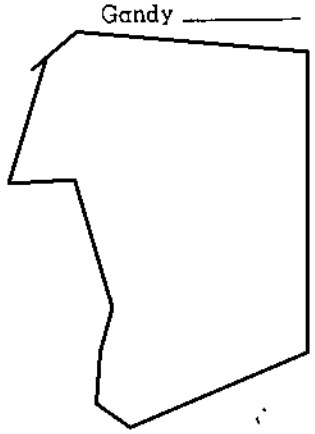

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Supreme Soviet To Meet Dec. 20

MOSCOW, Nov. 9 (AP).—The USSR Supreme Soviet (Parliament) will meet December 20, the news agency Tass announced today.

The meeting likely will be an important platform for announcement of Soviet internal and external policies. It will follow by a week a meeting of the full Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. It will precede, probably by about a month, a new Soviet Communist Party Congress, the 22d.

The schedule suggests a series of announcements concerning both foreign and domestic affairs is in preparation.

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These Days . . . . .

By George E. Sokolsky

A-17

Twisted Words

COLONIALISM has become a bad word. Liberation has always been a good word. The Western Powers have abandoned colonialism because they do not wish to be smeared by bad words (there are also other reasons, perhaps as pressing). Soviet Russia calls colonialism liberation when it is associated with Soviet Russia. It is only colonialism when someone else does it. Ergo, Soviet Russia engages in a new kind of colonialism.

Sokolsky

Let us take Cuba as an example. Spain practiced colonialism in Cuba. The United States went to war with Spain, occupied Cuba, gave Cuba its independence, in fact, liberated Cuba. So, we are gringos for doing that. We are colonialists, imperialists, exploiters because we liberated Cuba. Now, Soviet Russia is turning Cuba into a Soviet satellite which is colonialism, but it is called liberation. From whom is Cuba being liberated?

WHILE OTHER countries are revoking their colonial charters and are giving subject peoples their freedom, Soviet Russia has engaged in a new colonialism and so has Red China. Soviet Russia has become a successor to the Hapsburg Dynasty in the Danubian area. It has conquered and taken the Balkan as well as the Baltic countries. Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Poland have become colonies (satellites) of Soviet Russia. East Germany has become little more than a province of Soviet Russia. Mongolia is a hunting ground between Soviet Russia and Red China. And now, the Kremlin is moving into Ghana and Guinea and the Congo in Africa, while Red China has conquered Tibet and is moving into Lakahkh, Nepal, Assam, and is seeking to operate southward until it reaches the Bay of Bengal. As soon as a country gains its freedom, Soviet Russia attempts to liberate it—that is, to control it.

It is estimated that between 1945 to 1960, 38 nations have won their freedom from Western European colonial powers, whereas Soviet Russia has extended its control over more than 25 countries. The list includes:

A. Nations or areas formally incorporated into Soviet Union:

Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, East Poland, East Prussia, Bessarbia and Northern Bukovina, Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, Karelia, Sakhalin, Tannu Tuva, Kurile Islands.

B. Nations formally maintained as independent but in fact subject to Communist (Soviet and Chinese) colonial rule:

China, Manchuria, North Viet-Nam, North Korea, Tibet, Outer Mongolia, Poland, East Germany, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania.

The Soviet plan is twofold: it conducts a violent agitation on liberation or it supports a local party which seeks liberation. Then it steps in and takes over. Thus in Indonesia, where Sukarno believes that he is independent and neutral, he is constantly being forced to move farther to the left and was required to bring with him to the United Nations General Assembly a Communist leader, perhaps because his Communists are so powerful or because he needed a monitor. At any rate, he was afraid of something.

The West has made a grievous error in giving up its colonies, particularly in Africa where in most countries there the people are not ready for self-government and where significant mineral deposits can fall into the hands of Soviet Russia. The rejection of colonialism by the Western Powers was forced by "the spirit of the times," a trite and meaningless phrase which can be defined as anyone chooses but which never means anything specific. What happened was that in each Western country many persons, hoping to avert war and to change the world, insisted upon moving helter-skelter into liberation movements, assuming that others are equally just and upright. The African leaders do not have sufficient popular support or a long-enough tradition to appreciate the values of self-government any more than the various peoples of the vast territory of Soviet Russia know what democracy means, they never having had any experience with its institutions or protocols.

The reason that Soviet Russia moves into the so-called liberated areas is precisely because they are now on their own; they are incapable of self-government, and when the Western European power evacuates, a political vacuum is formed which Soviet Russia fills.

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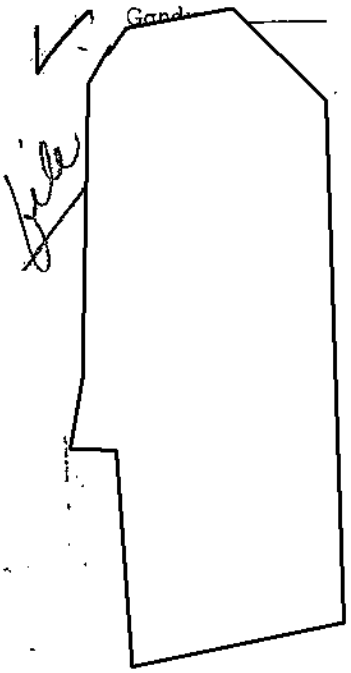

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'Our Country is the Ultimate, Priceless Goal of International Communism'

By J. Edgar Hoover

It is an incontestable fact that our country, the symbol of the free world, is the ultimate, priceless goal of international communism. The leaders of international communism have vowed to achieve world domination. This cannot be until the Red flag is flown over the United States.

If, for a moment, the grandiose Red plan is scoffed at as being fantastic, consider that one-fourth of the land surface of the world and one-third of the peoples of the earth are now controlled by the world-wide communist bloc.

Certainly, the communist gains throughout the world are evidence enough that America, if it lowers its guard, may be someday an easy target for the Red threat. The communist plan is to conquer the United States, if not today, then tomorrow; if not tomorrow, then the next day, next month, next year—there is no timetable, no "Five Year Plan." This is evident in the machinations of the Communist Party, USA, as shown by the analysis of its 17th National Convention published in this Mulletin.

It is indeed appalling that some members of our society continue to deplore and criticize those who stress the communist danger. What these misguided "authorities" fail to realize is that the Communist Party, USA, is an integral part of international communism. As the world-wide menace becomes more powerful, the various Communist Parties assume a more dangerous and sinister role in the countries in which they are entrenched. Public indifference to this threat is tantamount to national suicide.

Lethargy leads only to disaster. The communists have a savage plan of liquidation for a vanquished America. The blueprint can be found in the words of Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, who recently said that it was necessary to liquidate 800,000 "enemies" to stamp out communism in China. Another pattern is the plight of countless families in satellite countries who were torn apart and transported to the oblivion of Soviet labor camps.

Under communist domination in America, the first campaign of liquidation would engulf the lawyers, champions of due process of law; newspapermen, whose ageless fight for freedom of expression would have no place under totalitarianism; law enforcement officers, guardians of individual rights; governmental leaders, local, state and national; and everyone falling in the so-called "capitalist" category. Occupations and professions which the communists term "useless and parasitic" would be foolished—clergymen, wholesalers, jobbers, real estate salesmen, stockbrokers, insurance men, advertising specialists, traveling salesmen—the list for purging is endless. No citizens would escape some form of suffering under a communist regime. One need but to compare his own worth, his own ideals, his own religious beliefs with the atheistic doctrines of communism to determine his priority on the list of liquidation.

The defense of the cherished freedoms secured and handed down to us by our forefathers is the responsibility of each American. Knowledge of the enemy, alertness to the danger, and everyday patriotism are the brick and mortar with which we can build an impregnable fortress against communism. Only the intelligent efforts of all Americans can prevent the decay of public apathy from laying open our Nation to the Red menace.

REC-76

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Kremlin Parrots

Impossible to Get Through to Ivan

Party Liner

By HENRY N. TAYLOR,
Scripps-Howard Newspapers.

MOSCOW, Aug. 26.—When an American sits down to talk seriously with a group of Russians, sooner or later his attempt to communicate smashes dead against a sound barrier represented by the words: "Kak Izvestno. . ."

This means "as is well known . . ."

It's what a Russian says when he's about to stop talking his own mind and begin reciting the party line.

It happens again and again, and it's one of the most discouraging phenomena about this capital of world communism.

We sat in a conference room at skyscraping Moscow University, beneath a portrait of Lenin and talking across the green baize with two law students, a mathematics major and a post-graduate specialist in the economics of India. They were in their 20s and not one of them could think of a single mistake Nikita Khrushchev had ever made.

"As is well known," answered Oleg Kutafin, 25, from Odessa. "Comrade Stalin made errors, under the influence of the cult of personality. Later Comrade Bulganin made errors for which he apologized and resigned. But we'

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RE: "IMPOSSIBLE TO GET THROUGH TO IVAN PARTY LINER"
INFO CONCERNING

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C.P. Russia

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know of no errors being made now. By the way, what do you think of our four-and-a-half-ton sputnik?"

Talk turned to comparing NATO with the Communist bloc's Warsaw Pact. American troops in NATO countries, it turns out, are "for aggressive purposes in host nations which must keep them or suffer economic reprisals by the United States." Russian troops in Hungary are there "for self-defense by will of the people."

Cuba is a favorite topic here now, and the students are equipped with surprising details of the relationship Washington had with ex-dictator Batista, which they say helped Moscow to win the sympathy of his unshaven successors.

In the head of every devoted Communist, somewhere between the brain and the voice-box lies a transformer of some sort which feeds in automatically the Kremlin adjustment. Perhaps Americans carry something similar, some red-white-and-blue implant from childhood.

For Russians, even in the smilingest of times, no cease-fire seems permissible in the war of ideas.

Russians tell you—and you agree—that we must understand one another or end up killing one another. Then they learn perfect English, plunge into deep study of the United States, read absolutely everything published about, say, Richard Nixon, and come up with the conclusion that "as is well known, Nixon is a tool of J. Edgar Hoover, because in 1936 he briefly considered asking for a job with the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The fact is we and them just talk on two different wave lengths. We think we're the good guys. They think they are. We do not trust one another, and that is why the world can hope for truce in our time, but no real peace.

As is well known . . .

From The Hall Syndicate, Inc.
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8/11/60

INSIDE LABOR

C.P. Russia

By Victor Riesel

Paris -- In the files of Western counter-intelligence agents here there are monitorings of international phone calls placed to V29500 Moscow. At that number sits Viktor V. Grishin. He was, however, not there at the end of May and in the early weeks of June. He was in Peiping calling for riotous destruction and crippling strikes against the U.S. and our allies. China Russia

Within a few hours, riots turned the streets of big European cities slippery with blood. Communities were paralyzed when garbage collectors, airfield employes and even scientists controlled by Communist cadres struck hard.

There were no such strikes in the U.S. because there are only four influential Communist-controlled American unions. But there will be sabotage. This is a flat prediction. There will be sabotage.

Comrade Grishin's words are never ignored. For he is the Soviet's top union official -- chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. Shortly after Premier Khrushchev returned from his dramatic performance here -- which should really have been housed at the Sarah Bernhardt Theatre -- Grishin was directed to launch a new era of street violence. Soon he was on his way to Peiping. There he conferred with global Communist leaders gathered for what is called the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

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"We consider it an international responsibility," said Grishin, "of the working people and trade unions to wage a struggle by all means to eliminate the U.S. military bases built on the territory of other countries...

"The most important task of the trade union movement is to exert every effort to expose to the working people the barbarous characteristics of the imperialist aggressors and to organize mass action by the working people, including demonstrations, mass rallies and meetings to defend peace...

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"The task of the trade unions is to strengthen greatly counter-propaganda, to expose the imperialists and to tell the working people all the dangers of the adventurist polity of the imperialists."

To Main Street, U.S.A., this is jabberwocky. To the Communist controlled unions in the Red belts of Western cities, it is a call to street action, the tactics of Tokyo, the manning of street barricades. The lethal horror of this is truly known only to those of us who have experienced it.

This is the rising of underground "armies." They are the trade union cadres, trained, drilled, equipped, disciplined storm troops of Communist unions. They are the revolutionary forces on which Moscow counts to topple governments. It saves the wear and tear and the public embarrassment of an official military invasion. It happened in Czechoslovakia. It is happening in Cuba.

Within a week after Khrushchev reported to the Russian Central Committee and it instructed Grishin to pass on word to the regional Communist labor chiefs, the drive started against Gen. Charles de Gaulle. Between May 31 and July 4, for example, there were 10 major strikes.

First the railroads were hit when 300,000 men quit. This was the first industry-wide walkout since deGaulle took office. Then out went tens of thousands of government employes. No garbage was collected. Communications were cut. Flash strikes hit the buses and subways.

Soon 100,000 construction workers hit the bricks. Then most of the chemical plants in Paris and the southern France area, were shut. Next the airports and the rolling strikes rolled on.

In Italy, the labor cadres of Agostino Novello's General Confederation of Workers (CGT) were put on the alert. When Communist Party chief Palmiro Togliatti winged in from Moscow early in July, he alerted Comrade Longo's professional Communist underground army. Soon riotous general strikes were injuring from 50 to 200 persons in Italy's big cities.

Russia

— MORE —

The tactic is simple. The CGT calls a general strike. The regular underground Communist troops, in civilian clothes, of course, form around the labor cadres. Then they hit the streets and battle with the police.

The price of peaceful streets and a truce in the revolutionary pressure is governmental anti-Americanism.

Since the Communists can't get that, they'll bloody the streets, bomb the opposition and sabotage our defenses in Europe and back home. The era of Stalin's violence is back again.

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Karl Marx Wrong

Communism Is Passe

Karl Marx made a big thing out of social and economic evolution when he brought out his theory that communism is the wave of the future and that society will eventually evolve from capitalism to socialism.

Marx's mistake is that he didn't dig far enough back into history. He started with feudal times which he assumed to be the beginnings of capitalism.

Instead, feudal times were the dying gasp of the primitive communism which enveloped all society at the beginning and true freedom came about as an evolution away from communism. In early England as well as on the continent all land was owned by the community and all herds were owned by the community.

Feudalism was the result of powerful leaders arising, just as Stalin and Khrushchev, in order ostensibly to protect their fellows but really to enslave them.

Private property developed from feudalism as a revolt in favor of freedom because here and there a man was able to enclose a few acres and use it for himself. His productivity was so much greater that those who farmed the "commons" and those whose herds grazed on the "commons" soon demanded equal privileges and the commons gradually disappeared.

Marx believed that communism was something new. Instead it was an old and discredited form of society which had given way to the new freedom.

"The magic of property," wrote Arthur Young, one of the students of his period, "turns sand into gold."

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"The Livingston Enterprise"
8/9/60
Livingston, Montana

Re: COMMUNISM

Editor: FRED J. MARTIN

Butte Division

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BS-6 (Revised 6-17-59)

By Nate White
Business and Financial Editor of The Christian Science Monitor

Leningrad

The masters of the Kremlin have grasped and are utilizing the one tool which can guarantee their economic growth. It is education.

The Communist revolution was and is an intellectual revolution. Of course, it was originally also a power struggle. It still is a bitter struggle for personal political power. It is a worldwide, tidal-type struggle.

In its earliest stages it all began with a slight, energetic, talkative pamphleteer here in Leningrad, V. I. Lenin.

Here at the Smolny Institute, Lenin taught, labored, and agitated. Here he organized and directed the October, 1917, revolution and moved his headquarters from Smolny to the Winter Palace. He later returned to Smolny and did his main work here. It is still the headquarters of the Leningrad section of the Communist Party. The Central Committee of the Communist Party — the iron-fisted, hard core of Soviet power and imperialism — of course now operates from the Kremlin in Moscow.

Intellectual Seat

But Leningrad is the intellectual seat of Soviet communism, and Smolny Institute on Proletarian Dictatorship Square here is the center of Leninish Puritanism.

From the inception of his work, Lenin stressed education, not just of a few, but of the masses. Through his lifetime until 1924, and through Stalin's lifetime, and now today, the Communist Party has diligently obeyed this doctrine of Lenin: educate, educate, educate.

The Communists believe and have been told and taught that it is through ideas and the economic and technological system evolved from them that they will conquer the world. They have proved that they can achieve great feats in technology through education. They are now determined to extend their teaching to underdeveloped lands, and to anyone who will listen.

Understanding Vital

It is essential that everyone in the West understand that their competitor in the world struggle is no longer a land of peasants. It is a land of new people (age 20-40), thoroughly educated, trained men and women in the very prime of their teaching and of their national fulfillment.

The peasants still exist in the Soviet Union. The old women do the hard work. They dig the ditches. They run the building cranes. They operate elevators and streetcars. They sweep streets and plow fields. They hoe weeds and hose down sidewalks. They make and pitch asphalt. They lay sewers and bricks. They carry timbers. They hoist concrete blocks. They mix concrete.

For this hard labor they are well paid, among the highest in the semiskilled labor in the Soviet Union, and they get everything free—vacations and medical, dental, hospital, and old-age care.

C.P. Russia

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Nation of Specialists

But these are not the Soviet citizens which this article deals with. The competitor of the Free West today is an educated nation of young, dynamic people, intense, loyal, determined men and women. They have been given a thorough, specialized education. They are provided continually with "refresher" or "upgrading" training. They are adopting the best of ideas of every land, the best of every educational technique. The Soviet Union is today a nation of trained specialists.

Each child must go to school until he is 16. It is not ordinary school, as in the United States. It is a specialized type of school to begin with. For instance, at age 11, every child begins his study of a foreign language — English, French, or German. But the educational process does not stop with linguistic exercises. It extends to a study of the histories, cultures, political systems, weaknesses, and strengths of other nations, and always there is emphasis on the physical sciences.

Technical training of young school pupils provides for eight years of elementary technical study, several hours a week in school workshops and small gardens. In the more advanced or secondary schools, students actually work in factories and on farms. It is a work-study process.

Children Get History

Soviet children know American and British history. They know German and French history. Undoubtedly they are being thoroughly taught in the cultures, histories, and perhaps some of the languages of India, China, Japan, and Latin America. Why? It is not to prepare them to rule the world?

Lenin's doctrine is all pervasive. The young Soviet boys and girls are thoroughly taught in the arts and practices of socialism, and they are thoroughly convinced that theirs is a world mission to bring this teaching to the captive peoples of the capitalist West and to the downtrodden peoples of the world's underdeveloped nations.

The West can lose the battle for freedom if its leaders and its peoples assume that the Soviet citizens are stupid, bumbling, ill-led, ill-supplied people, who are fortunate in having a few good rocket or space scientists, captured from Germany. These people are brilliant in their own right.

The Soviet citizens of today

What Makes The Soviet Union Tick?

are not dull or stupid. They may have a host of misconceptions about the West and about themselves. They may have insulated and isolated training and thought. They may have wrong concepts of the West, due to the nature of their teaching. But they are not stupid. Many of them are brilliant, tough, unemotional, determined, courageous Communists. They have pledged their all to their state religion, which is Leninism, and the expansion of communism throughout the whole world is their goal.

Not Ultimate Aim

If anyone in the West believes that the educated Soviet man and woman is going to be content with mere coexistence with the West, he is sorely deluded. To the brilliant Soviet citizen, both young men and young women, this period of "coexistence"—such as it is—is unreal. It is a mere phase in the Communists' push toward the total socialization of the world.

The Communists have developed a new religion, and they believe they are the commissioned evangelists of this religion to the world.

This writer has met enough Soviet men and women, and has observed and seen enough, to be convinced that a nation of 210,000,000 people and upward, which will eventually be wholly indoctrinated and educated in communism, will provide the Armageddon of the world.

The Communist system is not to be coexisted with lightly. A modus operandi between the communist world and the West must be evolved, of course. If it can include a mutual agreement to avoid war and destruction, this must be done. From all this writer was able to observe, a modus operandi of coexistence between the West and the Soviet Union is today highly desirable to the Soviet Union. It will permit the Soviet Union to consolidate its vast expansion, to harness its still immature agriculture, to develop the finesse of communism, to gain in internal economic strength and power, while at the same time attempting to win and persuade uncommitted nations that their road should indeed be communism.

Work Necessary

But a period of coexistence for the West can be seriously destructive, if the West for one second assumes that a nation of highly trained, indoctrinated Communists is going to settle for coexistence as its ultimate objective. When the power balance seems to be firmly in their hands, the Soviet Communists can be expected to attempt to seize domination of the world —using their excellent knowledge of technology to do it with.

This is Lenin's teaching. And every man and woman, and the young children in the Soviet Union are determined to bring it to pass.

There's an old saying, "Keep your head down and your powder dry," which stems from New England's rugged pioneers.

No truer axiom could apply to the West today. A formidable competitor, using the weapons of propaganda, ideas, education,

technology—permeated with the religious evangelism of a materialism expressed as communism—can only be dealt with by clear heads and strong hands.

The idea of freedom, which the West embraces, is the most powerful idea on earth. But the Communists have embraced the idea. They would fool the world with their talk of freedom. They talk and preach freedom when they mean domination. They talk "liberation" of underdeveloped and capitalist peoples, when they mean control and manipulation. They hope one day to "liberate" Americans from their capitalist masters.

Unless this kind of hard, planned, focused, trained, educated evangelism is understood by the people and leaders of the West, and properly handled, it can destroy all for which the West stands. It must be dealt with, not merely coexisted with.

After his thorough training in secondary school, the Soviet youth, boy or girl, must work for two years. He is free to choose what kind of work he wishes to do. It may be in the fields, or it can be in factories. It can be in production, distribution, engineering, construction. It can be anything, but work for two years he and she must.

Power Plants

Then the young men and women take a comprehensive selection examination to determine their fitness and qualification for higher education. Some are weeded out of university education altogether. Some are sent to special training centers of a technical or production type. Their intellectual expansion is over, and they are converted into skilled technicians.

The universities are overcrowded, and only the select and qualified can enter them. But once they are admitted—their tuition is free—they receive a magnificent university education and are permitted to go into and develop any specialty they choose.

This is not just Communist propaganda. The universities gave Lenin his foothold and his power. The Soviet universities today are the power plants of world communism. The university student is the "elect" class of the so-called Soviet classless society.

Nikita S. Khrushchev may probably be the last peasant to achieve topmost leadership in the Soviet Union—because there soon will be no more peasants. His successors in decades ahead will be highly trained, indoctrinated Communists, with excellent education, linguistic ability, and a dedicated idealism which is contrary to everything for which Western freedom and democracy stand.

Educational Center

We visited Moscow University. It has 24,000 students, and 96 per cent of them are fully sustained by state scholarship. Their classrooms are excellent, and the dormitories are luxurious. Every modern facility is provided the student. His study rooms are large, the libraries are abundantly stocked, the laboratories are excellent, and the corridors and rooms of his dormitory are even carpeted!

Moscow is the center of world bureaucratic communism. But it is also the center of an educational network which reaches into every corner of the Soviet Union. Some 400,000 students are in universities and special institutes in Moscow. But the extent of the higher system of education extends from Leningrad, here in the far northwest, to Vladivostok and Aleksandrovsk on the far eastern shore. Every city has educational institutions of higher specialization.

New York at Soviets

It was impossible for this observer to sit in a university class or examine a university laboratory, but the outward facilities of a university compare well with those of the West, both in Moscow and here in Leningrad.

We were shown the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences in Moscow. It is an extensive, elaborate network of buildings and laboratories. It is the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Carnegie Institute of Technology, California Institute of Technology, and Rensselaer Institute of Technology rolled into one system comprising an all-Soviet scientific network. It is here that the sputniks were developed. It is here that the Soviet engineers and physical and chemical scientists carry out Lenin's injunction that through technical competence communism will win the world.

Moscow is the New York of the Soviet Union. Moscow University compares to Columbia University, but it is not as large, nor does it possess as many departments of specialized training. It does not compare either in size or specialization with the University of California, or the University of Michigan, or Northwestern, or the University of Chicago.

But the network of specialized institutions—the agricultural, social science, economic, medical, and liberal arts centers bring Moscow well to the top of the list as a world educational center. The Communists claim that the Moscow University system of some 90 institutions feeds 40,000 specialists into the nation's productive system every year. This seems quite factually correct.

Here in Leningrad—the Oxford and Cambridge of the Soviet Union—the intellectual atmosphere is freer and more liberal than in Moscow. One feels it and recognizes it as he talks with the students and adults he meets, as he strolls or rides through the magnificent plazas and wide boulevards. There is less of the official and heavy bureaucracy of communism here than in Moscow.

Lenin graduated from the University of Leningrad in 1891. The true followers of Leninism try to study here. The university today has more than 13,000 students, 52 departments, 1,500 professors. Sixty other educational institutions are located in Leningrad. Students number more than 100,000.

Results Expected

One gets the impression that the University of Leningrad is the Harvard or Yale or Princeton or Williams or Dartmouth of the Soviet Union, and that Moscow is the center of the larger-scale institutions comparable to the large state universities of the United States.

We visited University Embankment on the Neva River. The physical location is identical to that of Harvard University or Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Students take the sun on the embankment, their heads engrossed in their books, and on the Neva crews and coxswains fight the ever-choppy waters. The Charles River Basin and the great basin of the Neva, each with low-spanning bridges, seem physically alike, although the intellectual miles between them seem endless.

Soviet citizens are not permitted by their government to rest on their university laurels. They must continually study and upgrade themselves. The Communist Party puts great store in retraining centers. Honors are paid the innovators and rationalizers of the Soviet Union. The man with ideas is respected, as long as his ideas can be turned into hard physical accomplishment.

The CP expects its investment in educated citizens to pay off. It provides expert training. It expects results.

The chief booby trap in the Soviet system, as it appears to this writer, is that there may today be too many bosses, and that the increase in the number of educated bosses—considering the internal struggle for power which is in constant motion—may one day spoil the broth. Too many young Lenins may one day confront each other. How they will resolve their concepts of Leninism, their personal ambitions, their determination to control the world may be the rocks on which they will wreck themselves. Only time can tell.

One sees and hears enough in the Soviet Union to discover that the Communist system is built on fear, power, tension, conflict and struggle, that everyone thinks he has the right to tell everyone else off.

Educated masses, without spiritual restraint, are a new thing in the world. They are capable of anything.

We of the West must be well aware of the threat.

(Ninth Article on "What Makes the Soviet Union Tick?")

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UPI-41
(RELEASE AT 10:45 A.M.)
(RUSSIA)
WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.--A TOP OFFICIAL OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY SAID TODAY THERE ARE SIGNS RUSSIA'S LEADERS ARE FINDING IT HARDER TO DEFEND RIGID COMMUNIST DOCTRINES TO QUESTIONING YOUTH.
RICHARD HELMS, ASSISTANT CIA DIRECTOR, SAID "IF WE HOLD THE SOVIETS WITHIN THE PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL CONFINES OF THEIR PRESENT INFLUENCE, THERE ARE GROUNDS FOR BELIEVING THAT A SLOW PROCESS OF EVOLUTIONARY CHANGE MAY HAVE ITS EFFECT ON RUSSIAN SOCIETY."
HE SAID IN A PREPARED SPEECH TO WILLIAMS COLLEGE ALUMNI THAT "ALREADY, IN THE UNIVERSITIES OF MOSCOW AND LENINGRAD, HEALTHY SKEPTICISM AND OUTRIGHT HERESY HAVE GOADED KHRUSHCHEV INTO DEMANDS FOR TIGHTER IDEOLOGICAL DISCIPLINE."
THERE ALSO IS EVIDENCE, HE ADDED, THAT THE NEW SCIENTIFIC AND MANAGERIAL ELITE DARE TO QUESTION THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNING GROUP, THE PRESIDIUM.
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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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Last of Convents Reported Closed By Russians

U.S.S.R.

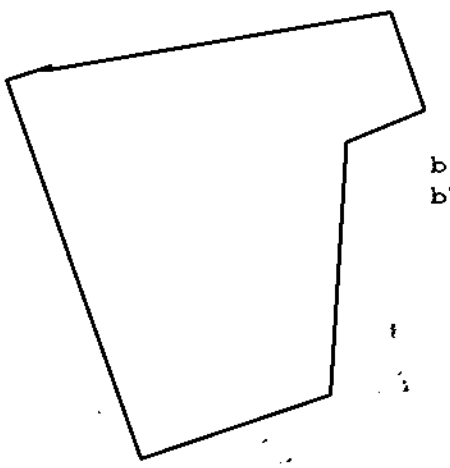
VIENNA, June 1 (NANA).—The last surviving Roman Catholic convent in Russia has been closed down by the Communists, according to reliable sources from behind the Iron Curtain.

It is the convent at Aglona in the former Baltic state of Latvia, and belongs—or rather, belonged—to the Order of Dominican Sisters.

The fate of the nuns is unknown, but a month ago they were reported carrying on under great difficulties. All were undernourished, and more than half were suffering from tuberculosis. Recently villagers were ordered by the authorities to stop supplying the nuns with food and other necessities.

A short time before the convent was forcibly closed down, the sources said, a nearby government tractor station was ordered to send tractors to demolish the convent's Calvary, which lined a path leading up to the principal building. The figures marking the Way of the Cross were broken up on the spot.

The closing of the convent comes in the wake of a stepped-up campaign against the Roman Catholic church in the Baltic area.



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ADD 2 POLICY (UPI-112)

KENNAN, DECLARING THAT TOUGHER COMMUNISTS MAY NOW RULE THE KREMLIN, PREDICTED THAT THE U.S. WILL FACE A STIFFER "MORE UGLY" SOVIET LINE.

KENNAN SAID THAT THERE HAS BEEN A "DETERIORATION" IN THE POSITION OF THE U.S. AS AGAINST THE SINO-SOVIET BLOC.

KENNAN TESTIFIED THAT KHRUSHCHEV IS CERTAINLY NOT AN IDEAL KREMLIN LEADER FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES. BUT HE SAID IT IS HIS "IMPRESSION" THAT OTHER LEADERS IN THE COMMUNIST BLOC ARE "EVEN LESS FORTUNATE" FROM OUR VIEWPOINT.

"IT LOOKS VERY MUCH AS IF THESE OTHER PEOPLE MAY HAVE AN EXCESS OF STRENGTH AND MIGHT CONTROL THE SITUATION FROM HERE ON OUT."

IN THE WAKE OF THE SUMMIT MEETING, HE SAID, THE U.S. WILL BE UP AGAINST "A STIFFER ATTITUDE...A MORE UGLY ONE." THE U.S. SHOULD, HE SAID, BUILD ITS STRENGTH AND RESOURCES AND SEEK THE BEST POSSIBLE RELATIONS WITH NATIONS OUTSIDE THE COMMUNIST BLOC.

IN BUILDING STRENGTH, KENNA SAID, THE U.S. SHOULD NEVER GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT MILITARY CONFLICT IS INEVITABLE OR "CLOSE THE DOORS" TO PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF WORLD PROBLEMS. BUT WE SHOULD "PACK A GOOD PUNCH IN WHAT WE TRY TO DO--DIPLOMATICALLY AND OTHERWISE," HE SAID.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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Communist Party - Russia

Soviet Rank-and-File Urged To Study K's New U. S. Policy

MOSCOW, May 24 (UPI) The Soviet press called on the Communist Party rank-and-file today to hold neighborhood meetings of "propagandists and agitators" throughout the Nation to discuss Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev's critical new post-Summit attitude toward the United States.

The party members were summoned to meet in clubs, parks, libraries and homes for explanation sessions designed to acquaint them with Khrushchev's reasons for not going on with the Paris summit conference.

It marked the first time party members have been called on to study policy so vigorously since the death of Josef Stalin in 1953 and the subsequent changes of policy featured by Khrushchev's introduction of his "peace and friendship" program, observers noted.

Foreign observers said the nation-wide discussions were part of the Khrushchev regime's policy of broadening the base of the party power to include the study of policy in the bottom ranks.

The Communist party newspaper Pravda said it was necessary to gain nation-wide approval of the Government's policy to provide "proof of the inviolable and monolithic unity of the party, the government and the people."

It said "the main duty of party organizations and of the all-union society for the dissemination of political and scientific knowledge is to organize lectures, reports and talks in clubs, parks, libraries, at workers' dwellings and enterprises on the topics arising from Comrade Khrushchev's report (on the Summit) and on the laws adopted by the fifth session of the Supreme Soviet."

Announcements of the discussion meetings were carried in the Soviet press along with a denunciation of the United States stand on the U-2 plane incident presented by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge at the beginning of the United Nations security council debate yesterday.

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A REAL RED IN THE RED ARMY

Malinovsky, K's Aide or Boss?

By 1898 in Odessa, Russia

By TOM KELLY

Rodion Yakovlevich Malinovsky—the sinister figure who sits at the left hand of Premier Khrushchev—is a great, black-browed lump of a man as hard as anthracite coal.

Like anthracite he burns fiercely.

He is now suspected of being the man who controls Khrushchev, a suspicion that may be nurtured largely by the efforts of overseas newsmen to seem acute.

Whether he is this, he is a power in Russia.

GOOD RED

He succeeded Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov as Defense Minister in 1957—reportedly because he favored the Party over the Army and Zhukov's fancies were the other way around.

Still he has been called a "soldier's soldier" and he talks and acts as warlike as anyone since Attila the Hun.

In the last days of World War II he raised out at the possibility of U. S. intervention against the Chinese communists.

"If the United States puts out a hand to interfere we will cut it off," he said.

OAFISH

This style, slightly reminiscent of Khrushchev's, is the way the Marshal usually talks. Even when he's being friendly there is a rowdy ring to his words.

"In spirit the Russians and the Americans got along together better than any two nationalities," he said, talking of soldier friendships in World War II. "Especially when it came to having a drink or smashing glasses in a cafe."

His record as Defense Minister confirms his primary devotion to the Party however. He has gone along with a shift in emphasis from infantry to rocket troops with the consequent curtailing of the armed forces.

—UPI Photo

In Paris, Malinovsky was always within arm's length of Khrushchev, even sightseeing.

The suggestion now is abroad that he is the front man, or possibly the head man, of a clique that controls Khrushchev. The same theory holds that the clique favors the hard-fisted Stalinistic approach rather than the occasionally soft words that have come from Moscow in recent years.

LONG IN POWER

At any rate Marshal Malinovsky has prospered in the Stalin days and since.

He was born in Odessa in 1898. He became a machine gunner in the Tzar's army, then switched to the Red Army when the switching was good. He was a major general when the Germans invaded, and at the end of the war he helped cart off the "booty" from the northeast provinces of China.

ARM-IN-ARM

In Paris last week he was seen everywhere with Khrushchev, a burly silent man, very close to the top of the heap.

His silence might in part at least mean that his knowledge of foreign languages remains rudimentary.

At the last report, in 1957, he knew only five words of English. The analysts might look for significance in the words he happened to learn: "I Love You" and "Good Night."

C.P. - Russia

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RE: "THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION" INFO CONCERNING

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C.P. - Russia

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Voroshilov Quits As Red President

MOSCOW, May 7 (UPI)—Kliment Voroshilov, 79, veteran Bolshevik and military hero, stepped down today as President of the Soviet Union and the nation's Parliament approved a series of sweeping economic, government and party changes.

Voroshilov, who gave ill health as the reason for retiring, was succeeded at 70 by Leonid Brezhnev, 53, veteran Communist Party official but relatively unknown to the Western world.

In another major move, the Soviet government named Chief Marshal Mitrofan Nedelin as commander-in-chief of the Soviet Army Rocket Forces.

The resignation of Voroshilov from the presidency of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet—a largely titular post—did not come as a surprise. He requested permission to resign.

Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev said that the Central Committee of the Communist Party proposed that the resignation request be granted. He praised Voroshilov for his "many years" of service.

The Supreme Soviet (parliament) today concluded its three-day session by giving approval to economic, party and government changes that will:

• Reshuffle the party hierarchy in an apparent move to give Frol R. Kozlov more power and cut down the party secretariat from 10 to six members.

• Introduce a new "hard" ruble beginning January, 1961, which will reduce wages, pensions and other service payments 10-fold as well as prices, but, according to Khrushchev, with no monetary loss to citizens.

• Eliminate all personal income taxes by 1964 in a step-by-step move scheduled to get under way this October with the lowest paid workers.

• Reduce the work day of laborers and white collar workers to six or seven hours by the end of 1960.

In other moves today, the Supreme Soviet elected three new vice presidents of its Presidium. They are Jan Kalnberzin, President of the Latvian Supreme Soviet; Fazyl Karibzhanov, President of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh Republic, and Nikolai Organov, Supreme Soviet head of the Russian Federation.

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Voroshilov Steps Down, Reds Appoint Brezhnev

By John Miller
Reuters

MOSCOW, May 7—Old-time revolutionary Marshal Klementi Voroshilov stepped down as President of the Soviet Union today to make way for Leonid Brezhnev, a protege of Nikita Khrushchev.

Voroshilov's resignation, on the grounds of poor health, was accepted by the Supreme Soviet (parliament) in a final session which also approved the appointment of the new President.

Khrushchev, who drafted the resolution accepting Voroshilov's departure, proposed that the 79-year-old veteran of Russian communism be awarded three of the Soviet's top orders and medals.

Ceremonial Position

Brezhnev, a 53-year-old member of the Soviet hierarchy, fills a mainly ceremonial position as head of state—termed Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R.

Khrushchev raised stormy applause from delegates when he kissed Voroshilov on both cheeks after reading his statement of resignation.

Brezhnev, proposed by Khrushchev as the new President, then rose from his seat to say he had been granted a great trust and pledged all his efforts and knowledge to serving the Soviet Union.

Amid continuing applause and roars of approval, Brezhnev, Khrushchev and Voroshilov kissed one another.

The new President served under Khrushchev's direction in the Ukraine from 1947 to 1949. He was top official in Kazakhstan, the "virgin land" Republic and a pet project of the Soviet Premier.

During the last seven years, he has worked mainly within the Communist Party administration, winning election to the Presidium in 1955.

Complained of Health

Voroshilov has long complained of not feeling well. Added to this is the grief caused by the death of his wife last autumn.

Brezhnev presided in Kazakhstan last January over the ouster of Nicolai Belyaev as first secretary in Kazakhstan and has also organized many shakeups in Red Party lower ranks.

Brezhnev himself joined the Communist Party in 1931 in the Ukraine. He became a candidate member of the Party Presidium in 1952 but was dropped in the reorganization after Stalin's death the next year.

After the 20th Congress in 1956 where he reported on virgin land successes in Kazakhstan, he was re-elected.

With the departure of Voroshilov, the "old guard" revolutionaries have lost one of their few remaining members in high office in the Soviet Union.

Voroshilov, known affectionately by the Russian people as "Klim," was one of Stalin's oldest comrades-in-arms and a trusted adviser.

Yet he was titular head of the Soviet Union when Khrushchev launched his attack on Stalin at the 20th Communist Party Congress in 1956.

Voroshilov's beginnings were humble. Son of a railroad watchman and a charwoman, he started work at the age of 7 and did not learn to read or write until he was 12.

He joined the Bolshevik Party in 1903 when he was 22 and first met Stalin in 1907. Like Stalin, he led the life of a revolutionary under the Czar and was constantly being imprisoned or exiled.

When the Revolution broke out in March, 1917, he did much to swing Petrograd (now Leningrad) garrison against the Czar.

In 1925, he was appointed Commisar of War, a post he held until 1940. He was the first Red Army Marshal when the rank was revived in 1935.

During World War II, Stalin dismissed him as a commander of the southern sector of the front when the German army drove back the Russians to the gates of Moscow. But he remained Stalin's friend.

His chief value during the war seems to have been as an adviser on matters requiring a combination of political and military judgment. He accompanied Stalin to the Tehran conference with President Roosevelt in 1943.

Today's session of the Supreme Soviet, the final meeting after three days of deliberation, also approved shakeups in other sections of government.

Delegates also approved plans to cut personal income taxes over a 5-year period. The abolition will begin at the lower level and work up.

Work weeks will be cut to 41 hours for factory and office jobs and 36 for heavy work such as mining. But by 1964, plans are to have a 6- or 5-hour day for all workers.

A new ruble will be introduced next year, changing the value from its present four-to-a-dollar to 10-to-a-dollar.

LEONID BREZHNEV ... new Russian President

KLEMENTI VOROSHILOV ... quits Soviet Presidency

Associated Press

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Central Research Section

POLYANSKY

Dmitri A. Polyansky, named a full member of the party Presidium. Born Nov. 7, 1917, the start of the Bolshevist Revolution, he is Premier of the Russian Republic, which contains more than 50 percent of the population and 76 percent of the territory of the Soviet Union. An authority on farm production, he visited the United States early this year.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
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New York Daily News
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THE DIPLOMATS LOOK AT LATEST SHAKE-UP

Khrush Is Rebuilding With Young Men

By HENRY N. TAYLOR
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

Nikita Khrushchev is building himself a big business administration—by Soviet standards.

This is what observers here gather from the latest shake-up in the Moscow hierarchy, which brings in relatively young men, most of them peasant-born engineers who started their rise up the industrial ladder, rather than as Communist Party operatives.

In each major new job assignment, except perhaps one, sheer performance seems to have been the criterion. Trouble-shooter Nikolai Belayev botched his assignment to make wheat grow lushly in the Kazakhistan Desert, so he loses his seat on the top party Presidium. Alekesi E. Kosygin has been a successful boss of industrial planning, so up he moves to First Deputy Premier.

COMPANION

In the old Stalinist days, bunglers disappeared into the secret police cellars. Under Khrushchev, the unsuccessful lose their jobs, but not their lives. And status-seekers rise in newly-affluent Soviet society more often because of their deftness with the slide-rule than with a revolver.

Take Nikolai Podgorny, 57, a new Presidium member, who was a foundry worker's son and started out as a technician in a beet sugar factory. Next, he was managing a string of sugar refineries, and eventually the whole Soviet food industry. Podgorny didn't even join the Communist Party until he was 27, and he got his first major party job only 10 years ago.

TOP HEADLINES

Top headlines have gone to Frol R. Kozlov, the 51-year-old likely successor to Khrushchev, who has been given bigger party responsibilities in the reshuffle. But a more symbolic promotion might be that of Dmitri S. Polyanski, 43, the second youngest man ever appointed to the top presidium.

Born a peasant, Polyanski became an agricultural engineer, later shifted to party work and was soon seen at Moscow receptions wearing a grey flannel suit with a silk necktie. At 40 he became a premier of the Russian republic, a province which covers two-thirds of the Soviet Union.

Khrushchev promised a year ago that he'd "cut away dead wood" from the top leadership and "bring in fresh blood," which is mainly what he seems to be doing now.

The main casualty whose fall can't be traced directly to a notable professional flop was Aleksei Kirichenko, the Ukrainian chum of Khrushchev's who has been dropped from the Presidium and sent home to play ward politics in Rostov.

Kirichenko, 52, had long been regarded as a sharp operator, in fact he was one of the few men who seemed to interrupt Khrushchev in leadership meetings with contradictions and suggestions. Because of this, observers thought he must have felt unusually secure in K's favor. Now it seems Khrushchev has tired of him.

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Kremlin Reshuffle Seen Bolstering Khrushchev

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 5. — The Kremlin's latest political reshuffle was viewed here tonight as strengthening the ever-increasing powers of Soviet Prime Minister Nikita S. Khrushchev by bringing about promotions for his political protegees. The reshuffle surprised nobody.

The chief such promotion was that afforded Frol R. Kozlov, who was made a Communist party secretary. This position is of far greater importance than the post he left—that of First Deputy Premier in the government—because it is, of course, the Communist party that really runs Russia.

Mr. Kozlov has long been regarded as Mr. Khrushchev's heir apparent. Indeed, Mr. Khrushchev came right out and said as much to Averell Harriman during the former New York Governor's visit to Moscow last year.

It was Mr. Kozlov who toured the United States early last summer in a visit that proved to be a kind of trial run for the September visit of Mr. Khrushchev to this country.

Mr. Kozlov was replaced as first deputy Prime Minister by Aleksei Kosygin, who has made a name for himself in the industrial field. The promotions give new opportunities to the new generation of Communists, who are skilled in industrial management and planning.

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