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PRESS COMMENT

5 JULY 1957

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New York Times Summary

<p>International</p> <p>The three veteran Soviet leaders Molotov, Kaganovitch and Malenkov have been dismissed from their high Government as well as their party leadership positions, the Kremlin announced. Reports in Poland said they were under house arrest. The Soviet Government was represented at the United States Embassy's Independence Day reception by Foreign Minister Gromyko, First Deputy Premier Mikoyan and Nikolai M. Shvernik, one of the new appointees to the party Presidium. [Page 1, Column 8.]</p> <p>The dismissal of two members of the Rumanian Communist party Politburo was announced, amid indications that advance notice of the Moscow decisions had been sent to other Communist parties. [1:6.]</p> <p>In China, the news was published and broadcast without comment. But observers noted that the eclipse of Kaganovitch and Molotov made Mao Tse-tung more than ever the senior living Communist in the world. [4:6.]</p>	<p>Meanwhile Muscovites went about their shopping in the shadow of the Kremlin, and expressed their hope that the party in its wisdom had served the cause of peace and prosperity. There were a few who dared to disagree with the changes. [1:6-7.]</p> <p>In Washington, there was a holiday calm very different from what would have been going on a few years ago. Both the President and the Secretary of State were out of town, and the Voice of America was putting out entirely unofficial reactions to the news. [1:7.]</p> <p>Experts on Soviet affairs thought Defense Minister Zhukov would be the No. 2 man in the reshuffled regime. [2:4-5.]</p> <p>Prime Minister Nehru of India said in London that the changes meant a return to normality after a long revolutionary period. [2:3.]</p> <p>Senator Humphrey proposed the formation of a United Nations Good Offices Commission to explore means of solving the problem of the 900,000 Arab refugees from Palestine. He said that Israel should accept a</p>	<p>"token" number of repatriates, and that the rest should be settled in Jordan, Iraq, and other Arab states. [1:4.]</p> <p>The Egyptian Defense Minister flew unexpectedly to Saudi Arabia, apparently in an effort to ease the strained relations between the two countries and to revive President Nasser's goal of a neutralist bloc. [8:4-5.]</p> <p>Pope Pius gave his blessing to fashion experts at a special audience with the personnel of a big Rome couturier. [1:4-5.]</p> <p>Nehru views Soviet shift as return to normality. Page 2</p> <p>Khrushchev problem seen in Malenkov's ouster. Page 3</p> <p>Profile of Zhukov, the "Eisenhower of Russia." Page 4</p> <p>Bonn unity hopes rise after Soviet changes. Page 4</p> <p>Bonn House approves anti-cartel law. Page 7</p> <p>Conviction of prominent Moslem arouses Algiers. Page 8</p> <p>Death toll estimates rise in Iranian quakes. Page 8</p> <p>Tunis and Morocco give assurance to Jews. Page 9</p> <p>High Nasser aide speeds to Saud on unity mission. Page 9</p>
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GENERAL

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JUL 5 1957

U. S. MAY SPREAD 'CLEAN' BOMB DATA

President Weighs Proposal to Give Others Knowledge on Eliminating Fall-Out

By JACK RAYMOND
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, July 3

President Eisenhower said today he was thinking of sharing with the Soviet Union and other countries the knowledge of how to produce "clean" hydrogen bombs.

Such a step would require legislation, he said. But he disclosed that he had asked his scientific advisers about the possibility of sharing, and they had suggested such a course might be adopted as soon as they had proved they could produce a bomb totally free of dangerous radioactive fall-out.

The President said that in the meantime he intended to invite foreign countries to make their own measurements of the percentage of radioactivity on the site of the next United States hydrogen bomb detonation.

This should serve as an appropriate test by doubters of the contention that even now only 4 per cent radioactivity results from the explosion of United States hydrogen bombs, the President declared.

U-235 Given to Others

President Eisenhower opened his news conference with an announcement that the United States was making more uranium-235 available in the peaceful uses of atomic power.

In response to questions about United States policy on disarmament and the effects on that policy of reduced radioactive fall-out in bomb explosions, the President emphasized:

"The United States stands firm on its position at the London disarmament conference, agreeing to a temporary suspension of nuclear arms tests if it will lead to an end of bomb-making.

"The United States disarmament position was carefully worked out over a period of at least three years and its proposals are not designed to refute allegations of insincerity.

"The United States' effort to produce "clean" bombs is intended to make peacetime uses of nuclear energy possible, for example, in the building of tunnels or in moving mountains.

Need of Unity Stressed
The President also discussed at some length the importance of coordinating United States disarmament proposals with those of its allies.

"You don't want to go to the Soviets or to any other nation, for example, and make a proposal that affects a third country without that third country's approval, because then you suddenly become like Napoleon and Alexander, on a raft in the Vistula, settling the fate of Europe."

The President referred to a meeting in 1807 that took place on the river Neeman, or Memel. "We are not doing that," he continued, stressing that the long laborious process of working out policies required consultation with West Germany, France, Britain, Canada and all the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

With some heat he responded to a question whether the United States "dare" be sincere in disarmament by declaring, "You mustn't think that this whole business of disarmament, fluid as it is, is operated on the basis of shooting from the hip."

President Eisenhower stressed the "political, psychological effects" of getting on with a disarmament agreement, "even if you suffered some scientific disadvantage."

The President did not specify what these disadvantages might be, but presumably he referred to testimony by scientists of the Atomic Energy Commission that a suspension of nuclear arms tests would impede the development of new weapons as well as peacetime projects.

However, Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense, has said that a suspension of nuclear arms tests would not halt the development of the long-range ballistic missile, since the development of delivery systems could continue.

In addition Secretary Wilson has said that suspension of the nuclear arms tests would constitute little more than a "nuisance," and need not affect the international arms race at all.

The President revealed, in response to a question, that when he set down the final disarmament position for the talks in London last May 25, he knew that the United States had succeeded in reducing bomb radioactivity fall-out by at least 90 per cent.

'Clean' Bomb Data Lacking

But no one had suggested to him at the time that "completely clean" bombs were possible, although Lewis L. Strauss, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, had forecast "96 per cent clean" bombs, General Eisenhower went on.

Then the President said, "incidentally," while there was "very hopeful" talk of suspending tests, he planned to invite any country in the world that wanted to come to test the radioactive fall-out of United States bombs to do so "if, ever under any circumstances there is another test made."

CONGRESS IS WARY ON GIVING MOSCOW 'CLEAN' BOMB DATA

Knowland, Mansfield and Holifield Express Doubt— Hickenlooper for Plan

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, July 4—Con-

gressional reaction to a suggestion that this country give the Soviet Union the formula for a "clean" hydrogen bomb appeared today to be weighted on the unfavorable side.

William F. Knowland of California, the Senate Republican leader, said he doubted that Con-

gress really would agree to furnish the Soviet Union with such information.

Senator Mike Mansfield, Democrat of Montana, said: "I would be careful about giving our formula away."

President Eisenhower, at his news conference yesterday, said that some nuclear scientists had told him that they favored giving the Soviet Union and other nations information about making a bomb relatively free of radioactive fall-out. General Eisenhower did not say explicitly that he favored this course himself.

Previously, the President had noted that scientists believed that they had eliminated about 96 per cent of the radioactive fall-out from such devices, and with time could reduce the amount even more.

Representative Chet Holifield, Democrat of California, a member of the Joint Congressional Atomic Commission, said:

"If the President means that we should reveal to the Soviets how to make a clean bomb or any other kind of bomb, this is a complete reversal of our national policy and security."

Such a step would require Congressional approval.

The President did not say anything about disclosing bomb-making secrets, but only a formula for avoiding most fall-out.

Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Republican of Iowa, also a member of the Joint Atomic Committee, indicated cautious support of the proposal.

"Through such programs as this," he said, "we may be able some day to obtain assurances that in event of another war all nations will have clean bombs."

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Knowland Is Doubtful

Senator Knowland remarked: "I doubt that Congress would be prepared to turn over any weapons information to the Soviet Union."

Mr. Mansfield, in an interview, declared, "Before we agree to give them any information we certainly should have an iron-clad agreement, backed by escape-proof inspection arrangements, to do away with the building of the bigger bombs and a disarmament plan which would cut down defense expenditures for all countries."

Senator Mansfield, the acting Democratic leader, told the Senate yesterday that the search for a "clean" bomb must not be permitted to obscure attempts to reach an agreement to ban future testing of large bombs.

"I am not at all convinced that the use of a 'clean' bomb would automatically displace the use of hydrogen weapons which would spread radioactive fall-out over a large area," he said. "We as Americans may not use 'dirty' bombs, but who is to say that the aggressor will do likewise? * * *

Ike Releases New Lot Of U-235 for Peace Use

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By Patricia Wiggins
United Press

President Eisenhower yesterday released an additional 59,800 kilograms (about 131,500 pounds) of enriched uranium for peaceful uses here and in foreign countries.

The new allocation was divided so that 30,000 kilograms will be available through lease for licensed domestic civilian purposes. The other 29,800 kilograms will be available to foreign countries through sale or lease.

The action brought to 100,000 kilograms, or about 220,000 pounds, the total amount of U-235 made available for research and power reactors to date.

Mr. Eisenhower made the additional allocation at the request of Chairman Lewis H. Strauss of the Atomic Energy Commission. It had the approval of the Secretaries of State and Defense.

The United States also signed nuclear power agreements with Germany, France and Italy to help those countries develop atoms-for-peace industries.

The pacts with Germany and Italy were new. An existing agreement with France was amended to permit greater shipments of enriched uranium to five nuclear reactors.

It was not announced how much enriched uranium would be shipped to each country but informed sources said the quantity would be up to 2500 kilograms each.

The President said he was "gratified" that the advance toward "power and knowledge from the atom is proceeding at a pace which requires provision of additional supplies of the basic atomic fuel."

Strauss reported at the White House that the new allocation was needed since both foreign and domestic allocations made previously have been about used up—at least on paper.

Mr. Eisenhower said that at current prices, set last November by the AEC, the value of 100,000 kilograms of uranium-235 is about \$1.7 billion.

Mr. Eisenhower also said distribution of the nuclear material will be subject to "prudent safeguards" against diversion of the materials for nonpeaceful purposes.

Previous allocations had made available some 20,000 kilograms for domestic use and the same amount for foreign use.

Seven agreements providing for power reactors are now in effect, Strauss said. He added that seven more are about to be concluded and "a number of others" are under negotiation.

Strauss said there are 29 on eight more. These are agreements in effect providing needed to become effective for research reactors and negotiations have been completed within the next year.

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U.S. FOR EARLY BAN ON NUCLEAR ARMS

Stassen for Universal Halt on Fissionable Output a Month After Inspection

By DREW MIDDLETON
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, July 3—The United States proposed today a universal ban on the manufacture of fissionable material for military use one month after the establishment of an international inspection system.

In a detailed exposition of the United States position on nuclear disarmament, Harold E. Stassen suggested that a treaty governing the first step toward disarmament include a provision for the establishment of a committee to cooperate in the "design, installation and maintenance" of an inspection system controlling the production of fissionable material.

This is the heart of the Western proposals on nuclear disarmament. A suspension of tests of nuclear weapons is tightly linked to progress toward a ban on the production of these weapons.

Moch Warns Committee

Jules Moch of France told the United Nations Disarmament Subcommittee that if the proposed suspension of tests of nuclear weapons—ten months in the period suggested by the United States—did not end the nuclear arms race the French Government would feel free to resume its liberty of action.

The implied warning is that in these circumstances France could pursue experimentation that would lead to her establishment as the fourth nuclear power after the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain.

The proposal made yesterday by Valerian A. Zorin, leader of the Soviet delegation, that the Indian representative be heard by the subcommittee was rejected by Mr. Stassen at this afternoon's meeting of the subcommittee. The head of the United States delegation said the subcommittee should not change its established procedure to hear oral statements from the Indian Government.

Mr. Stassen's view is that an invitation to India would prompt other governments to ask for a hearing.

Mr. Stassen's point is that the committee should not shift from negotiation to the audition of the disarmament positions other nations that are not members. The members are the United States, Britain, France, Canada and the Soviet Union.

During this stage of discussions Mr. Stassen is expounding the details of the United States position on the first step toward disarmament. This position includes not only a suspension of nuclear arms tests and control of the production of fissionable material but a general reduction in non-nuclear weapons and military manpower.

Generally Mr. Stassen's exposition was said to follow the line advocated by Britain, France and Canada.

From the procedural standpoint the United States Administration's position is that an effective system for the inspection of production cannot be established until a first-step treaty on disarmament has been ratified. This treaty should provide for a ten-month suspension of nuclear weapons tests, according to the United States view.

Curbs on U. S. Noted

Mr. Stassen told the subcommittee it would be impossible to effect the exchange of scientific information necessary for an effective inspection system while the McMahon Act was in force in the United States. Once the treaty had been ratified this act would be superseded, he said. The act severely limits the atomic information the United States may give to a foreign country.

But to speed a ban on the production of nuclear weapons the United States is prepared to end such production one month after an inspection system has been established. After that date all fissionable material would be devoted to peaceful purposes.

Despite Mr. Stassen's patient exposition of the United States position, Mr. Zorin maintained he must wait until the entire picture had been painted before replying. There will be no meeting of the subcommittee tomorrow but two meetings are scheduled for Friday. The United States delegation expects to complete its presentation then.

Norstad to Give Views

Special to The New York Times
PARIS, July 3—A special session of the Permanent Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization will be held tomorrow to hear the views of Gen. Louis Norstad, supreme allied

N. Y. Times

JUL 5 1957

EISENHOWER ASKS FAITH IN FREEDOM

Message Read in Philadelphia Calls on People to Reaffirm Declaration's Principles

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PHILADELPHIA, July 4 (UPI)

President Eisenhower called upon the American people today to reaffirm their faith daily in the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

In a message read at Fourth of July ceremonies at Independence Hall the President said it was equally important that "in our turn, we dedicate ourselves to the maintenance of our independence and the progress of the free world."

The text of the message follows:

"As Independence Day draws near it is well to be reminded of the birth of our nation in Philadelphia many years ago.

"There, a fateful political document—unprecedented in the annals of mankind—was signed and secured by the lives and fortunes and sacred honor of a few resolute citizens. Inspired by their example the people of the countryside rose up to build a nation founded on a deep respect for the rights of men.

"This same document continues to be the source of our strength. All men are created equal. All Americans are born free to develop their individual capacities to the full and for the betterment of the whole community.

"For the safety and happiness of the American people it is necessary to reaffirm our faith daily in the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It is equally important that, in our turn, we dedicate ourselves to the maintenance of our independence and the progress of the free world."

N. Y. Times

JUL 4 1957

ATOM UNIT SETS PLANS

Special to The New York Times
UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.

July 3—Quintessential agreement has been reached by the preparatory commission of the International Atomic Energy Agency on the program of work for the initial year, as well as on the budget, staff and the financing that will be required.

The eighteen-nation commission made the announcement today as it adjourned until the latter part of July, when it will reconvene in New York to discuss the composition of the first board of governors.

commander in Europe, on their disarmament proposals being discussed in London.

It is understood the general is not opposed to a zone of inspection and control in Europe but desires to insure that it meets all the requirements of security.

Jules Moch, French negotiator in London, and Dr. Konrad Adenauer, West German Chancellor, have agreed to such a zone.

The contention is that it need not amount to Western acceptance of the division of Germany since it would not be a zone of disarmament but of international inspection.

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U.S. Shoots I.G.Y. Rocket 160 Miles Above Manitoba

Probing Into Ionosphere Marks First Regular World Day of Year

By RICHARD WITKIN

Special to The New York Times.

FORT CHURCHILL, Man.,

... American scientists fired an Aerobee-Hi rocket 160 miles into the sky today to study the phenomena that do tricks with radio broadcasts.

A duplicate rocket was to be launched at midnight Central Standard Time.

These were the first of seven- or six firings likely to make this resolve post a leading contributor to the rocket program of the International Geophysical Year.

Today's shots were also the most spectacular events scheduled for the first Regular World Day of the Eighteen-month year.

Rocket research here is conducted by the United States Armed forces and several universities. The Canadians run the post.

Sixty-four countries have agreed to pool their efforts in the I. G. Y. program, an examination of the earth's anatomy and environment.

World Days have been designated during periods when unusual auroral and other aerial phenomena are forecast. Participants step up observations during these and other special intervals.

Fired From 100-Foot Tower

The Aerobee-Hi, made by the Aerojet-General Corporation, took off from its 100-foot tower only fifteen minutes behind the noon schedule.

The tower is a squarish barn that is made of metal for the cold-weather protection of technicians. A mast with guide-rail extensions protrudes from the open top. The launcher can be tilted in any direction up to 19 degrees to counteract high winds.

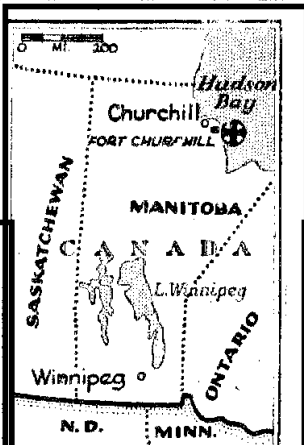
The delay was caused by gusty winds aloft that kept mathematicians busy making sure the twenty-four-foot rocket would fall outside the safety zone. It was tilted seven degrees a little South of East for today's firing.

From all indications, the test was exceptionally good. The rocket climbed for four and a half minutes and fell into Hudson's Bay more than thirty miles to the East. The Navy's antenna began transmitting their test signals from the rocket on schedule.

The rocket's mission was to collect data on the ionosphere. This is the region whose atmosphere is electrically excited or ionized. It influences radio broadcasts in ways that are sometimes beneficial, sometimes distressing.

Ionosphere Studied

... an altitude of about forty to 400 miles. Television observations at frequencies too high to be at-



The New York Times July 5, 1957
Site of rocket firing (cross)

... During average ionization, various ionospheric regions bend or refract various radio frequencies back to earth much as water bends light rays. Radio signals bounced one or more times between ground and ionosphere can be picked up at distances they could not otherwise bridge.

But often the ionosphere loses its bounce for conventionally beamed signals. This occurs during excessive ionization. Conventional signals, instead of being bounced back, are absorbed by the electrically churned atmosphere. Radio black-outs result.

The commonest causes of ionization are ultra-violet and X-rays from the sun. These chip electrons from air molecules into positively charged ions and negative free-roaming electrons. It is the light, energetic electrons rather than the heavy sluggish ions that react with radio waves.

Today's rocket was the first to make a deep penetration of the "F" regions of the Arctic ionosphere, above 120 miles. Much more is known of the "E" region, whose maximum ionization appears between fifty-five and seventy-five miles.

'Scatter' Technique Tried

In recent years, ways have been found to capitalize on the ionosphere for certain types of transmission even during upheavals. These expedients are known as "scatter" techniques. They involve broadcasting signals with exceptional power.

The signal, too powerful to be absorbed, scatters forward in all directions when striking the region affecting it. A piece will find its way to the reception area for which the broadcast is intended.

But because enormous power and highly directional antennas are needed, scatter broadcasting is very expensive. The Pentagon had bought scatter for radar warning stations in the Arctic, where blackouts were frequent and continuous contact between stations was mandatory. But scatter is too costly for other communications.

Better knowledge of the ionosphere is also need for better radio control and detection of missiles. Television observations at frequencies too high to be at-

JUL 5 1957

MANY NATIONS LET I. G. Y.'S DAY GO BY

U.S. Study of Sun Phenomena on Schedule but Others in Plan Are Unprepared

By WALTER SULLIVAN

Yesterday was the first Regular World Day in the International Geophysical Year. The World Day is a period of intensified observations throughout the world of the phenomena manifesting the link between the earth and the sun.

It came close to what might prove to be the climax of the eleven-year sunspot cycle, but it caught several of the participants with their rockets not completed.

Sixty-four days have been set aside during the eighteen months of the International Geophysical Year as Regular World Days. They occur three or four times a month and are timed to coincide with the new moon, quarter moon or with expected meteor showers.

The moon was in its first quarter yesterday and a shower of meteors was expected to deluge the earth's atmosphere. Clouds of meteors, most of them hardly larger than grains of sand, orbit about the sun or follow other paths that bring them near the earth at predictable times.

Data Sought on Flares

When they plunge into the atmosphere they become shooting stars as they are consumed

... The key man in today's experiments was a 36-year-old electrical engineer from the Naval Research Laboratory. John E. Jackson devised the experiments to be performed. They entailed the following:

Each rocket had two whip-like antennae clasped tight to the air frame at take-off but rigged to extend like outstretched arms after the rocket had emerged into thin air. Radar devices were set to record the rocket's position.

Canadian scientists tried to beam vertical signals from ground to ionosphere to take readings that, in the past, had given useful but imprecise pictures of ionospheric activity. Today these measurements were blocked out, by intense ionospheric activity. It is because such aberrations are prevalent in the arctic that much of the rocket research is concentrated here.

What the scientists counted on calculating from all the statistics were such data as:

The density of electrons at various ionospheric altitudes; the magnetic field, and the frequency of electron collisions,

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... friction with the air. They are of interest to geophysicists, because some believe they influence weather and other upper air phenomena.

Regular World Days were chosen, by international agreement, to make the cost of expensive experiments, such as the firing of rockets into the fringes of space. The instruments they carry may report the true nature of sunshine before it is filtered by the atmosphere.

Such information is of greater value if it can be obtained from any points at the same time, giving a composite picture. Scientists are particularly anxious to find out what sort of particles are fired at the earth by solar flares. These are mysterious eruptions in the chromosphere (atmosphere) of the sun, which cause magnetic storms and related upheavals on the earth.

Although the cycle of sunspots and solar flares seems to have reached its maximum prematurely, several nations will probably not be ready to launch their research rockets until fall. This includes Britain, which plans to fire rockets from the test range at Woomera, Australia.

France has announced plans to fire a number of "Veronica" rockets 100 miles into the sky over the Sahara but will not be ready to do so until fall, at the earliest. On Sunday Japan fired a research rocket 17.5 miles into the sky in a test, but no date has been set for the start of regular firings.

About the only unusual activity that took place today, one French scientist said, was the sending of greetings to stations of other nations.

The Soviet Union has said it will fire its initial rockets from the region just west of the Ural mountains, but has given no timetable.

Thus yesterday's firing of an American Aerobee-Hi from Fort Churchill, Manitoba, may have been the only penetration of the ionosphere on the first Regular World Day. Some stations may have released extra large balloons bearing instruments to observe high altitude weather or cosmic rays.

Otherwise the activity consisted primarily of stepped up observations throughout the world in certain fields. For example, sounders such as that at Fort Belvoir, Va., which normally probe the layers of the ionosphere every fifteen minutes, were making soundings every five minutes.

May Explain Ionosphere

When pieced together these soundings should throw light on the short-term fluctuations of the ionosphere. This layer of ionized gasses, which reaches from fifty to 300 miles overhead, has been in turmoil in recent days due to a series of flares on the sun.

Major flares occurred on June 24 and 28. Yesterday observatories in various parts of Europe, listening to radio emissions from the sun and other manifestations of the sun's pulse, reported evidence of two flares about an hour apart.

Nevertheless, the World Warning Center at Fort Belvoir announced the end of the Special World Interval, which had been proclaimed four days earlier.

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U.S. Disarmament Plan Can Override A-Bars

By Murrey Marder

European Bureau The Washington Post-WTOP
LONDON, July 3—United States plans for disarmament are broad enough to produce a treaty overriding secrecy bars of the Atomic Energy Act which now prohibit disclosing nuclear production data to other nations.

That was made clear today by an authoritative source as the United States continued to unfold its offer for a short term suspension of nuclear testing, and an ultimate halt to nuclear weapon production.

Any accord which could emerge from the disarmament negotiations would be in treaty form. Under United States law a treaty takes precedence over legislation.

The McMahon Act which is the United States basic nuclear legislation contains tight restrictions on sharing certain nuclear secrets with other powers.

It also prohibits giving nuclear weapons to other nations, but that, it is understood, would be a separate matter requiring new legislation.

The impact of United States legislation on nuclear matters became directly related to the disarmament talks as United States Delegate Harold E. Stassen unveiled a bit more of the American nuclear proposal.

Stassen, behind closed doors, pressed U. S. emphasis on the need for agreeing to halt nuclear production along with any test suspension. He made it clear, it was reported, that President Eisenhower and Secretary John Foster Dulles are

What effect if any the Soviet turnover would have on the disarmament negotiations produced much speculation tonight. But because the Subcommittee is adjourned over Fourth of July there will not be an opportunity for the Soviet shakeup to be immediately reflected in the negotiations.

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The American delegate said, however, it is the U. S. will and effective cutoff on nuclear production cannot be fully des-

out the principles is ratified. Once a treaty is in effect Stassen said American scientists could exchange more information on methods of assuring that production is being halted.

Under present U. S. law and in absence of approved treaty, American sources noted the U. S. couldn't report how much fissionable material it is producing because now most of that is used for weapons. Stassen said the U. S. previously proposed that within one month after an inspection system to check on nuclear production is operating all production for military purposes should be halted.

Careful Guarding Seen

Then all nuclear production would be guarded "like you guard gold in a vault," as an American source put it. It would mean inspectors at each plant to check on what raw material goes into the plant, the "finished product," the amount of waste, and even the amount of electric power the plant consumes. Stassen said the inspection, however, would not interfere with any operations for peaceful uses.

Stassen on Tuesday said the United States was ready to halt nuclear tests for 10 months, with an agreement at that time to halt nuclear weapon production. The actual production could be as late as 1959.

It is now understood the United States proposal may not set any specific date at all. However, Stassen noted that unless there is reasonably quick action on the production cutoff other states would decide to join the nuclear production race and the whole agreement would collapse.

New evidence that France and Britain are demanding greater specifics on inspection and control of nuclear tests and production came today from non-American sources. So far neither nation has specifically committed itself on the United States detailed proposals.

French Delegate Jules Moeh, it was reported, again served notice France is only prepared to participate in any agreement suspending nuclear tests if the other powers agree to stop the nuclear arms race.

MORE ATOMS FOR PEACE

President Eisenhower has more than doubled the amount of atomic fuel which the United States proposes to make available under the atoms-for-peace treaty over the next few years at home and abroad. The new total is 220,000 pounds of uranium, valued at \$1,700,000,000, half of which is to be leased to domestic users and the other half leased or sold to foreign nations.

The President announced this new offer for two reasons. One is to stimulate development of atomic power plants around the world by assuring them that the necessary atomic fuel will be available. The other is to counter a proposal by Senator Bricker forbidding the President to make any atomic fuel available to the International Atomic Energy Agency without specific Congressional approval. This move is part of a Republican right-wing effort to curb both the agency and the powers of the President. An attempt by Senator Bricker to attach a reservation to that effect to the treaty was defeated, but Mr. Bricker is persistent, and pending disposal of his present effort final American ratification of the treaty is being deferred.

If the American offer looks large, it is merely an indication of the tremendous potentialities of the atoms-for-peace enterprise. It is estimated that the 220,000 pounds of uranium would permit the production of 3,000,000 kilowatts of electricity. But the target of the European Atomic Energy Community, now forming, is 15,000,000 kilowatts by 1967, and nations outside of this community have similar projects under way.

In addition, as President Eisenhower indicated in his most recent press conference, science is now moving toward complete elimination of radioactive fall-out, which would make nuclear power available, as the President put it, "to move mountains" for the benefit of mankind. No Bricker reservation should be permitted to stop progress toward that goal.

Activity in Britain

The New York Times
LONDON, July 4—The most preoccupied researchers in Britain today are those investigating the effects of recent flares on the sun as part of the International Geophysical Year.

The latest flare was reported yesterday at Britain's largest radio research station at Slough, about twenty miles from London. When a researcher noticed that an instrument called a vertical sounder was no longer recording as it should have been.

Vertical sounders are used to hurl radio signals into the ionosphere at regular intervals. By noting the height at which signals are reflected back to earth, researchers can calculate the density of layers of electrified particles from heights of about forty-five miles upward.

The radio teams at Slough also found that it was impossible to pick up the wavelength of a British Broadcasting Corporation long-range transmitter in North Wales, on which they carry out routine studies in radio-wave fluctuations.

Inquiries at ten other radio and ionospheric research stations showed that all experimental short-wave transmissions had been blanketed by the initial impact of the wave of ultraviolet light from the flaring sun.

Washington Post

JUL 5 1957

Hammar skjold Sees Economic

Normalcy Nearer

GENEVA, July 4—United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold said today the world is in its most nearly normal period of peace-time economic activity since the end of the war.

Addressing the opening of the 24th session of the U. N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), he said: "It is unfortunately true that a very high proportion of resources continues to be sidetracked into armaments in all parts of the world. When the time comes—as I am firmly convinced it must—that the world can safely reduce its military outlays, new problems as well as new opportunities will emerge."

N. Y. Times

JUL 5 1957

Major Nuclear Blast Siated

LAS VEGAS, Nev., July 4 (AP)

—If favorable weather continues, scientists will touch off tomorrow what could be the biggest nuclear explosion on this continent. The test, sixth of the summer series, had been set for today but was postponed for technical reasons. The device will be suspended from a balloon 1,500 feet over Yucca Flat, seventy-five miles to the northwest. More than 1,000 Marines are to crouch in trenches, then conduct maneuvers after the burst.

N. Y. Times

JUL 4 1957

FLU STRIKES EUROPE

Asian-Type Virus Found in the Netherlands

New York Times

GENEVA, July 3—An influenza epidemic has broken out in Europe. The World Health Organization today said that

the disease was spreading rapidly in the Netherlands. It is caused by the same virus responsible for the epidemic in the Far East.

Another influenza outbreak has been reported in Czechoslovakia, but no direct connection has been established with the Asian virus strain.

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Transcript of President's News Conference

WASHINGTON, July 3 (AP)—

Continuing is the transcript of President Eisenhower's news conference today:

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER—Good morning. Please sit down.

Mr. Hagerty [James C. Hagerty, press secretary] will have available at his office some time this afternoon a statement on the making available, on the Government making available, considerably more D-235 or equivalent for use both at home and abroad in the development of peaceful uses of atomic power, both in research and power plants. And the statement will be ready, I should think, by 4 o'clock.

CHALMERS M. ROBERTS of The Washington Post and Times-Herald—Mr. President, as a result of your remarks last week on disarmament at the press conference, especially what you told us about the scientists who called on you, there appears to be some impression, both at home and abroad, that you and the Administration are less enthusiastic about a disarmament agreement than you had been previously. Could you straighten us out on that, sir?

A.—Well, I think if you will recall my statement—and now I am just depending upon my memory—I think I started out by saying the United States stands firmly by the agreement and the offers it has made in this regard, and we have not withdrawn from that position.

I called to your attention a fact that coming up as a rather new one in this whole scientific field, kept this subject ever from being a static one; it is a very dynamic, fluid sort of subject that you are

working with all the time, but I think I said last week that the political, psychological effects of doing this, going ahead with this thing, were so great that even if you suffered some scientific disadvantage, we should go ahead with it, and I still believe that very firmly; and under the—under the conditions that the United States has always insisted upon, that is, that we have sufficient inspection to know that we are both honest, doing what we said we would do, and that it is coupled with some agreement that at some future date we will cease making bombs out of this material, and devote it all to peaceful purposes, our offer always stands.

CHARLES S. VON FREUND of the Columbia Broadcasting System—An Army specialist named De Wayne McOsker has been jailed by the French on charges that he killed an Algerian. Do you think he should be turned over to our authorities? A.—Well, there was a short report made to me about it, but, as I recall, this was off-duty, and I hope we are talking about the same case. I really do, because the same might escape me—but he was supposedly off-duty, and I believe in a case that

on Foreign Affairs

this occurred. In such event, I would say that the man would be tried by the local authorities the same as would any tourist.

JOHN SCALI of The Associated Press—In order to help us understand the disarmament picture a little more clearly, sir, could you tell us whether on May 23, at which time you laid down the basic guidelines for our disarmament policy, whether you knew that it might be possible within four or five years to produce an absolutely clean bomb, if tests continued; and, secondly, could you also tell us, sir, how the prospect of being able to produce a clean bomb affects what you told us was your objective, several weeks ago, namely, total elimination of these weapons?

A.—Well, now, there are devices that are not necessarily weapons. If you had this clean, completely clean, product, I should think that building of tunnels, or you might say, moving mountains and that sort of thing, you could have many economical, useful, peaceful purposes for the thing and, of course, you wouldn't want to deny civilization the opportunity of using it.

As to the first part of your question, May 23rd, I knew at that time that we had succeeded in reducing the radioactive fall-out from bombs by at least 90 per cent. No one had suggested to me at that moment that we were going to make it completely clean, although Admiral [Lewis L.] Strauss [chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission] had told me that it was certain we would get down to some 95, 96 per cent, which is getting very close to it.

Incidentally, now we are talking, and very hopefully about, about some kind of suspension of tests. But if, even under any circumstances there is another test made, I am going to invite any country in the world that wants to come and fire its rockets in the air and see just exactly how much radio [radioactive] fall-out there is from those bombs because we are not testing to make at this—to make bigger bombs, as I have told you before. We are trying to make small bombs, clean bombs, and to develop usefulness in a peaceful world, as well as just weapons of war.

ROD MACLEISH of Westinghouse Broadcasting—Sir, Mr. President, yesterday Senator [John F.] Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, told the Senate that the United States policy should express a stouter opposition to western colonialism, such as France's position in Algeria, as well as to Communist imperialism. Do you see any means by which this opposi-

expressed in our present policies.

A.—Well, I understand the Secretary of State commented at some length on this matter yesterday. As I have told you before, nothing is more complicated than the questions and problems that involve foreign policy; and any attempt to oversimplify them and just to make one great statement of principle and truth and then say, "That's that, no more," is to ignore the other side of equally intricate problems.

For example, take it at home: I was just asked a question about civil rights. From one side of this picture there is no question. But from the side of people who have lived with a very, very definite social problem for a number of years, there are almost violent reactions on the other side.

Now, the same way foreign policy, in here you have the—you have the whole standing of America in the world involved, the standing of America as a fair nation trying to be decent to all, not taking any particular sides in either domestic or in international quarrels, trying to be a friend to lead back to peace. And I believe the United States' best role as a leader in the world today is to try to be understanding to both sides in any

quarrel if it is any of our business, and we are invited in any way and try to lead them back to peace.

Now, that means often you work behind the scenes, because you don't get up and begin to shout about such things or there will be no effectiveness. Generally speaking, though, I would say read Mr. Dulles' report or reaction to this, which I agree with.

Where Bomb Knowledge
RAYMOND P. BRANDT of

the St. Louis Post-Dispatch—Mr. President, is there any way in which we can share our knowledge on clean bombs with Russia and the other nations which might develop them? A.—Well, I raised that question, Mr. Brandt, the second the scientists talked to me about it, and they said, "Why, the minute that we have proved what we say we are going to prove, why, we would want them to have it." That is just what they—

Q.—That would require legislation, of course? A.—I would think so, yes.

MARTIN S. HAYDEN of The Detroit News—Sir, would you elaborate a little more on this statement that you made that future atomic tests are going to be open to any country that wants to come to watch them? A.—Well, I said this—well, I don't mean to say you take the men and show them all your formula, and all that sort of thing as to what you have done. But I said certain people have questioned

the proposition that Dr. [Ernest O.] Lawrence and Dr. [Edward] Teller brought to me, that eventually you could make completely clean bombs, and that even now you are 96 per cent clean, that it, you have only 4 per cent of radioactivity, radioactive fallout, that you did in the original bomb. I say we would be glad to ask any nation there to put its proper instruments in the air to detect whether or not their contention is true.

LILLIAN LEVY of The National Jewish Post, Indianapolis—Congressman [Ray J.] Madden [Democrat] of Indiana has proposed a resolution that would require all questions used in radio and TV broadcasts of interviews with Communist leaders to be subject to advance clearance by the Secretary of State and the director of C. I. A. Do you believe, sir, that such restrictions can serve any useful purpose?

A.—Well, I don't—you ask a question can it serve any useful purpose: I say this: That our tradition of a free press and free access to knowledge and to opinion is not only very great, but it is guaranteed really by the Constitution, and I would think any such process as you talk about would align us with that type of country where governmental, political governmental, action is a dominant factor instead of the kind of democratic processes that we believe in so thoroughly.

DOUGLASS CATER JR. of The Reporter magazine—Mr. President, within the past year you have failed to reappoint Mr. Dewey Adams of the C. I. A. and Mr. Harry Cain of the Subversive Activities Control Board, and Mr. [Thomas E.] Murray of the

A. E. C. It has been charged that you do not look favorably on the right of the dissenter within these regulatory commissions. I wonder if you could just say broadly what is your philosophy about the right to dissent upon these commissions?

A.—Well, if someone would hear some of the conversations and discussions in conferences in my office there would be no doubt about my approval of the right to dissent. I appoint people to office on the basis of the best I think I can find and I am responsible to myself and to my own conscience in appointing them that way, and that is the way I do it.

PETER LISAGOR of The Chicago Daily News—To get back to the French-Algerian question for just a moment—A. Get back to what?

Q.—The French-Algerian dispute for just a moment—A.—Yes.

Q.—When he returned from Africa, Vice President Nixon made a report to you about the situation in Algeria, as we understand it. Could you tell us whether he made any specific changes for the Administration to take a different approach in the matter? A.—No, no. As a matter of fact,

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Today and Tomorrow

• • By Walter Lippmann

On the Grandchildren's Future



Lippmann

MARSHAL TITO, it turned out, has more than enough to do without being drawn into the discussion, which was started by Khrushchev, about socialism and American grandchildren. This may have been mere discretion but I rather suspect that Tito has learned from his own varied experience that long-range predictions about the future of a social system are almost certain to express little more than the prophet's hopes or fears. Although Marxists like to think that they possess the secrets of history, no Marxist foresaw, or could have foreseen, what now goes by the name of socialism in Yugoslavia.

The only thing we know for certain is that in the twentieth century, there is a rapid and unpredictable evolution in every society, except perhaps in the most primitive and isolated. Khrushchev does not know, he cannot know what will develop in Russia in ten years, much less in America in thirty years.

The Communist world from China to Yugoslavia and Poland, including Russia itself, is not proceeding according to some grand plan, revealed by Marx and Lenin, which leads to a common end; the various Communist regimes are feeling their way, seeking remedies and solutions for their tactical difficulties, and they are rationalizing the absence of a grand and universal principle by saying that there are many roads to socialism. As they take these many and differing roads, they will become many and differing societies.

IF NO ONE KNOWS what socialism will be like in two generations, neither does anyone know what the American economy will be like. It will, of course, not be like the Russian or the Chinese today.

We can be sure of that because the controlling principle in both Russia and in China is the rapid and forced development of an economically and technologically backward country. The American economy, as Communist thinkers themselves often say, has long since reached a stage of development which Russia is still struggling to reach, which China has hardly begun to approach.

So we can be sure that while our grandchildren will experience great changes in the American economy, these changes will not be a reaction to and a recapitulation of the Russian and Chinese experience. Communism may represent a future to a primitive country like China. But for America, Communism is irrelevant, having nothing to do with our highly advanced and complex economy.

The American social order has changed greatly in this century, so greatly that terms like capitalism and free enterprise and competition, which come down to us from the nineteenth century, no longer describe our economy intelligibly.

There have been the wars, and the rise of the United States as a world power with a great military establishment. There has been the fabulous, indeed explosive, increase of the American population. There has been not only the deep and wide technological development, but, with the organization of scientific research, a radically new pace in the application of science.

There has been also, so at least it seems to me, a non-violent but nevertheless revolutionary change in the inner principle of our own social economy. This is the new principle, which goes by the prosaic name of "full employment"—the imperative that the Government must use the fiscal and other powers of the state to keep the demand for labor at least equal to the supply.

Until the present generation this principle was unknown to, much less was it the policy

of, the United States or any other capitalist nation. Its adoption marks a profound change. It would not in my view be an exaggeration to say that it has brought about a revolution in the West which has made the Communist revolutionary propaganda irrelevant and antiquated.

For when the Government is committed to the maintenance of full employment, the bargaining power of labor is underwritten. This means a decisive change in the balance of forces within our society.

THE NEW PRINCIPLE of full employment was formulated during the great depression between the two world wars. Its technique is based on the discovery during the first world war that a government can promote production, regardless of the gold supply, by managing credit and the currency. The impulse to apply the technique of war finance to the peacetime economy came from the huge unemployment and the vast misery of the great depression. The commitment to the new policy comes from the voters who, having learned that unemployment can be prevented, will not tolerate any government which does not prevent it.

Although the principle of full employment was worked out under Roosevelt and Truman, it is now national policy from which no public man, who expects to have a future, would think of dissenting.

WE HAVE not begun to see the full consequences of the new principle. But in all probability, it is the real reason why it appeared that the inflation in which we find ourselves cannot be stopped by the orthodox devices of tight money and a balanced budget. It may well be that a gradual inflation is the inseparable accompaniment of the policy of full employment, and that the two together will gradually but inexorably work a great transformation in the American way of life.

about that, and, I believe, do not mention it in his written report. That is the way I recall, because he was not actually ordered to go to Algeria in that trip. He went to some of the other countries.

He merely pled for, or recommended, understanding and trying to be fair to both sides.

because there is a terrific argument. After all, there is a one million, three or four hundred thousand Europeans in the country, and just turning the whole thing loose could well result in a very great disaster.

I don't know exactly what to do about it, but it is one that you study, realizing it is an internal problem primarily because Algeria was part of metropolitan France, at least legally, and you try to just be as fair and square and helpful as you can.

EDWARD P. MORGAN of The American Broadcasting Company—Mr. President, would it be correct to infer from your invitation this morning about the witnessing of nuclear explosions and the forthcoming announcement this afternoon about the increased distribution of U-235 that the Administration is attempting in this way to refute the argument that we dare not be as sincere in disarmament as we would like to be? I am thinking in terms of the debate that has been going on as to what we would lose and what we would gain by suspending tests.

A.—Mr. Morgan, now you mustn't think that this whole business of disarmament, fluid as it is, is operated on the basis of shooting from the hip. For three long years everybody in the Government, with the aid of task forces, of which we have had people like Dr. Lawrence and Gen. Bedell Smith, and people of that kind, have been working on this thing to develop a policy for the United States. You take that policy and you try to find out how it would affect other nations.

You don't want to go to the Soviets or to any other nation, for example, and make a proposal that affects a third country without that third country's approval, because then you suddenly become like Napoleon and Alexander, on a raft in the Vistula, settling the fate of Europe.

We are not doing that. So you do have, though, the problem, after you make out a program that seems logical and decent to us as a country, to go and take up the problem with Germany, with France, with NATO, the whole NATO group, with Britain, with Canada, everybody that is affected by that proposal, in order that you don't just destroy the whole effort by sudden recalcitrance because someone believes their own sovereignty or their own rights have been ignored.

Now, we have very valued allies and friends, and we try to work with them very, very closely in all such things. Now this means that from time to time, as new information becomes available, it becomes very difficult or, I mean, it takes a long, sort of laborious process, to get everybody in line again. This is not easy.

But on the other hand, there is no shooting from the hip. It is all based on long, earnest studies by the finest people we can get together.

Red Submarines for Egypt

MILTON FRIEDMAN of The Jewish Telegraphic Agency—Could you give us your thinking, sir, on the furnishing of submarines by the Soviet Union to Egypt, and the question of peace and stability in the Middle East? A.—Well, I would say it was unhelpful; that is all I would say about it.

DAYTON MOORE of The United Press—Thank you, Mr. President.

C. S. Meutter

JUL 1 1957

London: Dr. Libby Arrives

Dr. Willard F. Libby of the United States Atomic Energy Commission has told newspapermen that the United States and Britain share the lead in developing atomic energy for peaceful purposes. He arrived June 30 for a visit to Britain. Asked about the prospects for development of a hydrogen bomb without radioactive fallout, Dr. Libby said the United States has made good progress.

CPYRGHT

Washington Post
JUL 5 1957
CPYRGHT

Matter of Fact

Soviet ICBM

By Stewart Alsop

THE American Government now has convincing evidence that the Soviets have successfully tested their first experimental version of a long-range, multi-stage ballistic missile.



Stewart Alsop

The Soviet prototype was tested only a few weeks before Atlas, the first American version of an intercontinental ballistic missile, was blown up off the Florida coast, on June 11.

This first Soviet test of an ICBM prototype is, of course, an event of grave international significance. It is comparable, as a technical achievement, to the first Soviet test of any atomic bomb, in 1949, and to the first Soviet hydrogen bomb test, in 1953. Eventually, it may be expected to have the same profound effect on the world balance of power as those two Soviet technical triumphs.

The ICBM has been called "the ultimate weapon" because there is no known defense against it. A fully operational ICBM is designed to fly half way round the world at several hundred miles altitude, in a matter of minutes, armed with a thermonuclear warhead, characteristics which suggest why any defense against it is for the present wholly theoretical.

THE Soviet test version was a multi-stage rocket with an "operational configuration." In other words, it was a first test version of a weapon designed for ultimate military use, rather than a mere research vehicle. This does not mean, of course, that the Soviets will have operational ICBMs in strategically decisive quantities in the very near future. There is a long, difficult road to travel between the first test firing of a prototype multi-stage long range missile and the achievement of an operational weapons system.

An ICBM consists essentially of three parts—the enormous first stage rocket which powers the initial flight, the second stage rocket which carries the warhead over the target area, and the warhead itself. The first stage must be tested again and again to eliminate "bugs." Then the accurate "divorce" of the second stage from the first must also be repeatedly tested—it

is no easy task to launch one rocket from the back of another, traveling at many times the speed of sound, so accurately that the second rocket remains on course.

Finally, a thermonuclear warhead must also be designed capable of withstanding the terribly high temperatures caused by the friction of the re-entry of the rocket into the earth's atmosphere. And, once all these problems have been solved, it is then necessary to build decisive numbers of these enormously complicated and expensive weapons, construct launching sites for them, and train personnel in the complex business of maintaining and operating them.

ICBM bases are, compared with bases for long range aircraft, mobile and easily concealed. If both sides have an operational ICBM base system, neither side can knock out the other's delivery system. But if the Soviets are the first to create an operational ICBM system, they could then, in a surprise attack, destroy the strategic air force bases, and thus the American capacity to retaliate decisively. No one can judge whether they might actually do so. But the opportunities for blackmailing the United States into accepting a super-Munich are obvious, and past history suggests that the Soviets would certainly take advantage of these opportunities.

This is enough to suggest why the Soviet, in the midst of the talk of disarmament and "peaceful coexistence," have made an enormous effort to win the ICBM race.

Though we have not yet lost the ICBM race, we have received clear warning that we may lose the race. And the Soviet ICBM test is only the latest item in an accumulating wealth of evidence, which will be described in a forthcoming report, that the Soviet have made giant strides in missile development.

These Soviet triumphs have been achieved at a time when the American missile effort is being sharply cut back in the name of economy and in deference to the budget ceiling. Because this is so, the decision has apparently been taken to play down the danger, and to hush up the evidence of the first Soviet prototype test. Yet the test occurred, and it has gravely shaken the highest official circles as well it might.

CPYRGHT

Washington Post
JUL 5 1957

Macmillan Says Britain 'Progresses' on H-Bomb

Reuters

Prime Minister Harold Macmillan told the House of Commons today that Britain was making progress towards the production of "clean" hydrogen bombs.

But he added, in reply to questions, that it would not be in the public interest to disclose details.

He said the point, said the public

was entitled to some information about it. This was a "very urgent matter which affects the peace, health and happiness of mankind," he said. The Prime Minister replied: "Any progress towards the production of clean bombs would not have taken place at all if I had yielded to what you and your friends wanted, which was not to test."

Washington Post
JUL 5 1957

Stepping Out

In terms of its impact on world opinion, the American response to Russia's proposal for a suspension of nuclear weapon tests seems grudging and conditional. Valerian Zorin, the Soviet delegate to the London conference, offered a two-to three-year cessation of tests. Harold Stassen, the American delegate, has now offered in return, in behalf of the United States, to halt nuclear tests for 10 months, provided the Russians will agree to stop making bomb material, with an actual cutoff about 1959. It would have reflected much greater credit on the United States if the initial suspension proposal had come from this country with the support of its allies. Unfortunately, the difficulties of securing agreement in the West have enabled Russia to seize the initiative.

Ten months is not a very long or impressive suspension period. It was made brief, no doubt, in order to fix a deadline for Soviet acceptance of the proposed halt in production of fissionables. But the tentative nature of the American suspension plan, together with the condition attached to it gives rise, inescapably, to some suspicion that the United States is less enthusiastic about achieving agreement than it might be. And this suspicion may well have been augmented by the hope which President Eisenhower expressed at his news conference a week ago that a completely "clean" bomb might be developed if testing could continue.

At his news conference yesterday, the President helped to dispel this suspicion. The political and psychological benefits of reaching some agreement with the Russians would be so great, he pointed out, that they would outweigh the scientific disadvantages of suspending further tests. For this reason, he said, he still believes firmly that the United States should go ahead with the effort to work out a firm agreement. This seems to us the heart of the matter. The political and psychological benefits are so immensely important that they would warrant acceptance of a single-step suspension agreement if the two-step proposal advanced by the United States could not be achieved. One step leads to another. The indispensable thing is to get moving.

JUN 28 1957

Nutting Says Red Aim Is Time to Match U.S.

Asserts Soviets Will Try to Get It With Arms Pact on Their Terms

This is the second of two articles by Anthony Nutting, former British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, who is a special writer for the New York Herald Tribune.

By Anthony Nutting

At Khrushchev's latest proposals for the suspension of nuclear tests should be rejected as dangerous and inadequate, is there any hope of Russia accepting a Western counter-proposal and what should that counter-proposal contain? I am sorry to say that all the signs are that the Soviets would not at present accept anything that we should regard as adequate and safe. What they want is time to develop their guided missile program and to accumulate their nuclear weapon stockpiles. If they cannot get it as part of a one-sided disarmament agreement on their own terms, they will for the present go without an agreement.



Nutting

A leading French authority put it this way. "If the Americans have thousands of H-bombs, the Russians are still in the hundreds, and they are determined to catch up."

Of course the exponents of agreement-at-any-price will say that it would not matter if Russia caught up and achieved parity with America. They argue that what matters is to stop the tests before the world becomes sterilized or disintegrated or both. They forget that the disarmament committee is charged with the job of working out a disarmament agreement not a health convention. They forget too, or deliberately ignore, the prodigious effort which Russia is putting into guided missile development.

On the information at my disposal, I should not be surprised if the Soviets are well ahead of everyone else in this sphere, including the United States. With this thought in mind, it would be most dangerous nonsense to pretend that an agreement to suspend tests was the beginning of disarmament.

Apart from anything else such an agreement would not tackle the "fourth country" problem. France for one has said she would accept no agreement, short or long term, unless it included a cut-off of nuclear poses. There are others who

get the same, and who would not stand idly by and watch the three nuclear powers of today go on perfecting and increasing their weapon stocks while the rest of the world was excluded from the club.

Such class distinction would be resisted on grounds of prestige let alone security. Hasn't Prime Minister Macmillan said that Britain's possession of the H-bomb would not only increase her security but would strengthen her influence in the councils of the world? And would not such countries as Western Germany, Japan and Israel, not to mention Communist China like to do both of these things? And each of these countries have, or could acquire, the wherewithal to make nuclear weapons.

They could hardly be expected herefore meekly to subscribe to an agreement proposed by the nuclear powers of today which in terms seeks to sustain their monopoly and, by permitting unlimited production of weapons, even to expand it? And once the nuclear secret is possessed of seven or eight nations, how long before it is common property?

Another Danger In Red Approach

There is another danger in accepting the Soviet piecemeal approach. This is a slippery slope. Once a suspension of tests was in effect, it would then be argued that we should accept the Russian proposals for conventional disarmament.

"Don't complicate things by making a German settlement a precondition" we should be told. Soviet propaganda would parade their latest reductions from 4.6 to 2.8 million men, conveniently ignoring that the purpose of these cuts was not disarmament but modernization. Would the British and American public, hungry for peace and weary of war (cold and hot variety), be robust enough to resist these further calls to abandon their vigilance and their friends? It would be better not to risk it.

In all the disarmament negotiations the Soviets have two enormous advantages over the Western powers.

First, they only have to consult themselves — and possibly Peiping. They give orders to their European allies. Each Western nation has not only to consult its three committee partners but the fifteen-member council of NATO and, in the case of Britain, eight members of the Commonwealth as well.

Second, the Soviets can always exploit the inherent weakness that they cannot stick to an

policy for very long if it involves sacrificing a rising standard of living. Western co-ordination in the disarmament committee has never been good. (It was just as bad in my day!) The Western members appear sometimes over-eager; sometimes hesitant and negative. Because they do not know and cannot agree what they want, they have no joint positive proposals.

Britain Wants A Stockpile

The United States and France want an immediate stoppage of H-bomb production. But Britain, lagging badly in the atomic race, wants time to concoct a stockpile from the recipe which she has just acquired. Her new defense policy has staked the entire security of the nation on nuclear weapons. If Russia and America agreed tomorrow to a cut-off, Britain would be in an impossible fix. However unlikely this may be, Britain is reluctant to go along with America and France in insisting that a cessation of tests be accompanied by a cut-off of production. This problem could and should be overcome by America agreeing to sell weapons to Britain now that she has the recipe.

France attaches far less importance to political settlements than do Britain and America. Too many Frenchmen would like to see Germany stay divided. Yet no disarmament agreement would be carried beyond the most preliminary stages until Germany had been settled.

If the Russians are not to run still more rings round us and if our public opinion is not to run away with us, the Western powers must agree forthwith on an effective counter-proposal to checkmate the latest Soviet move. They must insist that testing and producing nuclear weapons be prohibited simultaneously, and they should include guided missiles in this category. They should also insist that aerial inspection areas cover both sides equally. Finally they should hold firm that political settlements are an essential precondition of large-scale disarmament.

No doubt Russia would reject such a proposal. Russia will for the present reject any short-term plan which limits her nuclear program and any long-term plan which demands a German settlement. Bulgarian and Khrushchev made that very plain at Geneva and again in London a year ago, when they dismissed the division of Germany as "irrelevant" to the disarmament problem.

But the West must not be afraid to remind public opinion that a bad agreement is far worse than no agreement. We must re-emphasize the relevance of Russia's nuclear build-up and Germany's future to any disarmament scheme. If we ignore the one and betray the other to get agreement for agreement's sake, we shall be mortgaging our security and selling short our friends.

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N. Y. Times

JUL 5 1957

3 OUSTED SOVIET LEADERS ALSO LOSE STATE OFFICES;

NEXT STEP WAITED

Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov Are Punished Further

By WILLIAM J. JORDEN
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, July 4—Three Soviet leaders already ousted from the Communist party hierarchy lost their high Government posts today.

News of the Government dismissals came a day after the disclosure that the three men, Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Georgi M. Malenkov and Lazar M. Kaganovich, had been removed from both the Communist party's Central Committee and the committee's Presidium.

All three men were former intimates of Stalin and as members of the Presidium belonged to the most powerful single body in the Soviet system.

The question asked in Moscow tonight was what would happen next to the "dogmatists and opportunists," as the three dismissed men were called. They continue as members of the party.

Cabinet Shifts Listed

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, highest state body in the Soviet system, announced the following changes tonight in the Cabinet of Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin:

Mr. Molotov was ousted from his job as a First Deputy Premier and as Minister of State Control, a post equivalent to Government auditor.

Mr. Malenkov removed from his post as a Deputy Premier and Minister of Electric Power Stations.

Mr. Kaganovich was dismissed from his First Deputy Premiership. He held no Cabinet portfolio since his Ministry of the Building Materials Industry had been abolished in the recent economic reorganization.

Alexei E. Pavlenko was named as Mr. Malenkov's successor in the Electric Power Stations post, which Mr. Pavlenko had held before Mr. Malenkov's appointment in February.

1957. No other vacancies were filled.

Reports Unconfirmed

It was impossible to confirm reports circulated outside the Soviet Union that Messrs. Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich had been placed under house arrest. That would be a logical procedure if the three men were to be placed on trial for their activities.

The indictment of the Central Committee that was published last night did not suggest they had been guilty of criminal acts, but their anti-party activities could be elaborated with little difficulty into crimes against the people.

The Soviet Government made official tonight its earlier promise that compulsory deliveries to the state from the private plots of collective farmers would be ended next Jan. 1.

Henceforth farmers have been required to turn in to the state certain percentages of the meat and vegetable produce they raised on private plots assigned to them by the collective farm.

Opposition by Messrs. Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich to the abolition of these compulsory deliveries was listed by the party yesterday as one of the reasons for their dismissal.

Developments at the top of pyramid of the Soviet leadership were almost the only topic of conversation at the traditional July 4 reception given today by the United States Embassy. The party was held at Spaso House, the Ambassador's residence, where Richard Davis, Chargé d'Affaires, acted as host.

The Soviet leadership was represented only by Anastas I. Mikoyan, veteran party Presidium member, Nikolai M. Shvernik, newly appointed full member of that fifteen-man body, and Andrei A. Gromyko, Foreign Minister. They seemed their usual selves as they chatted and drank with members of Moscow's diplomatic community and a host of visiting Americans.

Asked what effect the removal of Messrs. Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich would

have, Mr. Mikoyan replied, "everything will be the same, only better." He indicated there would be no major policy changes but that things would go more smoothly with the three

Although neither Nikita S. Khrushchev, the party secretary nor his constant companion, Premier Bulganin, appeared at the party, it was announced officially that they would leave for a state visit to Czechoslovakia July 8. Their visit had been postponed, presumably because of the developments of the last two weeks.

Much of speculation in Moscow tonight centered on what changes, if any, could be expected from the Kremlin as a result of the changes in leadership. Interest was focused on foreign policy. The dismissed leaders had been accused of opposing the Soviet policy of promoting better relations with all countries.

Mr. Mikoyan gave no hint at the party that there would be any alteration in the Kremlin's general line in domestic or foreign affairs.

Mr. Mikoyan was engaged in earnest conversation with Yugoslav Ambassador Veljko Micunovic. One of the things Mr. Molotov was specifically criticized for was opposition to the restoration of friendly relations with Yugoslavia.

Mass Meetings Held

The Soviet leadership did not rely on the bare announcement of the removal of Messrs. Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich to convince the Soviet public that the action was both necessary and desirable. Newspapers today were filled with reports of mass meetings that had been held in most major cities in advance of the official announcement.

The most important of those meetings was held in Moscow Tuesday evening. The audience heard speeches by Mr. Khrushchev, Premier Bulganin and Miss Yekaterina A. Furtseva, newly appointed to regular membership in the party Presidium and the only woman ever to reach that position.

At the meeting party officials, engineers and workers spoke in support of the party's action against the three men who had been dismissed. Messrs. Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich were accused of "conspiratorial methods" in trying to set up an "anti-party faction."

Special fire was directed against Mr. Molotov, who has been in the highest Soviet circle longer than any living man. One speaker at the Moscow meeting said that as Minister of State Control Mr. Molotov, instead of promoting party decisions, had "written letters against those decisions."

Some Mysteries Remain

One of the mysteries that here was what had happened to

Dmitri T. Shepilov. He had been mentioned only once in the party indictment of the ousted leaders, and the only for having "sided with them."

Mr. Shepilov was dismissed from all his party posts as alternate member of the Presidium, member of the Central Committee and one of the party secretaries. He held no Government post since he resigned as Foreign Minister last March.

Another mystery was what had happened to Maxim Z. Saburov, one the Soviet Union's top economic planner. He was dropped from the party Presidium without explanation and had not even been made a candidate as had his colleague in economic planning, Mikhail G. Pervukhin.

Mr. Mikoyan said tonight that Mr. Saburov still was a member of the Central Committee. He said, too, that Mr. Pervukhin had been demoted because of his "youth and inexperience."

N. Y. Times

JUL 5 1957

MALENKOV OUSTER POSES A PROBLEM

Khrushchev Group May Find It Hard to Destroy His Popularity With Farmers

By HARRY SCHWARTZ

Nikita S. Khrushchev's victorious group of Soviet leaders began yesterday to cope with their internal problem in the wake of their latest purge—the wide popularity of Georgi M. Malenkov.

Yesterday's announcement that produce grown in peasant gardens would be freed from Government requisitions Jan. 1 seemed clearly calculated to win favor among millions who welcomed former Premier Malenkov's 1953 promises of higher living standards. Collective farmers will be allowed to sell the produce grown on private plots at the relatively high prices prevailing in the Soviet free market, thus raising their income and purchasing power.

The political intent of the move was underlined by the fact that the communiqué announcing the Moscow action asserted that Mr. Malenkov and his fellows had opposed the change. Mr. Khrushchev had held out this concession as a possibility in a speech earlier this year.

Soviet farmers, however, may not be satisfied. Their personal garden plots are usually half an acre or less. Most Soviet food is grown on the common lands owned by the collective farms to which almost all peasants belong, and Government exactions from these farms—exactions paid for at prices far below the free market rate—will continue.

If all compulsory deliveries were abolished and all produce was sold at prices determined by supply and demand—as has been

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...in Hungary since the resolution there—then presumably peasant income would rise very substantially. But the price of food to city workers might then rise too, creating new political problems.

Concession to Farmers

Mr. Khrushchev's original speech suggesting the concession to the farmers indicated the sensitive nature of this move. He mentioned the likelihood that his proposal would improve the political atmosphere in Soviet villages. Even such an indirect hint of popular discontent is rare in official Soviet statements.

The collective farms, which were formed after a difficult struggle in the early Nineteen Thirties, make up about 90 per cent of Soviet agriculture. They are operated by machinery that rented from Government-owned and operated machine tractor stations. Members of collective farms share the net income in proportion to the work each one does. In addition, the Soviet Union has state farms owned by the Government and operated by hired workers who are paid as factory hands are.

It remains to be seen whether Soviet farmers believe that Mr. Malenkov and the other ousted Soviet leaders opposed this concession as asserted in the official Communist party communiqué.

Doubt on this point arises for at least two reasons:

First, Government requisitions from the private gardens were sharply reduced earlier in the post-Stalin period, while the now ousted leaders were still very powerful. Under Stalin, the exactions from these gardens were so heavy that many peasants found it wiser to slaughter their cows rather than keep them and have to deliver what the Government required.

Second, the communiqué asserted that the ousted leaders opposed raising material incentives for farmers, that is to say they opposed raising prices the Government pays the collective farms for their produce. But the first major increase in such prices was announced in September 1953 while Mr. Malenkov was Premier of the Soviet Union.

Other Discrepancies

There were also other discrepancies in the official communiqué explaining the ouster of the leaders.

The most striking seemed to be the linking of Dmitri T. Shepilov as a fellow conspirator with Mr. Malenkov. This raised doubts because in January, 1955, Mr. Shepilov gave the public signal for the policy change that preceded Mr. Malenkov's resignation as Soviet Premier.

Mr. Shepilov then was the author of a major article in Pravda that laid down the thesis that the "general line of the party" was the absolute primacy of heavy industry over consumer goods industry. Premier Malenkov had been identified since the summer of 1953 with a policy of much higher priority for consumer goods production.

Linking of Mr. Shepilov with former Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov in the alleged conspiracy also seemed to raise doubts.

Mr. Molotov was known to have opposed the Soviet reconciliation with President Tito of Yugoslavia. He was released from his post as Foreign Minister on the eve of Marshal Tito's arrival in Moscow in June, 1956. But Mr. Shepilov had previously been publicly identified as a supporter of the policy of Soviet-Yugoslav reconciliation.

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Shepilov accompanied Mr. Khrushchev to Belgrade when the latter apologized for the 1948 excommunication of the Yugoslav Communists. In Belgrade, according to Yugoslav sources, Mr. Shepilov acted as Mr. Khrushchev's expert and sought to find means of reconciling Soviet and Yugoslav views on the nature of socialism. Having replaced Mr. Molotov as Foreign Minister, Mr. Shepilov welcomed Marshal Tito to Moscow in June, 1956.

A Khrushchev Collaborator

Thus, all the evidence hitherto available about Mr. Shepilov's role these last few years points to the conclusion that he was one of Mr. Khrushchev's closest collaborators, and owed to Mr. Khrushchev his election as a Communist party Secretary in

February, 1956. This public evidence clashes completely with the present assertions that he was associated with the Molotov-Malenkov "anti-party faction."

Whether the Malenkov-Molotov group will ever have a chance to tell its side of the conflict remains to be seen. There are conflicting precedents among which the Soviet leaders may choose to govern themselves in deciding these men's fate.

The closest analogue to the present situation in Soviet history took place in October, 1927. Then two major Soviet leaders, Leon Trotsky and Gregory Zinoviev, were expelled from the Central Committee session set up along the same lines as that which expelled the Malenkov-Molotov group last week.

It was not until a decade or more later that Stalin began the murder of his most prominent political opponents, and then the majority of the most prominent were killed after trials at which they publicly "confessed" treachery.

Mr. Khrushchev's attack on Stalin last year emphasized that Lenin, unlike Stalin, neither believed in nor practiced the imprisonment or shooting of his internal Communist party opponents.

On the other hand, former Soviet secret police chief Laurenti P. Beria was executed in December, 1953, after having been purged in June, 1953.

N. Y. Times

JUL 5 1957

CPYRGHT

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SHIFT IN SATELLITES BEGUN

RUMANIANS REACT

2 Stalinists Dropped by Politburo—Other Moves Indicated

By SYDNEY GRUSON

Special to The New York Times

PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia, July 5

Two members of the Rumanian Communist party's politburo were dismissed today as shock waves from the shake-up in the Soviet Communist leadership began spreading through Eastern Europe.

The two men whose removal was announced in Bucharest were Miron Constantinescu and Iosif Chisinevsky, who also lost his job as a secretary of the party's Central Committee. Both men, whose membership in the Politburo placed them in the top ranks of the Rumanian party, were known as tough old-line Stalinists.

[In Budapest, supporters of Premier Janos Kadar predicted that the Moscow events would strengthen the hand of the Hungarian leader with the country's Communist party. The East German Communist leadership hailed the Soviet shake-up.]

Action by Rumanian Chiefs

According to Ager press, the official Rumanian news agency, George Georgeghiu-Dej, the Rumanian party's First Secretary, delivered a report to the Central Committee on the consequences of the Soviet party's Twentieth Congress in February, 1956, at which Stalin was downgraded. Both M. Chisinevsky and M. Constantinescu had attended the Twentieth Congress in Moscow.

The communiqué issued by Ager press said the Central Committee agreed with the conclusions drawn in the report presented by M. Georgeghiu-Dej. One of these conclusions was that M. Chisinevsky and M. Constantinescu had to go.

[Ager press reported that the Central Committee had voted to oust the two men during a five-day meeting that ended Tuesday, according to news agencies. It said M. Constantinescu kept his Government posts as First Deputy Premier and Minister of Education and Culture.

[M. Chisinevski had been regarded as the right-hand man of M. Georgeghiu-Dej, and M. Constantinescu has served as the Rumanian Communists' expert on education. Both men are long-time Moscow-trained Communists.]

Others Expected to Fall

It was generally believed that other leaders of the Communist world would also fall before the effects of the dramatic actions in Moscow died away.

In other parts of Eastern Europe, immediate reaction ranged from the Czechoslovak party's silence to outright jubilation in Belgrade and Warsaw, the headquarters of the two Communist parties that have struggled hardest in this part of the world for independence from Moscow's dictation.

Alexander Rankovic, one of Yugoslav's four Vice Presi-

ents and a confidant of Marshal Tito, predicted that the Moscow decisions would have "far-reaching positive consequences." He called the removal of what he described as the "Malenkov group" from the Soviet leadership as a "great victory" that would be "reflected positively in the relations of the Soviet Union with other countries."

The Polish party's newspapers

transcends the frontiers of the Soviet Union," said Zycie Warszawy. And Trybuna Ludu, organ of the Polish Central Committee, commented:

"Our party is solidly behind the decisions of the Soviet party and sees in them the victory of living, creative Marxism-Leninism."

One theme was common to all Polish newspaper comment. It was to the effect that the Soviet party now was experiencing a struggle similar to that undertaken by the Poles after Wladyslaw Gomulka's return to power last October on a program of liberalized communism.

Gain for 'Socialist Unity'

The afternoon paper Express Wieczorny said that the downfall of Soviet dogmatists should be a warning to those Communists in Poland "who would like to halt the changes happening here." Zycie Warszawy also used the occasion to reiterate the Polish party's determination to find the "Polish road to socialism," to which Vyacheslav M. Molotov had been considered the major barrier in the Soviet party presidium.

Moscow's actions, Zycie Warszawy added, "bring the working class of Poland closer to the Soviet nation, for they serve a true and sincere unity of the Socialist countries."

General Rankovic, speaking at a rally in Prijedor, Bosnia, of partisans gathered to celebrate the start of Marshal Tito's World War II uprising against the Germans, said:

"All progressive and peace-loving forces in the world will welcome these changes as a great victory of the people of the Soviet Union and their party, as a victory of those forces that are struggling for the maintenance of peace, for constructive cooperation among peoples and countries and for strengthening of socialism in the world."

Advance Notice Indicated

Moscow's actions, General Rankovic added, were "proof of the vital capacity of Soviet society and of its Socialist forces, who can go steadily along the road chartered for them by the

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Twentyeth Congress [of the Soviet Communist party] and can energetically remove all obstacles on that road."

The dismissals of M. Chist-nevsky and M. Constantinescu

in Rumania and an editorial in Nepszabadsag, the Hungarian Communist party newspaper, indicated that prior notice of the Moscow decisions had been given other Communist parties. The Rumanian Central Committee apparently met shortly after the Moscow Central Committee meeting ended on June 28. Nepszabadsag said the Hungarian party's Central Committee had unanimously adopted a resolution of approval after hearing of the decisions.

Both in Warsaw and in Prague there was a noticeable air of suppressed excitement today. Newspapers with the news from Moscow were sold out swiftly. Most persons seemed to think that the changes in the Soviet leadership were an important beginning, but of what they did not know.

Kadar's Backers Pleased

By ELIE ABEL

CPYRGHT The New York Times. BUDAPEST, Hungary, July 4

Supporters of Premier Janos Kadar welcomed today the changes in the Soviet leadership. They predicted that the consolidation of Nikita S. Khrushchev's authority in the Kremlin would strengthen Mr. Kadar's hand with the Hungarian Communist party.

In a front-page editorial titled "On the Road of the Twentieth Congress," the Hungarian party organ Nepszabadsag said this morning:

"The revolution of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party also helps our party to overcome existing and reviving mistakes and sectarian methods and feelings. It is possible that at the same time certain revisionists or revisionism-minded persons will try to use the present resolution * * * to justify and strengthen their * * * ambitions and inclinations. Of course one must stand up with proper firmness against such phenomena, aimed at ideological troublemaking."

At a conference of his own party last week-end Mr. Kadar had no apparent difficulty in overcoming a challenge from the old Stalinist wing led by Jozsef Reval, former Minister of Culture and arch-enemy of the intellectuals who sparked the October uprising. Mr. Reval got a seat on the new Hungarian Central Committee, however, along with Imre Dogel, Minister of Agriculture, also regarded as a Stalinist.

'Sectarian Methods' Scored

The Stalinist group obviously was the target of Nepszabadsag's attack on "dogmatic mistakes and sectarian methods." The so-called revisionists, many of whom refused to rejoin the Kadar group after the crushing of the revolution, are the followers of Imre Nagy, the National Communist Premier now in exile to Rumania.

Mr. Kadar evidently had had advance knowledge of the Soviet shake-up. The action in Moscow took place during a Central Committee meeting from June 22 to 29, which also was the last day of the Hungarian party conference in Budapest.

With the Kremlin's blessing, Mr. Kadar consolidated his grip on the party apparatus, acquiescing to the Central Committee as a token of unity.

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The official press announced today that Mr. Kadar had left Budapest on vacation. His destination was not disclosed. Deputy Premier Antal Apró and Sandor Rónai, President of Parliament, also were on holiday.

Also close to the party leadership said it would be unrealistic to expect any thoroughgoing changes in Budapest as a consequence of the Soviet move. The Hungarian party, they maintained, cannot afford a relaxation until the "counter-revolutionary forces" have been wiped out and the continuance of Communist rule has been assured.

German Reds Voice Approval

CPYRGHT The New York Times.

BERLIN, July 4—The East German Communist leadership has declared itself unequivocally in support of the Kremlin action against what was termed here the "hostile group of [Georgi M.] Malenkov, [Lazar M.] Kaganovich and [Vyacheslav M.] Molotov." A communiqué issued today interpreted all the latest Soviet developments under the leadership of Mr. Khrushchev as soundly working out the policy established at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist party. It added:

"The slanderous campaign against Comrade Khrushchev is in reality an attack on the leading role of the party and is opposed to the carrying out of the wishes of the Twentieth Party Congress."

East Germany's Communist officials said they had been informed about the discussions of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party concerning "inner party problems."

They were informed also that "the group of Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov, hostile to the party, had erected hindrances to carrying out decisions of the Twentieth party Congress and had led an unprincipled fight against the implementing of decisions and measures for carrying out" the program of the party congress, their statement said.

Deputy Premier Walter Ulbricht, the East German party leader, now will face the task of demonstrating that his course in the last sixteen months has been correct.

Immediately after the Communist rank and file in East Germany learned last year that Mr. Khrushchev had attacked Stalin, a campaign was started against Herr Ulbricht. He was described as a Stalinist in his loyalty and in his methods of party control. Thus far, however, the party chief has survived all attacks.

Washington Post

JUL 5 1957

Red Embassy Reacts

Quickly to Purges

CPYRGHT BERLIN, July 4 (INS)

The interior decorations scheme of the Soviet Embassy in East Berlin was revised quickly today to fit developments in Moscow.

Eight portraits of V. M. Molotov and Georgi Malenkov—dismissed from their party and government posts—were removed from the Embassy walls.

A spokesman added that a bust of Stalin will be removed from the building to be located.

Washington Post

JUL 5 1957

Russian Peril to U. S. Seen Undiminished

By John M. Hightower

Associated Press

CPYRGHT

Nikita Khrushchev's victory over the Stalinist bloc in Moscow means to United States officials that Russia will now develop with cunning and determination the "soft" policies toward the outside world which threaten the West with grave dangers.

The whole set of Soviet policies bundled up under the label of "peaceful coexistence" has been brought to its fullest development during the past four years, while Khrushchev has been the foremost figure in the Kremlin.

The policies with which he has become identified create grave threats for the United States and its Western allies. In sum, as analyzed by the experts here, they are designed to strengthen Russia economically and militarily while juggling the fears of foreign countries about the Soviets' aggressive aim. If the West relaxes, its determination to make the tremendous effort necessary for its own security could melt away.

Sinister Aim

The "soft" Khrushchev policies, if they are merely a cynical mask for sinister aims, are the ones most likely to produce a stronger Soviet Union and a weaker North Atlantic alliance. Conceivably they even succeed in easing some of Russia's relations with the European satellite countries and thereby strengthen the Communist bloc. Certainly they may contribute to more flexible and adjustable relations between Moscow and the capital of Chinese communism at Peking.

Khrushchev has appeared to many experts here to be a hard-boiled, eminently practical man with the same dedication to the world-wide triumph of communism as Stalin professed but with far greater resourcefulness and agility in driving toward that goal.

Foreign Policy

With respect to foreign policy, Khrushchev has talked down the chances of armed conflict and talked up the contest of political and economic forces between the Communist and free worlds. However, he occasionally relapses into a kind of classic Kremlin attack on

the United States as a threat to world peace.

He has appeared to accept the fact and the implications of the nuclear stalemate between Moscow and Washington. It is conceivable that he thinks, as do some top American officials, that the stalemate can be translated into a partial disarmament pact. The reasoning behind this view is that if the United States and Russia have produced a standoff at a high level of military preparation, why could they not get the same result at lower cost all around by an agreement to cut back their arms burden?

Those policies, and others of similar nature, constitute what has become known as the "soft" Soviet line under Khrushchev. The "hard" Stalinist line presumably called for tighter reins over the satellite countries, tougher public attitudes toward the West, perhaps more reckless action in the Middle East, perhaps more suppression of the growing self-assertion of Poland.

N. Y. Times

JUL 5 1957

WASHINGTON CALM ON SOVIET CHANGE

Its Policy Seems to Be One of Waiting to See What Khrushchev Does Next

By JAMES RESTON

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 4—The

Administration was calm and silent today despite the political upheaval in Moscow.

Those few officials who were here on the holiday were generally hopeful but careful about the dismissal of the old Stalinists in the Soviet Government. Most of the United States Government leaders were away from the capital or unavailable.

President Eisenhower was playing golf in the Blue Ridge. Secretary of State Dulles was off at his cabin on Duck Island in Lake Ontario. Christian A. Herter, Acting Secretary of State, was referring all calls to the duty officer at the State Department, who was home with his family. And even the Voice of America was merely pumping out unofficial reactions to the Kremlin storm.

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Washington Post
JUL 4 1957

Khrushchev Gains Power In Red Purge

The Kremlin shakeup makes Nikita Khrushchev "top dog" in the Soviet Union but he is not a Stalin.

This was one conclusion of American experts who yesterday sought to unravel the meaning of the surprise purge of those who have stood in the way of the boss of the Soviet Communist Party.

A price Khrushchev had to pay for kicking out the men who objected to his speedup in internal economic changes was to give the Red Army a stronger position—the promotion of Soviet Defense Minister Georgi Zhukov from candidate to full membership on the ruling Presidium, some experts felt. The general disposition here yesterday was to reject the idea that Khrushchev had reached, or would reach, the one-man ruling status of the late Josef Stalin. The Army would not permit it, these experts felt.

The Soviet Union will continue to be run by a "collective leadership" but with Khrushchev much more domi-

nant and more surrounded by "yes men," was the view.

The Kremlin dispute sprang essentially from domestic issues, according to the prevailing Washington assessment. Khrushchev is rated a "full speed ahead" man, determined to reorganize the Soviet economy and to run roughshod over those who say it can't be done, or can't be done as quickly as he says it can and must. In his recent television appearance, Khrushchev showed his contempt for such ideas.

It was noted that the men Khrushchev had moved up as well as those rated as his long-time followers all held their posts or were promoted. Among them were the new economic boss, F. R. Kozlov.

The purge of "Old Bolsheviks" V. M. Molotov and Lazar Kaganovich was explained as the dumping of men who resisted Khrushchev's carrot-and-stick efforts to improve the Soviet economy. On the other hand the dumping of Georgi Malenkov was explained as getting rid of a man who had argued that industrial goals should be cut to produce more consumer goods, a position poles apart from the Molotov-Kaganovich line.

The foreign policy ramifications of the move seemed less clear. Many experts hazarded a guess, but not much more, that it might make it easier to come to terms at the London disarmament talks since Khrushchev has sounded as though he wanted agreement. Molotov long has viewed with suspicion any form of business with the Western powers.

Change Taken in Stride

At 6 o'clock this evening, there was still no official appraisal of the significance of the Soviet changes from the United States Embassy in Moscow, and until dark, when the annual fireworks display illuminated the Mall beside the Washington Monument, downtown Washington seemed almost neglected.

This would not have happened a few years ago. Lesser changes in the past in Moscow have created much more of a stir, but Washington is finally taking the mysteries of Moscow in its stride.

As to the meaning of the changes, State Department officials handling Soviet affairs, were recalling the statement made just a year ago today by Gen. Nathan F. Twining, retired

Air Force Chief of Staff, when he returned from Moscow.

"Nobody is an expert on Russia," he said. "There are only varying degrees of ignorance."

With this in mind, nobody here was being very dogmatic about what to expect, but all were pleased that the victors in the Kremlin struggle were those who had at least given lip service to peace, disarmament and more freedom in the Communist empire.

The general feeling was that, as a result of his victory over the more rigid Stalinists, Nikita S. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Soviet Communist party, would have more freedom of action in the field of foreign affairs.

This speculation produces mixed feelings in Washington. It is reassuring in that officials here feel that Mr. Khrushchev wants peace so that he can consolidate the vast gains of the Stalin era, but it is perplexing in that Mr. Khrushchev, even under the restraints of the Stalinists, has demonstrated considerable diplomatic skill in administering his coexistence policy in the last year.

New Khrushchev Moves Effected

Though the normal procedure after so sharp a break is for the Soviet leaders to swing back temporarily to a middle position, officials here expect Mr. Khrushchev to take on more trips abroad, to make new efforts to propagandize the West and to try in various ways to seize the initiative in the worldwide debate over disarmament and ending the nuclear weapons tests.

Washington itself is not expected to take any new initiatives until events indicate more clearly the meaning of what has happened. There are some officials here who feel that the troubles in both Moscow and Peking are divided on the tough Washington policy, and therefore that it should be maintained, while others look on it as an invitation to a more hopeful period of negotiation with the strengthened Khrushchev.

In this situation, the likelihood is that the Administration will wait and see. It is still divided even on the conditional offer to

tests for ten months. It is hesitant to do anything about a general political settlement in Europe until after the West German election Sept. 15, and the long humid summer days are coming on—never a time for great activity along the Potomac.

Nevertheless, some officials here feel that Mr. Khrushchev may force the pace of negotiation, and President Eisenhower inadvertently gave him an opportunity to do so here this week.

The President said at his news conference yesterday morning that he would be glad to invite other nations to attend the next United States atomic tests to check on the progress made by the Government in reducing the radiation content of this country's atomic weapons.

He also indicated that he might be willing to let the Russians in on the secret of how these comparatively radiation-free bombs could be decontaminated. Both these references caused some surprise even within the Administration.

What if Mr. Khrushchev should say that he would like to come here and see a demonstration of these new cleaner atomic bombs? some officials asked. Would the President then not be confronted with having to accept Mr. Khrushchev's "acceptance" and thus open the way for the Khrushchev visit the Administration has always opposed?

Meanwhile, Mr. Khrushchev and Marshal Nikolai A. Bulganin, Soviet Premier, will be going to

Czechoslovakia next week and that will undoubtedly occupy the attention of State Department officials for a time. For there is great interest here in the effects of the Kremlin changes on the East European Communist states.

These changes are expected to encourage the satellites to write and act more freely than before. The surprisingly candid statement on the Presidium of the Soviet Communist party said that the Stalinists had been dismissed partly because they opposed giving more freedom to the other Communist countries, and therefore, officials here expect that this will be taken as an invitation in Warsaw and elsewhere to test that freedom.

Thus, the feeling here is that a new phase in the relations between Moscow and the satellites is opening up, and the reactions, particularly in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, will be watched here very closely.

For as Poland exercises more freedom, trouble in Communist East Germany is expected to increase, and these two points are still regarded in Washington as the greatest tests of Soviet policy.

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CPYRGHT

Moscow Ousters Termed Victory for 'Liberal' Policy

By HARRISON E. SALISBURY

Nikita S. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Soviet Communist party, appears to have won a smashing victory for his "New Look" policies of easing tensions at home and abroad. This was the initial reaction of competent specialists in Soviet affairs to the dramatic decisions of the latest meeting in Moscow of the party's Central Committee.

With the firm support of the Soviet Army, the Communist party apparatus and the Government bureaucracy, Mr. Khrushchev has ousted from the Soviet ruling group a powerful bloc of Stalinist oppositionists.

Mr. Khrushchev's ability to remove from the party's Presidium and Central Committee such veteran party chieftains as Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Lazar M. Kaganovich and Georgi M. Malenkov was testimony to the power he had now mustered behind his leadership.

Indictment Is Stressed

Of great importance in international relations was the nature of the indictment placed against the ousted Khrushchev

and his victorious Central Committee majority charged Mr. Molotov, Mr. Kaganovich, Mr. Malenkov and their supporters with persistent and deliberate efforts to sabotage every effort to ease international tensions, improve the life of Soviet citizens at home and destroy the vestiges of Stalinist excesses.

The communique announcing the expulsions contained a platform of the Khrushchev faction, which promised to continue striving for better international relations.

While the main force of the Khrushchev indictment was directed against Mr. Molotov, Mr. Kaganovich and Mr. Malenkov, they were not the only targets. In effect Mr. Khrushchev made a clean sweep.

He also ousted Dmitri T. Shepilov, the former Pravda editor and Foreign Minister who was identified with the "Young Turk" faction of the party. Mr.

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Man of Many Talents

Nikita S. Khrushchev

Shenlov had been an alternate member of the Presidium.

In addition, Mr. Khrushchev demoted leading members of the so-called "technicians" group.

Maxim Z. Saburov, a state planning official, was dropped from the Presidium, and Mikhail G. Pervukhin, another leading technician, was reduced in rank from a full member to an alternate member.

There were two notable facts about the new and enlarged party Presidium. One was the complete predominance of Khrushchev supporters, almost all of them party bureaucrats. The other was the elevation of Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov to full membership.

While nothing was said in the communiqué about the role of the Army, it seemed beyond question that Mr. Khrushchev could not have embarked on so sweeping a consolidation of power without the 100 per cent assurance of military backing.

It was probably not without significance that the only public appearances made by Mr. Khrushchev and by Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin in the period when the Central Committee was carrying on its deliberations between June 22 and 29 were in the company of Marshal Zhukov.

It may be of additional significance that these appearances were all in connection with the visit to the Soviet Union of the Yugoslav Minister of Defense, Col. Gen. Ivan Gosnjak. One of the principal indictments brought against Mr. Molotov was his invidious influence upon Soviet-Yugoslav relations.

Khrushchev Platform Listed
The platform upon which Mr. Khrushchev is prepared to stand in connection with his action contains the following points:

Support of the policies of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist party, in particular de-Stalinization and an end to Stalinist police terror.

Peaceful coexistence with nations of differing political and economic systems.

Friendship of peoples and "all-around consolidation of Socialist countries"—an apparent allusion to better relations with the satellite countries and Communist China and Yugoslavia.

Better industrial management, to which is linked the current extensive reorganization of the Soviet industrial system.

The fullest possible advancement of agriculture, in particular prosecution of such innovations as the virgin-lands program.

An abundance of food, to which is linked Mr. Khrushchev's new program for seeking to match United States meat and milk production.

A large-scale domestic housing program.

Extension of the rights of union republics—part of the general program of decentralization that Mr. Khrushchev has been pushing.

The flourishing of national culture—an apparent allusion to efforts to get Soviet writing, art, music and other artistic activities out of the dead-end of Stalinist stereotypy.

All-around encouragement of the initiative of the masses—by which is meant more freedom for the individual in relationship to the state and state enterprises.

If the Khrushchev program means what it seems to mean, then it would indicate that the Communist Party has prepared to steer a course much closer to the principles outlined by the Chinese Communist chief,

of state, Mao Tse-tung, in his speech on letting a "hundred flowers blossom" and "a hundred schools of thought contend."

However, it was expected that at the onset, at least, of the new Khrushchev regime caution would probably be the watchword. The powerful individuals displaced by Mr. Khrushchev are not without friends throughout the structure of the Soviet and party apparatus.

It seemed certain, for example, that the list of changes in the Soviet hierarchy had not been exhausted by the actions of the Central Committee. Other changes in the Council of Ministers and, perhaps, in the various provincial party secretaryships may be forthcoming.

But the area in which change seemed to be most strongly dictated was in the continuing Stalinist leadership within some of the satellite countries. There has been, for example, no change in the Stalinist leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist party.

Visit to Prague Stated

Mr. Khrushchev and Marshal Bulganin are scheduled to visit Prague next week. They had planned to go there this week, but the visit was postponed, presumably because of the Central Committee meeting.

The Prague visit should provide a clear clue as to whether Mr. Khrushchev is now prepared to deal resolutely with Stalinism in the satellites as he has done within the Soviet Union.

Of transcendent importance, however, is the forthcoming visit to Moscow and to eastern Europe of Mr. Mao. The new line established by Mr. Khrushchev should enable him now to assimilate Mr. Mao's ideas that "contradictions" between the leaders and the led of a Communist state can and do exist.

For while the Central Committee firmly insisted that the party was not a "debating society," it was apparent that Mr. Khrushchev was willing to allow more liberal interpretations of Marxist dogma than his opponents on the Stalinist side of the party.

It has been many years since any prominent party members have been demoted from the leading group without at the same time being made the target of charges for which they ultimately paid with their lives.

However, close examination of the language used by the Central Committee did not suggest that Mr. Khrushchev was preparing a typical conspiracy case against his old associates. Their action was described in terms of sharp violation of party rules but not of unpatriotic plotting to overturn the Soviet regime.

It was believed to be significant that the Central Committee communiqué gave unusual emphasis to the persistent intervention of Mr. Molotov in Soviet foreign policy and to his consistent opposition to Mr. Khrushchev's efforts to improve Soviet relations.

The communiqué revealed that Mr. Molotov had opposed the normalization of Soviet-Japanese relations as well as the widely publicized personal foreign junkets of Mr. Khrushchev and Marshal Bulganin.

Mr. Khrushchev has long been described as "first among equals" within the collective party leadership. But the number of his equals has diminished. Marshal Bulganin has, inevitably, become only full equals, it appeared, will now be Marshal Zhukov, Anastas I. Mikoyan and, perhaps, the

IT was a supremely confident Nikita S. Khrushchev that millions of Americans recently saw on their television screens predicting that their grandchildren would live under socialism. One probable reason for Mr. Khrushchev's confidence became evident yesterday in the Soviet political upset that ousted his greatest rivals from the Kremlin's ruling hierarchy.

Mr. Khrushchev, who now appears to be by far the most powerful man in the Soviet Union, was born to a family of humble circumstances sixty-three years ago. His progress through the Communist party ranks was steady, but never has he moved so far and so fast as in the four years since Stalin's death.

At the dictator's funeral, he was merely the chairman who introduced the three funeral orators. Today he is the powerful First Secretary of the Communist party, while all three orators have been purged. One of them, Lavrenti P. Beria, was executed in 1953; the two others, Vyacheslav M. Molotov and Georgi M. Malenkov, were removed from the Communist party's Presidium yesterday.

Match for Any Diplomat

Western diplomats once ended to dismiss Mr. Khrushchev as an "amiable chatterbox." But the squat, burly, virtually bald leader from the Russian steppes—described once by a Briton as looking rather like an ex-wrestler—has shown that he is a match for any intelligence and cunning for any foreign diplomat, and has more than held his own against rivals from the tough Soviet political school of which he is a graduate.

There might be said to be three Khrushchevs.

There is the convivial drinker who gets tipsy at Moscow parties, chatters endlessly about whatever comes to mind, but sometimes has to be pushed up and taken home by his comrades of the "collective leadership." It was this Khrushchev who staggered down the stairs of President Tito's place in Belgrade in June, 1955, and encountered a group of foreign correspondents.

There is the party ideologist, Mikhail A. Suslov.

Decisions, however, will undoubtedly continue to be by recorded vote, as Mr. Khrushchev explained to Turner Catledge, managing editor of The New York Times, in an interview six weeks ago.

Mr. Khrushchev also said at that time, speaking of unity in the Communist movement:

"We can compare it to the army. When a company is marching all in step, except one man, he should try to keep step or leave the company and drop somewhere in the tall until he learns to march correctly."

Mr. Khrushchev decided the time had come when Mr. Molotov, Mr. Kaganovich and Mr. Malenkov could no longer be tolerated in the Soviet Communist party's close-order drill.

When they asked him for Soviet visas, he replied that since he did not fear the devil he did not fear them and they could have the visas they sought.

Expert on Everything

Then there is Khrushchev the universal expert. This is the man whose speeches on almost every conceivable topic—from the intricacies of raising corn to the problems of preventing hydrogen bomb warfare or building low-cost houses—frequently are spread over three or four full pages of the Soviet newspapers.

These speeches reveal a gift for earthy wit and for plain speaking. Their effectiveness is not simply the work of a collection of ghost writers, for foreigners who have talked with Mr. Khrushchev have been impressed by his broad and encyclopedic knowledge.

But his speeches also reveal that he has a fanatical streak, that he is a man who becomes obsessed with an idea. His ardor for corn as the answer to the Soviet Union's food problem has earned him the covert nickname of Nikita Kukuruznik (Nikita the corn man).

Finally, there is the persuasive Khrushchev. In this role the party chief has gone to Peiping to charm Mao Tse-tung, traveled to Belgrade to ask Marshal Tito's forgiveness, journeyed to London to ask for more British-Soviet trade. Thus Khrushchev often

shows a gift for striking a responsive chord. Speaking to Burmese students in Rangoon two years ago, for example, he contrasted his own lack of schooling until the age of 27 with the opportunity for education his young audience enjoyed.

This combination of talents has served Mr. Khrushchev well. Even his weaknesses may have helped, for love of talk is an old Russian peasant characteristic that helps to stamp him in his people's eyes as one of them.

He never tires of reminding the Soviet people that he started as the son of a peasant and once worked as a plumber in the Donets mines. And that he has courage was demonstrated by his speech exposing Stalin last February, though, as he himself implied, that courage did not extend to defying Stalin while the dictator was alive.

Little is known of his personal life. He is married and had two sons as well as several daughters. One son, an airman, was killed during World War II. The second son, an engineer, accompanied his father to London last year. Mme. Khrushchev once told a foreigner that she was simply a housewife; Russians who have known her describe her as "sweet."

For all his vigor and his conviviality, there is evidence that the years now are catching up with Mr. Khrushchev. He has complained often of liver trouble that sometimes causes him nearly intolerable pain. But so far neither bodily ailments nor domestic political enemies have succeeded in slowing down his progress toward the power that was Stalin's.

Moscow Communique on Ouster of Molotov Group

CPYRGHT

LONDON, July 3 (Reuters)—

Following is the text of a communique by the Soviet Communist party announcing the dismissal from the party's Presidium of Georgi M. Malenkov, Lazar M. Kaganovich and Vyacheslav M. Molotov, as broadcast in English by the Moscow radio today:

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 June 22-29, 1957, the plenum of the Central Committee of the 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.

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.

Long Opposition Cited

This was not accidental. In the last three or four years, during which the party has been steering a resolute course toward 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 nationalities 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 twentieth party congress.

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.

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

Other Charges Made

Far from understanding the party's measures aimed at curbing bureaucracy and reducing the inflated state apparatus, the anti-party group opposed them. On all these points, it came out against the Leninist principle of democratic centralism being implemented by the party. It opposed and sought to frustrate

the most important 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 so 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 countrywide discussions and the subsequent adoption of the law at a session of the Supreme Soviet.

Opposed Farm Reform

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.

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.

Lack of Faith Charged

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 United States in the next few years in per capita output of milk, butter and meat.

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.

They also considered as 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 35,000,000 hectares of virgin land, an enterprise which acquired such tremendous importance in the economy of our country.

Opposition Charged

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.

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 Twentieth Party Congress, 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 U. S. S. R. 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 party 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.

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 and sought to frustrate

of different ways of transition to socialism in different countries, on the necessity of strengthening contacts between the Soviet party and progressive parties abroad.

Others Supported Him

Comrade Molotov repeatedly opposed the Soviet Government's indispensable new steps in 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.

The Presidium of the Central Committee and the Central Committee as a whole patiently corrected them and combated their error, 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 Comrade 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.

Dogmatic View Scored

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 twentieth 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.

Seeing that their erroneous statements and actions were constantly rebuffed in the Presidium of the Central Com-

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The New Presidium

Following are the members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party, following the reorganization announced yesterday in Moscow:

- Averky E. Aristov
- Nikolai I. Belyayev
- Leonid I. Brezhnev
- Nikolai A. Bulganin
- Yekaterina A. Furtseva
- Nikolai G. Ignatov
- Alexei I. Kirichenko
- Nikita S. Khrushchev
- Frol R. Kozlov
- Otto V. Kuusinen
- Anastas I. Mikoyan
- Nikolai M. Shvernik
- Mikhail A. Suslov
- Kliment Y. Voroshilov
- Georgi K. Zhukov

Alternate members of the new Presidium are:

- Nuriddin A. Mukhitdinov
- Petr N. Pospelov
- Demyan S. Korotchenko
- Andrei P. Kirilenko
- Kiril T. Mazurov
- Vasily P. Mzhavanadze
- Mikhail G. Pervukhin
- Yan E. Kalnberzin

Alexei N. Kosygin

Those dropped from the Presidium are:

- Lazar M. Kaganovich
- Georgi M. Malenkov
- Vyacheslav M. Molotov
- Maxim Z. Saurov

Dropped as alternate member of the Presidium: Dmitri T. Shepilov

- *Retained as member of Presidium.
- †Promoted from alternate member.
- ‡Demoted to alternate member.

... which has been consistently putting into practice the line set by the twentieth 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 twentieth party congress. They resorted to methods of intrigue and formed a collusion against the Central Committee.

Lenin Resolution Cited

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 factionary struggle, violated the party statutes and the decision of the nineteenth 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 factionary activity, the congress empowers the Central Committee to apply in cases of breach of discipline or of a revival or toleration of factionary 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 Auditing Commission shall be the convening of a plenary meeting of the Central Committee and all members of the Auditing 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 Leninist resolution makes it obligatory for the Central Committee and all party organizations tirelessly to consolidate party unity, to rebuff with determination every evidence of factionary 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.

The plenary meetings 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 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 plenum of the Central Committee, the members of the group were the members of the Central Committee plenum who have 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.

Resolution of Meeting

Guided by the interests of all-round consolidation of the Leninist unity of the party, the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the party has resolved:

(1) To condemn as incompatible with the Leninist principles of our party the factionary 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 the membership of 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 the membership of the Central Committee.

The unanimous condemnation of the factionary activities of the anti-party 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 June 20, 1957, by the unanimous vote of all the members of the Central Committee, the alternate members of the Central Committee, the members of the Central Auditing Commission, with one abstention, in the person of Comrade Molotov.

N. Y. Times

JUL 4 1957

FIVE KEEP POSTS IN SOVIET OUSTER

Some of New Appointees, Though Strong Party Men, Little Known Outside

CPYRGHT.

By WILL LISSNER

Soviet leaders associated in one way or another with Nikita S. Khrushchev predominate among the members and alternates of the new Presidium of the Soviet Communist party's Central Committee.

Five besides Mr. Khrushchev were retained in the Presidium. They were Marshal Nikolai A. Bulganin, Soviet Premier; Marshal Kliment Y. Voroshilov, Anastas I. Mikoyan, Mikhail A. Suslov and Alexei I. Kirichenko.

One of the new Presidium members is an individual who played an appreciable role in the setting of the anti-Semitic "doctors plot" in early 1953. He is Frol R. Kozlov, Leningrad Communist party leader, who was earlier named an alternate member of the Presidium. In early 1953 an article by Mr. Kozlov dealt with infiltration by Jewish bourgeois nationalists in the Soviet Union and the menace of these elements.

Averky E. Aristov, a Khrushchev protégé, is a man of mystery. He had been a party secretary who became a full member of the Presidium of the party Central Committee. He lost both jobs on Stalin's death in 1953 and became Government chief in the Khabarovsk region of the Soviet Far East.

There he pressed Mr. Khrushchev's grain production campaign and in 1955 he was restored to his post as a party secretary.

Protégé of Khrushchev

I. I. Brezhnev is a Khrushchev protégé who rose to prominence as a Ukrainian party leader after his chief had purged the party here. He became Moldavian Communist party secretary.

But the day after Stalin's death was announced in March, 1953, he was one of the four more recent members of the

shitted to other posts. He became party representative to the Navy Department, then deputy party representative under Marshal Bulganin when the Navy was merged into the defense ministry.

He achieved the rank of lieutenant general, then was sent to Kazakhstan as second secretary of the party in 1954. He became first secretary in 1955, and alternate member of the Presidium in 1956. He was a key figure in the virgin lands campaign.

Nikolai I. Belyayev, one of Mr. Khrushchev's right-hand men in the field of politics, was a veteran party boss in the Altai Territory in Siberia.

One alternate promoted to full membership is better known in the United States as the lone woman member of the Soviet top leadership. She is Mrs. Y. Ekaterina A. Furtseva, another Khrushchev protégé, long prominent as a party propagandist. She became party boss in Moscow in 1954. Her husband, Nikolai P. Furtsevin, has been Soviet Ambassador to Yugoslavia.

Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov, another alternate promoted to full membership, saved Moscow for the Soviet Union in 1941. He had the honor of capturing Berlin.

One of the new members of the Presidium is Nikolai G. Ignatov, who was Communist party leader in Voronezh for many years, and later in Gorki.

Among the alternates is the first person of Central Asiatic Moslem origin to reach the top leadership, Nuriddin A. Mukhitdinov. He was Deputy Premier of Uzbekistan in 1954, and became Premier after his chief had been denounced by Mr. Khrushchev because the Uzbek Republic had failed to deliver its quota of cotton.

Another alternate is Andrei P. Kirilenko, one of the members of Mr. Khrushchev's Ukrainian party machine.

One of the new alternative members of the Presidium is Alexei N. Kosygin, considered a typical Soviet executive. He became commissar of textiles in 1939. Elected to the party's Central Committee, he became Vice Premier in charge of consumer goods industries in 1940. In 1941 he was named Premier of the Russian Republic.

Worker in Byelorussia

Kiril T. Mazurov, a new alternate member of the Presidium, is a longtime party worker in Byelorussia. He had been a member of the party politburo there and in recent years was party leader in Minsk. He became Premier of the Byelorussian Republic in July, 1953, but left the post to return to the party's first secretaryship three years later.

Demyan S. Korotchenko returns to the Presidium as an alternate. He had been Premier of the Ukrainian Republic, having been elected to that post in 1933. In 1946, when he was elected to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, he became Deputy Premier in the Ukraine. He had been a member of the party Presidium up to Lenin's death, but was dropped, apparently because he was out of favor with Beria. He received the Order of Lenin in 1954.

Petr N. Pospelov, a new alternate, is a leading Soviet theoretician. He has been director of the Larz-Engels-Lenin Institute since 1950 and one of the editors of Pravda, Communist party newspaper, since 1945.

Another new alternate is the man who directed the purge in Beria's home state, Soviet Georgia. He is Vasily P. Mzhavanadze, who in a year and a half ousted 3,011 Communists from the Georgian party. He

NEW ERA IN MOSCOW?

Government leaders all over the world have put in many hours these last two days, and will undoubtedly put in many more, attempting to divine the meaning of Wednesday's sensational changes in Moscow. The central question in these deliberations is obviously this: Do the changes in Moscow mean the opening of a new era in which the cold war will be liquidated and the menace of nuclear war removed from humanity? A more important question could hardly be imagined.

Prime Minister Nehru indicated yesterday that he is hopeful that the answer to this key question is positive. Apparently he believes that the removal of Molotov & Co. has opened the road to real progress toward a more normal world. Certainly the official communiqué issued by the Soviet Communist party is clearly intended to encourage this view. It can hardly be considered less than astounding that this official Soviet statement in effect accuses Molotov, Kaganovich, and Malenkov of being warmongers, men opposed to easing international tension and opposed also to steps "essential for the achievement of mutual understanding and better international relations." What a shock this must be for Communists who have been taught to parrot that only "Western imperialists" are against reducing international tension!

Unfortunately, however, to base judgments of this sort only upon the power or lack of power of particular personalities is really to fall victim to the "cult of personality." Such men as Khrushchev, Bulganin, Voroshilov and Mikoyan were as much Stalinists while Stalin lived as the men who have been ousted. They too supported such measures as the political attack on Yugoslavia in 1948, the military attack on South Korea in 1950 and the treacherous onslaught on the Hungarian people last November. And it was Mr. Khrushchev, we should remember, who threatened the use of armed force against Poland that fateful Friday in Warsaw last October. On the record the men who rule in Moscow now are as potentially capable of treacherous attack—in terms of their individual histories—as the men now purged.

The answer to our question must take into account the political and economic and military realities with which the rulers in Moscow, whoever they are, must grapple. It was Malenkov who spoke out three years

ago to warn that nuclear war would destroy world civilization. Malenkov is purged, but that fact remains true for Khrushchev as well. The discontent of the Soviet people is a hard fact with which Moscow must grapple, discontent over the remaining features of the police state and discontent over the state exploitation the people live under. It is of the highest significance that the first concrete measure announced after this purge is the end of Government exactions from the small plots of Soviet peasants, a group among whom Khrushchev recently admitted there is political discontent.

If the present Soviet ruling group wishes peace, it is not because this group is radically different from the group which ruled last week. Rather, it would be because in its judgment peace and lessened tension served its own best interests, giving it a breathing spell in which to consolidate its domestic power by meeting some of the aspirations of its people.

Khrushchev and his new ruling clique obviously wish us to believe that they do want peace. But they must know that mere words, mere shifts of personalities in their group will not alone convince us. The means at their disposal for really convincing us on this matter are as plain to them as they are to us. If there actually is a new era in Moscow, it will be proved by deeds which make possible the solution of the thorny international issues which have aggravated the world situation for many years. Until such deeds are forthcoming we must in self-protection continue skeptical and make sure that our means of self-defense are adequate to discourage any other warmongers who have survived Molotov & Co. in Kremlin power.

Moscow Upheaval

No one outside of Moscow is likely to discern the full meaning of the latest explosion that has blasted three alleged Stalinist leaders and former Foreign Minister Shepilov out of the Communist Party's ruling presidium. Yet the most casual observer must see in these events a significant shaking of the monolithic system that has prevailed in the Soviet Union.

The explanation offered by the Kremlin itself through the columns of *Pravda* is that the party has cracked down on malcontents who were trying to return to Stalinism in disregard of the edicts of the 20th Party Congress. That seems to be consistent with the Stalinist records of former Foreign Minister Molotov and First Deputy Premier Kaganovich, who was Stalin's brother-in-law. But former Premier Malenkov, who was also ousted, is believed to have opposed the old Bolsheviks in recent years. In any event, the *Pravda* explanation appears to be only part of the story. The break would not have come in this dramatic fashion if the Kremlin had not been rent by feuds and basic disagreements.

No doubt the scramble for power played a large part in the dismissals. Nikita Khrushchev has seized an opportunity to dispose of potential rivals as Stalin did before him, although, presumably, in a less ruthless fashion. Yet this action is taken in the name of progressive communism. The controlling faction is still trying to move, it appears, away from the terrors of Stalinism. Probably the most significant fact is that as soon as it grants additional leeway in the pursuit of conflicting ideas, it is faced with the dilemma of tolerating widening areas of dissent or resorting once more to repression.

In some respects, therefore, the latest purge in Moscow may be the internal expression of the policy that led to the crushing of Hungary. Presumably the now ousted officials, like the Nagy government in Hungary, went further in their independent thinking than Khrushchev and his associates in the central seats of power would tolerate.

The great unanswered question is whether the Soviet Union can, by these uncertain swings toward looser controls and then back to harsh repression, move toward a more tolerable political system. Secretary Dulles believes that such an evolution is possible and that American policy should be directed toward encouraging it. Certainly that is much to be desired. But we must never lose sight of the danger that a sudden blow-up within the Kremlin may lead to chaos within Russia as well as in her relations to other countries.

N. Y. Times

JUL 4 1957

Pravda Editorial and Article on Need for Unity in the Soviet Communist Party

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 3—Following the news of an editorial entitled "Unshakable Unity" and an article on party unity that appeared today in Pravda, Soviet Communist party organ, as broadcast by the Moscow radio and received here:

Pravda Editorial

The entire Soviet people are enthusiastically struggling to implement the great program outlined by the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist party. This program shows the ways of solving urgent problems of the development of the Soviet society and formulates the main principles on the most important problems of the international Communist and workers' movement.

It clearly reaffirms the famous Lenin directive that the party can exercise effective leadership only if it correctly expresses the will of the people. The Twentieth Party Congress with exceptional profundity and clarity expressed the requirements of social development and the thoughts and aspirations of the working people.

It is for precisely this reason that the Soviet people with unprecedented unanimity and enthusiasm greeted the decisions of the Twentieth party congress and spared no effort in the struggle for their implementation. In this great struggle, the Soviet people have still more closely rounded their Communist party and its Leninist Central Committee. In the glorious history of our party, the Twentieth party congress occupies a special place; it marks a new stage in the development of our country; it caused a fresh, mighty upsurge of the creative initiative and activity of the Communists and nonparty members, workers, collective farmers, intelligentsia, and all the Soviet people.

The Soviet people, the working people of the people's democracies, and the working people and the oppressed of the entire world have again seen with their own eyes how unshakable are the ranks of our Leninist party, brought up as they are in the spirit of faithfulness to the ideas of communism and of unshakable unity of thought, will and action.

Monolithic Unity Seen

The monolithic unity of our party has been built up through years and decades; it grew and became stronger in the struggle against numerous enemies. This unity has been conditioned by the very nature of our party, by its philosophy of life, by its aims and organizational principles. The great Lenin taught the party to keep as the apple of its eye the unity of its ranks and to struggle relentlessly against those who under various pretexts are trying to undermine this unity.

The Leninist Congress of the party, based on the question of the party's unity, and Lenin's suggestion directed

that all fractional groups be immediately disbanded and included all organizations to strictly see to it that no reactionary speeches were made. It was made clear that non-compliance with the decisions of the congress would bring immediate and unqualified expulsion from the party.

The congress empowered the Central Committee, in cases of violation of discipline by members of the Central Committee and in cases of revival or suffering of reaction, to take every measure at the disposal of the party, including expulsion from the Central Committee and the party.

Complying with Lenin's directives, our party has always suppressed any attempts at shaking the unity of the party ranks and at diverting the party from its correct path, no matter from whom these attempts emanated. This was the case at the time of the tenth party congress; the period of the struggle for the country's industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture, and it was also the case in the subsequent years.

Past Outlets Recalled

When it was discovered that this or that member of the party did not comply with its decisions and allowed mistakes in his work, the Central Committee of the party adopted measures for the correction of these mistakes. In the period preceding the twentieth party congress, at the plenary session of the Central Committee, the activity of a number of party organizations was subjected to severe criticism, as was also the activity of members of the Central Committee. Some party workers who had not justified the trust bestowed on them were excluded from membership in the Central Committee.

The twentieth party congress particularly noted that the Central Committee opportunely came out against attempts at retreating from the party's general line on the priority development of heavy industry and also against muddle in the question of building socialism in our country and in some other current questions.

The congress instructed the Central Committee also in the future to strengthen in every way the unity of the party and to maintain the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory. If during the period following the congress fresh major successes were achieved, this was witness to the fact that the party and its Central Committee were successfully fulfilling the directives of the congress.

The struggle for the liquidation of the remnant of the personality cult and the restoration of Lenin's norms of party and state life required from the party great self-denying efforts. This struggle was crowned with victory and bore rich fruit. The enemies of our party, the enemies of socialism, had calculated that some party organizations would shake the ranks of the party and weaken

it. However the enemies miscalculated, and the whole of our multimillion party approved the measures aimed at eliminating the personality cult and resolutely correcting the mistakes of the past period, and is now leading the country along the path of new victories.

Need for Telling Truth

Fulfilling the decisions of the Twentieth Party Congress, the party courageously revealed shortcomings in various spheres of economic, state, and party activity, discarded obsolete conceptions, and resolutely eliminated all that was out of date and impeded advance. Criticizing the defects in our construction, the party bases itself on the well-known principle that the Communists must not be afraid of telling the people the truth, that the person who is afraid of recognizing mistakes and weaknesses is not a revolutionary. Now everybody sees the great positive importance of the wise Leninist policy of the party for our successful movement forward.

The ideological, political, and organizational unity of the party, and its constantly strengthening ties with the masses of working people, have insured a further strengthening of the fighting capacity of the party organizations and the rising of their leading role in every sphere of life of Soviet society. Thanks to this the party has within a short period of time, achieved new major successes in the development of industry and agriculture.

The unity of the party and the monolithic rallying of its ranks have made it possible to implement speedily the plan for a radical reorganization of the management of industry, to achieve great successes in the advancement of agriculture, and to set a task of great importance: In the next few years to catch up with the United States in the per capita production of milk, meat, and butter.

On the whole, these measures have been warmly approved by our multimillion party and all the people. Only a hopeless politically blind person can fail to see the enormous progressive importance of these measures for a further development of the country's economy and a rise in the material well-being of the masses.

Under the sign of the unshakable and constantly strengthening unity of its ranks, the party has implemented and is implementing exceptionally important measures on the development of Socialist democracy, the expansion of the rights of the union republics, and the strengthening of Socialist legality.

As a result of this we have a further strengthening of the moral and political unity of Soviet society, and the friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the growth of the ties between the ranks of its ranks and the support of the entire people, the party is persistently pursuing Len-

in's foreign policy and tirelessly fighting for strengthening peace throughout the world and for lessening international tension.

Foreign Visits Welcomed

As one man, the Soviet people warmly welcome the results of the visits of our party and Government delegations to other countries, as well as the results of talks with the delegations of foreign countries bordering on our country. In this connection the strengthening ties of our party with the Communist party of China and the Communist and workers' parties of all peoples' democracies has been welcomed with particular satisfaction.

The growing unity of the party ranks is undeniable proof that the political and organizational leadership of the Central Committee of the party is satisfactory, that the party is correctly solving problems of party and state construction, and that it is skillfully leading the country along Lenin's path. This does not, however, mean that one can forget about further strengthening of the unity of the party ranks.

As pointed out in the main report of the party's Central Committee to the twentieth party congress, the ideological and political and organizational unity of the party constitute a guarantee of its invincibility. No enemies and no difficulties are to be feared by the party if it is united. Any task can be shouldered by it if it comes out as a united force knowing no fear in struggle, no vacillation in the implementation of its policy, and no retreat in the face of difficulties.

The party statutes make it incumbent upon every member of the party to safeguard in every way the unity of the party, as the principal condition of its strength and might. This requirement concerns equally both the rank-and-file and the leadership of the party. Leninism teaches that the party, if it wishes to preserve the unity of its ranks, must insure that the standard of discipline is the same for all members of the party, both the leaders and the rank-and-file.

The most important condition for the preservation and strengthening of unity is the observance of Lenin's principle of democratic centralism in the party. This principle provides for adherence to intra-party democracy in discussing a given question and compliance with the adopted decisions by every Communist, no matter what post he occupies.

The party cannot allow a division of its members into selected and nonselected ones, as they are all members and everyone of them has equal rights and duties to the party.

Every Communist, every Soviet man, is proud of the fact that in the period since the twentieth party congress, the might and prestige of the party have grown still further, that the Leninist unity of its ranks has become stronger still, and that its leading role in

the Soviet society has been Approved For Release 2002/07/22 : CIA-RDP65-00756R000500130067-0
 vigilance, and the preservation and strengthening of the ideological and political and organizational unity of the party ranks constitute a guarantee of new great victories of the Communist party and the Soviet people.

Pravda Article

The twentieth party congress brilliantly displayed before the whole world the ideological-political and organizational unity of the Communist party and the monolithic quality and strength of its ranks. The congress showed that our party is full of vital strength, mighty creative energy, and an ardent desire and insatiable will to process farther along Lenin's course toward the achievement of its great aim—the building of communism.

Fulfilling the decisions of the twentieth congress, intensifying ideological-political and organizational work, consistently and strictly maintaining Lenin's norms of party life and the principle of collective leadership in state and party affairs on the basis of Marxist-Leninist policy, developing criticism, and self-criticism of shortcomings, and constantly reviewing the course, methods, and forms of its activity, our party has achieved still greater unity and solidarity of its ranks and has broadened and strengthened its links with the people. The Communist party is strong because of the identity of its striving and actions, because of the solidarity of the rank and file with the Central Committee, and because of its inseparable links with the people.

The party's great unity, which characterizes it as an invincible force, did not come immediately: it is the result of a historical progress lasting years and decades; it grew and strengthened in bitter struggle with openly hostile bourgeois parties, Mensheviks, Trotskyites, Bukharinists, bourgeois nationalists, and many other internal and external elements.

Ignored by Lenin's principles, our party invariably crushed all opportunists and revisionist trends, anti-Marxist inclinations, and any sort of separatist fractions, blocs or groups, strengthened its might and raised the political vigilance of its organization.

An Identity of Purpose

The identity of will and action of the Communist party, which is incompatible with the existence of fractions and groupings in its ranks and any views, contradicting Marxism-Leninism, and ideological and political platforms, is conditioned by the very nature of the party and its aims and tasks.

The achievement and maintenance of the dictatorship of the working class and the building of a Communist society are impossible without a party united in its views and decisions, and strong by virtue of its solidarity and discipline.

It is not for nothing that our party is called the voluntary militant union of like-minded Communists, who have identical ideological and political views and identically interpret the aims and tasks of the party and its organizational and practical principles.

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 gain and activity in the fulfillment and struggle for

the triumph of the party's Marxist-Leninist theory, and the basis of the unity of views and actions of Communists is Marxism-Leninism in its combined form and fullness. The overcoming of dismemberment and the striving toward unification were the characteristic feature of our party at its very inception. It grew into a unified independent party of the working class out of disunited Marxist groups and circles.

In founding the Communist party, Lenin considered the most important condition of its existence and successful struggle to be ideological unity based on the principles of Marxist theory, binding on all Communists, and not permitting differences of views or combinations and confusion of different outlooks and views. There cannot be a strong Socialist party, he said, if there is no revolutionary theory which unites all Socialists and from which they draw all their convictions, applying them to their methods of struggle and means of action.

Lenin considered that ideological unity of the party was insufficient. It must be supplemented with unity of organizational principles, binding on all party members. Unity is impossible without organization, and organization requires the subordination of the minority to the majority. In his book "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back" he wrote that the proletariat could become and would inevitably become an invincible force only if its ideological union, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, is consolidated by the material unity of organization and by enlisting millions of workers in the army of the working class.

Uniform party discipline is equally binding on all members of the party. It must demand the fulfillment of obligations by party members, not only by those at the top; that is what in Lenin's view constitutes the essential organizational prerequisite of the life, and preservation of the integrity, of the party.

Lenin's precept that the party has one discipline and one law for all Communists, irrespective of their position or posts, has found expression in the statute of the party. Lenin always waged a resolute struggle against various kinds of petty bourgeois and demagogues that accused the party of all mortal sins, with a view to undermining its unity, discipline and authority. Describing their arguments as anarchic and devoid of principled restraint, Lenin pointed out that they led to the abandonment of party principle and organizational principles and were tantamount to destruction of the party.

Revisionists Assailed

The struggle for ideological purity of Marxist-Leninist theory and the immutability of organizational principles, constituting the foundation of the party's unity, has always been at the center of attention of Communists. This is particularly topical at a time when imperialist reaction and its ideologists, using the revisionist rump within the Communist movement and influencing the hesitant and unstable elements and those insufficiently organizationally, are making intense attacks on communism,

Marxist-Leninist theory, and working class.

Under these conditions any hesitancy, departure from Leninist principles, or infringement of discipline and the norms of party life would benefit only the enemies of our party. The party demands of all its organizations and all Communists an intensification of their political vigilance and fighting fitness and active struggle against all who harm its Leninist unity.

Our party's strength lies in the fact that it has always waged a determined struggle against those who infringe on its discipline and the solidarity of its monolithic ranks, against those who place their group or sectarian interests above party interests.

It does not and cannot tolerate within its ranks any anti-party groups or groupings opposed to its policy. The unity of political action, based on Leninist principles, is supreme for the party; it is a compulsory essential law of its development. The party has been and is striving for such unity by overcoming contradictions arising in its midst, by fighting deviations from the political line, wherever they may originate and by whatever individuals they may be supported. The party stands not for any kind of unity but for one based on Leninist policy.

Discussion Is Urged

Does all this mean that the Marxist Leninist party does not tolerate in its midst any kind of discussion and exchange of views? No, it does not mean that. The party is a democratic organization whose whole work is built on the broad initiative, activity, and enterprise of party organizations and all Communists. Constant exchange of views and detailed, vigorous, and active discussion by the party masses of all major questions of the life and work of the party represent the most characteristic trait of the party as a voluntary democratic organization. It is only this course that enables all the efforts of Communists to be united in a single unshakable will and strength of the party.

During the most difficult period of its development the party submitted for discussion by the broad party masses the major questions of its policy, and this only served to strengthen it. Freedom of discussion, self-criticism, and criticism of shortcomings in work are combined to provide the party with unity of action. To discuss a question, to express and hear various opinions, to know the views of the majority, to express these views in a corresponding decision, and to fulfill that decision honestly—that is Lenin's understanding of unity. It is precisely this principle to which our party adheres in its activity.

All decisions of principle adopted by our party in recent years, directed toward the improvement of the forms of management of the national economy, the development of local initiative, the strengthening of the might of the Soviet country, the raising of the material well-being of the Soviet people, and the successful realization of the gradual transition toward communism, are the fruits of collective discussion expressing and reflecting the interests of the whole Soviet people, ral-

lied around the party in a mighty and united collective society.

No Discussion Club

But the party is not a discussion club. It is a militant political organization of the workers and the ruling party in our country. It cannot permit that, under guise of freedom of criticism and exchange of opinion, decisions of principle adopted by it should be contested, that ideas alien to its outlook and hostile to the people should be introduced, or that views harmful to the well-being of the Soviet people should be spread.

In this respect our party strictly adheres to the indications of Lenin, who wrote in his article, "Freedom of Criticism and Unity of Action":

"The political activity of the party must be united. No appeals spoiling the unity of specific actions are permissible at mass meetings or at party meetings or in the party press."

The party favors freedom of discussion of all questions, freedom of criticism and all shortcomings. Lenin used to say that the party would have disintegrated, first ideologically and then materially, if it had failed to wage a struggle against people propagating anti-party views.

For defining the bounds between "party" and "anti-party," there are definite and true criteria: The statute, program, direction, decisions of the party and the party's whole experience of more than fifty years. The policy of principle is the only correct policy. Never to retreat in any matter from party interests is the immutable principle of Communists.

It is by that, only correct principle that the party and its founder, Lenin, were always guided with regard to any people that disregarded the will of the party or its interests and opposed its line, however great the services and prestige of these people were, and however substantial their position.

It is known, for example that Plekhanov enjoyed great authority. Lenin highly esteemed and respected him. But after Plekhanov betrayed the cause of the working class departed from the most important principle of Marxism and sank into the mire of opportunism, Lenin disregarded Plekhanov's past authority, and decisively spoke against him as a deviator from Marxism.

Another example: As is known, a few days before the October rising of 1917 Kamenev and Zinov'ev, who at the time occupied very prominent positions in the party, made a statement in a Menshevik paper on the preparation of the armed rising that was being prepared by the Bolsheviks and on their disagreements with this decision. By that treacherous maneuver a supreme party secret was revealed to the enemies.

In his famous letter to members of the Bolshevik party, Lenin wrote on this subject:

"I would consider to be a shameful act on my part if because of my previous close association with these former comrades I were to hesitate to condemn them. I state categorically that I no longer consider either of them comrades and that I will struggle wil-

party effort, both before the Central Committee and at the congress for their expulsion from the party."

In unity of action, Lenin conceived the party's greatest weapon in its struggle for Socialist revolution. Striving toward party unity, Lenin decisively broke with all who did not submit to measures of discipline and who went against the majority of the party and against the Central Committee. Lenin attached particular importance to the party's executive nucleus, its Central Committee. He took pride in saying that "our Central Committee has developed into a strictly centralized and highly authoritative group." He guarded it in every way from influences of purely personal and fortuitous contingencies and ably averted the possibility of any break in unity.

These Leninist traditions are an immutable law, binding on our party and on all Communists. For the Marxist-Leninist party, the unity of its ranks assumed utmost importance after the victory of the Socialist revolution and during the period of building socialism and of gradual transition toward communism. As is known, during the first years of Soviet rule our party was forced to wage an intensive struggle against all kinds of petty bourgeois trends, groupings and factions that sought to undermine the party's unity. In March, 1921, the tenth party Congress, in discussing the question of party unity, unanimously adopted a resolution drafted by Lenin that stressed the need for insuring complete confidence among Communists and for concerted work embodying the united will of the vanguard of the proletariat.

In order to insure strict discipline within the party and in all Soviet work, the resolution stated, to attain the utmost unity, and to eliminate all refractoriness the congress authorizes the Central Committee to employ, in the event of infringement of discipline or revival or tolerance of refractoriness, any measures of party punishment, even expulsion from the party, and with regard to Central Committee members, reduction to the status of alternate members and, in extreme cases, expulsion from the party.

The condition of the application of such extreme measures against members of the Central Committee, alternate members and members of auditing commissions must be the convocation of a plenary session of the Central Committee, with all alternate members and members of auditing commissions in attendance. If such a general meeting of the most responsible leaders of the party decides by a two-thirds majority vote to reduce a Central Committee member to the status of alternate member or expel him from the party, such a measure must be put into effect immediately.

The congress dissolved all groups which had formed under one platform or another and charged all organizations with the task of exercising vigilance against any manifestations of refractoriness.

This Leninist resolution not only helped to crush the anti-

party effort, both before the Central Committee and at the congress for their expulsion from the party."

Beria Purge Recalled

The long and intensive struggle of the party culminated in the construction of socialism in our country and complete victory of the party over fractionary groupings. Through the unity achieved, the party was able to rally the entire Soviet people around it for the defense of the Socialist motherland in the Great Patriotic War and inflict a decisive defeat on the detested enemy.

The crushing of the despicable gang of the dangerous enemy, Beria and his henchmen, contributed to the strengthening of the party and the successful solution of the tasks facing the country.

The twentieth party Congress was a supremely important historic stage in the development and strengthening of the party's unity, the mobilization of all its forces, and its solidarity around the Central Committee.

Being completely loyal to Leninism and, prompted by the interests of building communism to the still greater strengthening of Marxist-Leninist positions, our party decisively, openly and boldly expressed itself against the personality cult of Stalin and its consequences in order to obviate all possibilities of the revival of the personality cult in one form or another.

The party and the Central Committee devoted great attention to the realization of measures directed at the elimination of the infringements of revolutionary legality which occurred in the past. It is now clear to all how wise and correct were the measures put into effect by the party in the struggle to liquidate the consequences of the personality cult.

A worthy example of adherence to Leninist principles, firmness and determination in the struggle for party unity is displayed by the Central Committee. There are no people in the party, nor can there be any, who by virtue of their high posts, could be shielded from criticism of their mistakes and shortcomings. This would be contrary to the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist party.

The Central Committee, boldly and irrespective of personality, subjects to discussion and criticism any leading figures of the party and state, if they allow mistakes to occur in their work, and takes decisive measures against any persons if their actions and deeds contravene the party line. The party only gains from this.

In our Socialist country there is no social foundation, nor can there be any for the emergence within the party of factions and trends hostile to Leninism. The unity of the Communist party and of its leading nucleus is determined by the moral-political unity of the Soviet people who, by the identical aims, common tasks and interests as those of the party.

But it would be a profound mistake to imagine that we

are insured against the emergence in our midsts of individual groups or individuals disagreeing with the party line. There are still in our country people who approach questions of internal and foreign policy as sectarians and dogmatics, who adopted a doctrinaire approach to Marxism-Leninism. They cannot understand that in the present-day conditions Marxism-Leninism is in action and that the struggle for communism is manifested in implementing the decisions of the second party congress.

The sectarians and dogmatics do not understand that the prime duty of a party member, a genuine Marxist, is at present to pursue with determination the policy of peaceful coexistence, to struggle for friendship between peoples, to strengthen the Socialist camp in every way, to improve management of industry, to develop agriculture in every way, to create an abundance of products, to broaden the scope of housing construction, to broaden the rights of union republics, to assume the prosperity of national culture and to develop the initiation of the people's masses in every way.

Detached from the life of the party and 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, that which stems from the interests of the development of the Soviet society and the Socialist camp. They would like to lead the party back to those wrong methods of leadership which were condemned by the Twentieth Party Congress. And if vigilance is relaxed, if such people are not noticed in time, if no struggle is waged against them, if the spreading of anti-party views is not prevented, this can seriously damage the party and its unity.

Reactionary forces hostile to socialism strove to take advantage of criticism of the personality cult in an effort to weaken our party and the whole international Communist movement. These calculations, however, failed completely. The Communist party, created and steered by Lenin, enjoying nation-wide devotion and support, has inexhaustible inner strength. It knows how and were to direct the task. It fears no difficulties or tests. It is ready to surmount all obstacles on the way to the great aim.

40th Anniversary Hailed

Our party is preparing to greet the glorious fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution united and monolithic, closely rallied around its Leninist Central Committee. The party directs the efforts of all Soviet people to the struggle for the fulfillment of the decisions of the twentieth party Congress, for a new mighty upsurge of industrial and agricultural production, for the further rise in the material well-being and cultural level of the workers. The reorganization of the management of industry and building, carried out in accordance with the decisions of the February plenary session of the Central Committee and the seventh session of

Of supreme importance to the further rise in the well-being of the Soviet people will be the fulfillment of the party task of catching up, within the next few years, with the United States in the per capita production of meat, milk and butter. The Soviet people ardently support this appeal seeing in it a new manifestation of the solicitude of the party for the welfare of the people. The strength and prestige of the party stand at an unprecedented high level. Our party has a clear-cut program of action, drawn up by the twentieth party Congress. It looks boldly to the future. In everything the party is supported by the people, following it as its true and experienced guide.

This, however, in no way entitles us to rest on our laurels and be complacent. It is essential to maintain all our organizations in a state of a high degree of mobilization and political vigilance, to improve organizational and ideological work, rear all Communists in the spirit of political activity, and struggle for the general Leninist line.

The task of all Communists is to guard and strengthen the unity and solidarity of the party, its leading nucleus: always to remember that the invincible strength of the Communist party lies in the Leninist unity of its ranks.

Ousted Russians Held Major Posts in the Hierarchy of the Kremlin

Following are biographical sketches of the six men involved in the shake-up in Soviet leadership:

Georgi M. Malenkov

Georgi Maximilianovich Malenkov, a Deputy Premier and Minister of Power Stations in the Soviet Union, is a pudgy 5-foot 7-inch man who nearly, but not quite, became the absolute dictator of his country and the Communist world.

All of his adult life Mr. Malenkov understudied Stalin. He parroted his phrases, wore the same shapeless gray cap and simple soldier's tunic. He even copied the dictator's manners. He was Stalin's filing clerk, hatchman and intimate.

Stalin died and Mr. Malenkov succeeded as Premier. But there were early indications that, unlike Stalin, he was not able to control the Communist party apparatus. Lavrenti P. Beria, who had once been Mr. Malenkov's supporter, was eliminated. It was apparent that a struggle for power was taking place.

On Feb. 8, 1953, Mr. Malenkov resigned as Soviet Premier, confessing "my guilt and responsibility for the unsatisfactory situation that has arisen in agriculture" and citing "my insufficient experience" in directing economic activity.

Vyacheslav M. Molotov

Early in a career of five decades devoted to communism Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov was stung by a sarcastic remark by the brilliant Leon Trotsky.

"Very well, Comrade Trotsky," Mr. Molotov replied. "We can't all be geniuses—but we shall see who lasts longest."

Shortly afterward Trotsky was a fugitive and Mr. Molotov became a familiar figure on the international scene—an impressive man behind a rimless pince-nez, wearing a starched high collar and a two-button black worsted suit.

Mr. Molotov bent with the winds that changed Soviet policy and he survived not only Trotsky, who was murdered in Mexico, but many others of his Bolshevik contemporaries.

Mr. Molotov had become Soviet Foreign Minister in May, 1939.

He did not give up that position until the spring of 1949. Then, observers said, it was he who pulled the strings of Soviet foreign policy from behind the scenes. He was back as Foreign Minister after the death of Stalin in 1953.

Lazar M. Kaganovich

Lazar Moiseyevich Kaganovich is a man of driving force, who though not tall, has a rugged frame.

Perhaps his drive and ability were the reasons that he was able to survive as the last Jew in the Soviet Union to wield any real power. Many of the leaders of the Soviet Union were his proteges, including Nikita S. Khrushchev and Nikolai A. Bulganin themselves.

Mr. Kaganovich had been very close to Stalin. In the early 1930's, when Stalin brought him to Moscow from the Ukraine, Mr. Kaganovich reached the height of his power.

In the 1930's, Mr. Kaganovich was often ranked as number two to Stalin and was considered a possible successor to the dictator.

Mr. Kaganovich dealt with some of the major problems of the Soviet Union—transport, coal, oil and heavy industry.

He was born in poverty in 1893 in the Ukraine near Kiev and as a boy worked in a shoe factory.

Dmitri T. Shepilov

Dmitri Trofimovich Shepilov, 52 years old, was considered one of Mr. Khrushchev's most trusted aides. He had a sharp eye for gauging the shifting tides in foreign affairs so that they could be used to Soviet advantage.

He is a big man—by far the biggest among the top Soviet leadership. He weighs more than 200 pounds, measures well over six feet in height, has a thick neck and deep-set eyes.

The rest of the Soviet leaders are small men, probably because Stalin was himself only about 5 feet 4 inches in height.

In fact some observers believe that Mr. Shepilov was marked for purging when Stalin died in 1953.

At the time Mr. Shepilov was editor of Pravda.

But with Stalin gone Mr. Shepilov began a rapid advance that put him in the first ranks of the younger men of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Shepilov's early party career was mainly concerned with propaganda, first as head of the Central Committee's Agitation and Propaganda Department and then as editor of Pravda.

Mikhail G. Pervukhin

Mikhail Georgievich Pervukhin, in making his first major speech as a Soviet leader several years ago, made a point of ridiculing Americans who said they had seen flying saucers. His comment was, "Next they will say they are seeing flying saucers."

Mr. Pervukhin is a practical engineer who has little sympathy for fantasy. He believes in getting things done.

He is the son of a blacksmith and in 1919, before he was 15 years old, he joined the Soviet Communist party.

At the age of 16 he was an editor of a local Communist newspaper in an obscure corner of the Urals and then he was sent to school to be trained as an electrical engineer.

Before he was 35, Mr. Pervukhin had become one of the chiefs of Soviet heavy industry, heading all of the Soviet electrical industry and later all of the Soviet chemical industry.

Maxim Z. Saburov

Maxim Z. Saburov has lived with heavy industry most of his life and his personality shows the influence.

He is one of the less colorful of the Soviet leaders. He gives the appearance of a machine—efficient, businesslike, competent.

He came from a working-class family in the Donets Basin. At 13 he started to work as a messenger boy, tried farming, worked on a railroad and then worked in a metallurgical plant. It was his first brush with industry.

Thereafter Mr. Saburov discovered a successful formula for getting ahead in the Soviet Union.

Some readers recognized this for what it was—a cue that some leaders had overreached themselves. The tone of Pravda's editorial was in line with Mr. Khrushchev's recognized policy and hinted at past "errors" of policies known to have been advocated in turn by Mr. Malenkov and Mr. Molotov.

The question around Moscow all day yesterday was, "What does the editorial mean?" Correspondents who had tried to explain the ramifications of the Pravda editorial submitted their stories yesterday afternoon. But they were still waiting for them to move to the outside world last night when the Moscow radio started to tell the world in its own words.

The first news available here was a report that quickly spread among foreigners of the monitoring of an Arabic-language broadcast to the Middle East. Then came the news of a Russian-language announcement monitored in London. There was word of an Italian-language account heard in Rome, and reports flooded in from Paris and Hamburg stations. But the radios and telegraphs here were silent.

Finally, after midnight, the Soviet news agency Tass moved an official fourteen-page account of the shake-up. This account was arranged in alphabetical order. In all two and a half pages of the four-page newspaper were devoted to the announcement and approval of it by the Moscow party organization led by Miss Ekaterina A. Furtseva.

Acute readers of the Communist party newspaper had been led to expect some sweeping news yesterday morning. It isn't every day that Pravda issues a stern call for "party unity" and warns that even the closest friends of Lenin were disciplined for setting themselves against the interests of the Communist party.

That is what Pravda did yesterday. It said the party was "beat[ing] club" and de[scribing] the shake-up. This

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Soviet People Not Told of Shifts Till After World Gets the News

Announcement Is First Beamed Abroad by Moscow Radio—It Covers More Than Half of Four-Page Pravda

By MAX FRANKEL

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Thursday, July 4—

The Soviet people did not learn until this morning of the shake-up in the Communist party hierarchy that rules them.

News of the demotion of Georgi M. Malenkov, Vyacheslav M. Molotov and Lazar M. Kaganovich, was beamed to the world by Moscow radio in a dozen languages last evening. But it was not announced here until 1 o'clock this morning.

This morning's Pravda, carrying on Page 1 the Central Committee's communique detailing the shake-up, appeared on the streets at 4:30 A. M. Half the page was taken up with pictures of the fifteen members of the party Presidium, all carefully

fully arranged in alphabetical order. In all two and a half pages of the four-page newspaper were devoted to the announcement and approval of it by the Moscow party organization led by Miss Ekaterina A. Furtseva. Acute readers of the Communist party newspaper had been led to expect some sweeping news yesterday morning. It isn't every day that Pravda issues a stern call for "party unity" and warns that even the closest friends of Lenin were disciplined for setting themselves against the interests of the Communist party. That is what Pravda did yesterday. It said the party was "beat[ing] club" and de[scribing] the shake-up. This

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400 Russians See Pope

VATICAN CITY, July 3 (CP)

A group of Russian tourists

attended a Papal audience in St. Peter's Basilica today for the first time since the Russian Revolution of 1917. The 400 Russians were part of a general audience of about 2,000. The Russians stood motionless at one corner of the huge cathedral when the Pope was carried in on his gestatorial chair. The Soviet tourists left before the Pope gave his apostolic blessing.

N. Y. Times
JUL 5 1957

Zhukov Viewed as No. 2 Russian, Sharing Power With Khrushchev

By HARRISON E. SALISBURY

Marshal Georgi G. Zhukov, one of the men whose demotion was announced yesterday, and the Soviet Army are expected by close observers of Soviet affairs to share power with Nikita S. Khrushchev in the newly-constituted Moscow regime.

A conviction that Marshal Zhukov, newly elevated to the Presidium of the Soviet Communist party's Central Committee, is the No. 2 man in the new set-up has been strengthened by an analysis of events preceding the shake-up.

This analysis suggests that Marshal Zhukov and his army associates, who played a key role in the ouster of the late Lavrenti P. Beria as Soviet police chief in June, 1953, played a similar part in the defeat of the group headed by Vyacheslav M. Molotov.

The second most important Soviet civilian—after Mr. Khrushchev himself—in the maneuvering that preceded the coup appears to have been Anastas I. Mikoyan, the Soviet foreign trade specialist. Mr. Mikoyan may have switched sides in the bitter infighting among the Soviet hierarchy and thus facilitated Mr. Khrushchev's move against his opponents.

The Moscow announcements have sought to give the impression that it was a mere "faction" of the Soviet Communist party that Mr. Khrushchev ousted. However, closer inspection of the changes shows that there was the narrowest kind of a split within the ruling Presidium of the Central Committee.

A 6-to-5 Majority

Mr. Khrushchev, in fact, much of the time was able to command only a 6-to-5 majority among the eleven voting members of the old Presidium. It is considered probable that following the Hungarian coup last autumn Mr. Khrushchev lost effective control of the Presidium to the coalition of forces led by Mr. Molotov.

It was reported by Polish Communist sources that Mr. Khrushchev had escaped ouster as First Secretary of the Communist party at the plenary session of the Central Committee last December only through the powerful intervention of the Chinese Communist party, led by Mao Tse-tung.

Marshal Zhukov, who last December was only an alternate member of the Presidium and as such had no voting rights in the party's ruling body, probably also rallied to Mr. Khrushchev.

Despite these powerful allies, Mr. Khrushchev, as is now evident, suffered a humiliating rebuff at the December meeting. He was forced to agree to a new set-up for Soviet industry that would have put the most important levers of power in the hands of Mikhail G. Pervukhin,

one of the men whose demotion was announced yesterday.

The December plenary appears to have marked the high point of the oppositionist bid for power.

At that time, the group opposed to Mr. Khrushchev within the Presidium apparently included Mr. Molotov, Georgi M. Malenkov, Lazar M. Kaganovich, Mr. Pervukhin and Maxim Z. Saburov, former state planning chief, and at least one more Presidium member. This is certain since it took a minimum of six of the eleven votes of the Presidium to win approval of the plan to name Mr. Pervukhin as the new economic czar.

Theoretically, the six-man anti-Khrushchev majority on the Presidium could have removed him at that time. With both the Chinese leaders and Marshal Zhukov opposed to such a move, however, the Molotov coalition presumably was afraid to take such a radical step.

This seems to have been a fatal error for Mr. Khrushchev's opponents. The energetic party chief set about rallying support.

Communist China's Premier and Foreign Minister, Chou En-lai, arrived from Peiping in late December for visits to Moscow and the satellite regimes. It is probable that he assisted Mr. Khrushchev and, perhaps, Marshal Zhukov in rallying over at least one of the anti-Khrushchev votes within the Presidium.

By late February, at a new plenary session of the Central Committee, Mr. Khrushchev was able to overturn the results of the fateful December meeting. To do this he had to command at least six of the eleven Presidium votes—presumably the votes of those six Presidium members who survived the shake-up announced this week.

Those six were himself, Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin, Marshal Kliment Y. Voroshilov, Mr. Mikoyan, Mikhail A. Suslov, the party's ideological specialist, and Alexei I. Kirichenko, Ukrainian party boss and Mr. Khrushchev's former associate in the Ukraine. Since Messrs. Bulganin, Voroshilov and Kirichenko are known to be the most reliable supporters of Mr. Khrushchev, the only ones who might have possibly switched between December and February were either Mr. Mikoyan or Mr. Suslov.

It is also possible that by late February Mr. Khrushchev had succeeded in separating Mr. Pervukhin from his erstwhile allies. This is suggested by the fact that Mr. Pervukhin is the only one of the five known anti-Khrushchev men who was not dropped from the hierarchy. He slipped from full membership in the Presidium to alternate membership, but this is still the ante-room to power in the Soviet Union.

N. Y. Times
JUL 5 1957

New Kind of Leader Georgi Konstantinovich Zhukov

THE latest shake-up in the Soviet hierarchy has for the first time put a professional military man on the highest ruling body of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Communist party. For Marshal Georgi Konstantinovich Zhukov this elevation must have been specially

sweet because it coincided with the downfall of the closest collaborators of Stalin, the dictator who so long had deprived him of the glory he had won in World War II.

"Eisenhower of Russia" is the way some writers have described the marshal's role in the war. Certainly from the successful defense of Moscow in early 1941 to the capture of Berlin in 1945 it was Marshal Zhukov who commanded gigantic Soviet armies at key battles. "Spasitel," or savior, was what he was called by many a Soviet man in the street.

The reaction of Stalin, always envious and fearful of rivals, was to banish the marshal after the war to provincial posts, first in Odessa and then in the Urals. A legend was built up deliberately that it was Stalin who had planned the victory over Hitler in every detail.

A special film, "The Fall of Berlin," was made and widely shown to "prove" Stalin's military genius and to portray Marshal Zhukov as a coward and a military fumbler. In personal conversation with his intimates, Stalin accused the marshal of being a superstitious oaf who smelled handfuls of dirt to divine whether he should begin an attack.

But Stalin's campaign failed, and within twenty-four hours after the dictator's death was announced in March, 1953, the marshal was back in a high Moscow post, beginning the climb to the highest level of Soviet power.

A Wrestler's Shoulders

Marshal Zhukov is a squat 5 feet 1 inch in height, and has broad shoulders of a wrestler. His broad face betrays that he is a descendant of a long line of Russian peasants. His erect posture, his intelligent and mobile face and his piercing blue eyes make even a casual acquaintance soon aware that he is a man to be reckoned with, while his vigor of movement and his obviously well preserved body make him seem younger than one born more than sixty years ago, in 1896.

The marshal's slightly bowed legs testify to his original cavalry background. He is still a good rider. A good shot with pistol or rifle, he was also a

supple days. He is a student of military history, and his favorite military hero is reported to be Hannibal.

Marshal Zhukov's military career began two years before the Bolshevik Revolution when, at the age of 19, he was drafted into the Czar's Novgorod Dragoons. He joined the Red Army in 1918 and the Communist party in 1919. In the next twenty years he rose in the officer corps, attended military schools in the Soviet Union and Germany, and observed tank warfare in Spain during the Spanish civil war.

A Victory in Mongolia

The quality of his professional prowess was made clear when he commanded a tank army that defeated the Japanese in Mongolia in 1939 at a little-known but important battle on the Khalka River. His opportunity to have this command, as well as to rise so rapidly in the next few years, came in large part because most of the Soviet Army's high command had been destroyed during Stalin's great purges of 1936-38.

President Eisenhower evaluated Marshal Zhukov's role in World War II in these words, "To no one man do the United Nations (the Allies of that war) owe a greater debt than to Marshal Zhukov." The latter, in turn, credited President Eisenhower with "the most magnificent performance of any general of the current time."

The personal friendship between these two generals resulted in a brief exchange of letters earlier in the post-Stalin period, but to date there has been no sign that this friendship has had major political importance. While visiting India this year Marshal Zhukov indicated that the friendship had cooled somewhat, at least since the Hungarian revolt.

Little is known of Mme. Zhukov. But the marshal has often expressed great pride in his two daughters and in his 6-year-old granddaughter, whom he likes to take rowing on a lake near his country home.

The Zhukovs' older daughter, Era, is married to Yuri A. Vastievsky, son of the former Soviet chief of staff, Marshal Aleksander M. Vastievsky. The younger daughter, Ella, became the wife of Klim P. Voroshilov in July, 1955. Her husband is a nephew of Marshal Kliment Y. Voroshilov, Soviet chief of staff.

A family picture the marshal sent President Eisenhower several years ago was the world's first knowledge of whom his daughters had married.

HARRIMAN DOUBTS SATELLITE SHIFT

Warns Against Assumption Soviet Bloc Would Adopt Capitalism If Freed

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times
HAMILTON, N. Y., July 3—

Governor Harriman warned today that captive nations rebelling against Soviet domination were not necessarily interested in adopting the free enterprise system of the United States.

The Governor said at the Ninth Annual Colgate University Conference on Foreign Policy that it would be "a grave mistake" for the State Department to assume that satellite groups were interested in economic change.

"Such people are not protesting against a Socialist economy," Mr. Harriman declared.

"They want more personal freedom and opportunity. And in the satellites, of course, they want first of all and above all to throw off the hated yoke of Russian rule and recover national independence.

"If they achieve these things, we need have no fear, regardless of the form of economic organization they may choose. A little freedom inevitably leads to the demands for more."

Many Places in Soviet Why Need New Names

Wholesale changes in Soviet gazetteers will probably follow the fall from favor of Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Georgi M. Malenkov and Lazar M. Kaganovich.

Many towns, villages and farm enterprises now are named after the three discredited leaders. After the Stalinist purges, names of places honoring fallen leaders were altered to acknowledge new political favorites.

There are nineteen Soviet post offices that bear Mr. Molotov's name, including that of a Urals city with a population of 538,000. Eight towns and villages are named in honor of Mr. Kaganovich. Mr. Malenkov, a comparative late-comer to such honors, had to be content with having his name given to factories and farms.

Names of communities that had honored Leon Trotsky, Gregory E. Zinoviev, and Nikolai A. Bukharin were changed by order of Stalin.

State Department Says Ousters Show Strain in Soviet System

By JAMES RESTON

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, July 3—Of-

icial Washington tried hard to conceal its pleasure over the latest shake-up in the Soviet Union today but didn't quite succeed.

"No comment," said James C. Hagerty, White House press secretary, grinning broadly, and the grin was the most tangible and significant act in a day devoted mainly to gleeful speculation.

News of the official Soviet announcement of the dismissal of Vyacheslav M. Molotov and his associates was brought to President Eisenhower during a meeting of the National Security Council in the afternoon, but reports of developments were rushed to the White House from the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency throughout the day.

Mr. Hagerty told the press in midafternoon that the Administration had advance indication of the ouster. He noted that Nikita S. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Soviet Communist party, and Marshal Nikolai A. Bulganin, Soviet Premier, had recently postponed a visit to Czechoslovakia, and that an aerial demonstration over Moscow, to which Communist bloc leaders had been invited, had suddenly been canceled.

Beyond that, however, he would not comment.

White Reads Statement

The State Department was more explicit. In answer to reporters' questions, Lincoln White, press officer, read the following statement:

"It has long been known that the Soviet system operates under stresses and strains. Arbitrary and abrupt dismissals without public discussion of the issues are also characteristic of the system.

"The official Soviet press has at various times suggested there have been disagreements over basic policies in such fields as Government organizations, agriculture, heavy industry, consumer goods and satellite affairs.

"The serious nature of the divergence of views is clearly shown by the number and importance of the persons dismissed or shifted. We are naturally following these developments closely for the effect they may have on Soviet basic policy."

Effect on U. S. Policy Seen

The Soviet changes have come at a critical time in the development of United States foreign policy and is expected to have some influence on that policy, particularly as it affects Communist China and the Soviet

Both the Executive and Legislative branches of the United States Government have been divided about how to deal with Moscow and Peiping. Some legislators and officials have favored making a major effort to reach a disarmament agreement with the Soviet Union and acquiescing in an accommodation with the Chinese Communists.

Others have been opposing this on the ground that the whole Communist world was in ferment. They have been going along reluctantly with the current United States policy in the disarmament talks in London, but insisting that the way to break up the Communist alliance between Moscow and Peiping was to maintain the economic pressure.

Views of Dulles Recalled

Secretary of State Dulles, who left for his Great Lakes retreat on Duck Island today, said only yesterday that he was opposed to making concessions to the Chinese Communists, and regarded dictatorial communism in both Peiping and Moscow as "a passing phase."

Today's developments in Moscow, coming on top of a noisy debate in Peiping over ideological questions, were expected to strengthen those who have contended that the thing to do was to keep the pressure on, not to grow weary of the long struggle, not to make risky conces-

sions to Moscow or Peiping, but to plod along and allow the contradictions in the Communist world to weaken both the whole Communist empire.

Meanwhile, the capital had the greatest day of political speculation since Mr. Khrushchev emerged on the world scene after the death of Stalin.

The Private reports of Soviet experts in the Government were in general agreement on this theme:

"The central part of the Pravda editorial, and the elevation of Mr. Khrushchev's personal friends to the Presidium—particularly his confidante Miss Yekaterina A. Furtseva—clearly showed that Mr. Khrushchev had enhanced his power in the struggle.

"Mr. Khrushchev's political innovations at the Twentieth Party Congress in February of 1956 and the consequences of those innovations in the other Communist parties of the world were at the root of the trouble that led to the dismissals.

"Mr. Khrushchev had contended that there were many roads to socialism, had invited criticism at home and a more liberal and rationalistic policy for Communist parties abroad and had introduced a decentralized system of economic control at home. All of these had led to trouble and criticism from Mr. Molotov, Mr. Kaganovich and the other 'old Bolsheviks' who had been close to Stalin.

"These innovations had damaged or disoriented some Communist parties abroad, had caused ideological confusion at home, and had been followed by the riots in Poznan, the rise

and defiance of Wladyslaw Gombulka in Warsaw, the emergence of new Communist themes in Communist China, and finally by the revolt in Hungary.

"Throughout these last eighteen months, there had been criticism among the long-time colleagues of Stalin for this looser control of the political life of the world Communist movement and decentralized plan for the economy at home. And while Mr. Khrushchev had encouraged criticism, it finally reached a point where he felt he had to remove his critics.

Some of the Soviet experts here thought Mr. Khrushchev's China and disarmament policies had something to do with the dismissals; others were inclined to minimize these as causes or dismiss them altogether.

According to some of these experts, Mr. Malenkov was unenthusiastic, not only about Mr. Khrushchev's emphasis on heavy industry, but about his policy of aid to Communist China. Mr. Malenkov's theme was that the time had come to concentrate more on the production of consumer goods, even if that meant being unable to help Red China.

The men here who are paid to solve the Soviet riddle agree that his dismissal was not caused by any desire on his part to return to the hard centralization policies of the Stalin regime.

The argument over the Soviet disarmament policy was this: some of the experts seemed to think that this would inevitably lead to a lessening of tensions in the world and thus to greater influence of the West among the Soviet satellites.

According to this thesis, the "old Bolsheviks" were frightened by the evidence that a relaxation of centralized control and of tensions inevitably leads to opposition to Moscow both at home and among the other Communist parties. Therefore, Mr. Molotov and Mr. Kaganovich were believed to oppose this Khrushchev policy.

The irony in this situation, as some officials here see it, is that the failure of Mr. Khrushchev's downgrading of Stalin and his decentralization policies is now leading to his success in gaining control of the Presidium, and, adding to the irony, that it is now driving him to assume the kind of personal control that he condemned in Stalin during the Twentieth Party Congress.

New Envoy to 'Hurry' to Soviet

VIENNA, July 4 (AP)—Llewellyn E. Thompson Jr., new United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union said tonight he was leaving Tuesday for Moscow. "I guess I'd better hurry at the rate things are happening there," added Mr. Thompson, who has been Ambassador to Austria.

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N. Y. Times

JUL 4 1957

KREMLIN CHANGES FORESEEN BY TITO

He Indicated Anti-Stalinists Would Win Power Struggle That Dates Back to '53

By HARRY SCHWARTZ

President Tito of Yugoslavia last November gave the world its first authoritative news of the internal Kremlin struggle that resulted in yesterday's major Soviet shake-up. The shake-up also appeared to vindicate the confidence Marshal Tito expressed then that the anti-Stalinist forces would win the contest.

Soviet organs last fall unanimously denied that there was any split between Stalinists and anti-Stalinists in the Soviet leadership as the Yugoslav leader described.

But yesterday's charges that a group of the highest Soviet leaders had sought to sabotage the decisions of the twentieth Communist Party Congress of February, 1956, appeared fully to vindicate the accusations made by President Tito in a widely publicized speech at Pula Nov. 11.

The struggle that reached its climax yesterday in Moscow, did not begin at the twentieth congress, however, nor was it simply between Stalinists and anti-Stalinists. The congress was the forum before which Nikita S. Khrushchev delivered his originally secret speech exposing some of Stalin's crimes. The party meeting also adopted certain policy assumptions that reversed earlier policy bases accepted during Stalin's reign.

Struggles on Two Planes

The three top figures ousted from the Soviet leadership yesterday all had previously suffered significant demotion in recent years. Georgi M. Malenkov "resigned" as Premier of the Soviet Union in February 1955, Vyacheslav M. Molotov was released from his post as Foreign Minister a year ago, while some months afterward Lazar M. Kaganovich was released from his post as head of the Soviet Government committee in charge of setting wage policy for the country.

Struggles among Soviet leaders since Stalin's death in March, 1953, have developed on two planes. One has been the conflict among individuals and cliques for personal power and position. The other has been the struggle among Stalin's successors on the issues posed by the problem of reshaping the Soviet system from the frozen mold of Stalin's last years to new forms corresponding more nearly with the real requirements of a Soviet Union educationally and economically far advanced from its relatively primitive state when Stalin assumed power in the Nineteen Twenties.

A tense competition for individual power dominated the first three months after Stalin's death. A day after the announcement that Stalin was dead Georgi M. Malenkov, long the dictator's protégé, appeared to have inherited all of Stalin's power. But he was named successor to Stalin as Premier of the So-

though not in title, head of the Communist party apparatus, the most important single power mechanism in the country.

Less than two weeks later it was announced that Mr. Malenkov had "resigned" as a Secretary of the Central Committee. In effect, this meant he had surrendered control of the party apparatus to Mr. Khrushchev, who became First Secretary officially in September, 1953.

The late Lavrenti P. Beria made his drive for personal power in a series of slashing moves between March and June, 1953. He gained a reputation of the mysterious "doctors' plot" that had been aimed at him. He demonstrated the immense power of the secret police apparatus he headed by bringing about the ouster of some of Mr. Khrushchev's closest subordinates.

Beria Deposed by Rivals

Beria apparently came close to victory, but late in June, 1953, his rivals, acting with Army support personified by Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov, deposed him. Beria's subsequent secret trial and execution was accompanied by a widespread purge of his supporters. The fall of Beria brought in its wake a significant downgrading of the secret police and the beginning of a less strained atmosphere in Soviet life.

From July, 1953, to January, 1955, Mr. Malenkov, then Premier, and Mr. Khrushchev engaged in a covert rivalry for power that centered more and more on a burning issue of Soviet life: the desire of Soviet citizens for a rapid improvement in the poor standard of living.

Mr. Malenkov seemed to take the lead by appearing publicly in the summer of 1953 as the great advocate of a rapid increase in consumer goods production to insure a sharp rise in the standard of living by 1955 or 1956. Not to be outdistanced, Mr. Khrushchev appeared publicly within a few weeks as the great architect of plans to expand Soviet food production rapidly.

Genuine implementation of the Malenkov program, however, would have required a sharp cut-back in Soviet emphasis on heavy industry and on armaments.

As the implications of this became plain to the politically powerful leaders of heavy industry and to the Soviet military leaders, opposition mounted. Mr. Khrushchev then, in late 1954, emerged as the champion of heavy industry, won Central Committee approval for his position, and thus forced Mr. Malenkov's "resignation" as Premier in February, 1955. The Malenkov program was essentially abandoned for the time being.

Stalin's Tactics Utilized

Mr. Khrushchev's triumph then was already in large part testimony to the success he had achieved in purging his opponents from key jobs in the party apparatus, and hence from the Central Committee. Thus, two and a half years ago it was already apparent he was following tactics Stalin had used successfully in the Nineteen Twenties when he defeated Leon Trotsky, Nikolai Bukharin and other rivals.

Mr. Khrushchev's victory in early 1955 was won in association with the Stalinist faction. The heavy industry doctrine was explicitly a return to Stalinist policy, while the secret police apparatus that accepted Mr. Malenkov's "resignation" heard the chief Stalinist, Vyacheslav M. Molotov, lay down at the same session a hard Stalinist foreign

policy.

But the Khrushchev-Molotov alliance lasted only a few weeks. Mr. Khrushchev and the new Premier, Marshal Nikolai A. Bulganin, apparently decided that if the basic tensions of Soviet society were to be eased it was essential that a sharp improvement in the Soviet Union's international relations take place.

Mr. Molotov, though he was then Foreign Minister, is now known to have opposed many of the steps taken in the spring of 1955 that made possible the Geneva Conference, where President Eisenhower and the British and French Premiers met with the Soviet leaders. In particular, Mr. Molotov and his supporters opposed Mr. Khrushchev's decision to go to Belgrade, apologize publicly to President Tito and to patch up Soviet-Yugoslav relations by accepting for the Soviet Union all blame for the 1948 rupture between the two countries.

Major Turning Point Planned

Against the background of the improved international situation of 1955, Mr. Khrushchev planned the twentieth Communist party congress of February, 1956, as a major turning point in Soviet history. He sought at this meeting to consolidate his power by announcing far-reaching changes in doctrine, and also by announcing important concessions such as shortening of the work week, higher pay for low-paid workers, and higher pensions for old persons.

Mr. Khrushchev's aspirations in this direction were symbolized by his exposure of Stalin. This exposure gave him the freedom he needed to change much in Soviet policy that previously had been untouchable because its supporters could always call on Stalin's authority when challenged.

In particular, Mr. Khrushchev's doctrinal pronouncement that war was not inevitable even though capitalist states existed created the possibility of a basic new framework for Soviet policy. Mr. Khrushchev's dictum that the class struggle eases when socialism is built, rather than, as Stalin had it, increasing in intensity, furnished a doctrinal basis for easing the police-state system of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Khrushchev's concessions in February, 1956, however, soon boomeranged sharply. The peaceful Polish revolution and the bloody Hungarian revolt last fall indicated that he had blundered in his exposure of Stalin and his enemies closed in for the kill. At last December's meeting of the Communist party Central Committee Mr. Khrushchev suffered some damaging defeats and there was public evidence that the stock of Mr. Pervukhin and Mr. Malenkov had risen sharply.

But 1956 also had brought Mr. Khrushchev a major, perhaps decisive, victory. His virgin lands program for expanding Soviet grain output proved a tremendous success last year after the ignominious failure in 1955. Without that success Mr. Khrushchev might not have survived politically.

A major and still unsolved mystery now is how Mr. Khrushchev turned the tables on his foes early this year. That he had turned the tables became apparent at the February Central Committee meeting which in effect undid much of the work of the same group's meeting of December. In particular, Mr. Pervukhin was in effect deprived of his post as chief of a complex decentralization of Soviet industry was decided upon.

N. Y. Times

JUL 4 1957

SOVIET EXPECTED TO EASE BLOC TIE

Shift in Leadership Viewed as Move to Consolidate the Communist Orbit

By SYDNEY GRUSON

Special to The New York Times

PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia, July 3—The changes in the Soviet

Communist party's leadership, announced in Moscow tonight, may have ushered in a significant period of readjustment in relations between the Soviet Union and other Communist countries.

The changes, and the Pravda editorial accompanying them, were considered of such basic importance that people here and in Warsaw hesitated to comment until a more thorough study became possible. But among their first impressions were these:

1. Nikita S. Khrushchev had consolidated his position as the first among equals in the new Presidium of the Soviet party.

2. Mr. Khrushchev was bent on a determined effort to narrow the steadily widening gap between the Soviet party and some of the other Communist parties, particularly that of Communist China.

To Lessen Antagonism

The dismissal of Vyacheslav M. Molotov would be bound to lessen the sharp antagonism between Moscow and Belgrade, Yugoslavia, and the differences between Moscow and Warsaw as well. In both Belgrade and Warsaw Mr. Molotov had been considered the prime architect of a tough policy toward parties straying from the Soviet line.

The section of the Pravda editorial concerning the failure of "sectarians and dogmatists" [Stalinists] to understand the necessity of consolidating the Socialist camp was read here as aimed against Mr. Molotov.

Through the Pravda editorial the Soviet Union was assuming a posture that had already been taken up elsewhere in the Communist camp. Editorial strictures against Stalinists on the one hand and revisionists on the other echoed the "struggle on two fronts" adopted as the Polish party's major ideological line months ago.

One paragraph in Pravda particularly sounded like dozens of recent editorials of Trybuna Ludu, the newspaper of the Polish party's Central Committee. Pravda described "sectarians and dogmatists" as people "divorced from life" who have "backward conceptions."

"They do not see new situations," Pravda declared. "They stubbornly cling to obsolete forms and methods of work and reject that which is born by life. They would like to turn the

partly back to those incriminated by the Twentieth Party Congress.

This at long last the Russians conceded that Marshal Tito had been right when he said months ago that the Soviet leadership was faction-ridden. At the time the Russians heaped abuse on the Yugoslav leader for advancing this idea.

The new thesis of Mao Tse-tung, Chinese Communist leader, also seemed to have had a major influence in the latest formulation of Soviet policy although to some extent in a negative way. Pravda's statement that "the Communist party is not a debating society" appeared to be a direct rejection of Mr. Mao's encouragement of discussion under the phrase of "let a hundred flowers bloom."

Nevertheless, there are parts of the Soviet pronouncements that must fall gently on Chinese Communist ears, particularly its statements insisting that Soviet foreign and domestic policy must take current circumstances into account and reject obsolete methods and attitudes.

Although neither Moscow nor Peiping said so openly, it has been evident that a growing breach was developing in the analyses of how to apply Marxist doctrine. In this connection it is significant that Mr. Khrushchev showed a special sensitivity on the question of relations with Communist China early last year.

Talk to Poles Recalled

According to reliable reports when Mr. Khrushchev was in Warsaw in March 1956, he told the Polish Communist leader that one of Stalin's main foreign policy errors was his failure to get along with Peiping. This was only a few weeks after Mr. Khrushchev had delivered his de-Stalinization speech in Moscow.

He said in Warsaw that Stalin's overbearing attitude toward the Chinese communists had brought relations near to the point of open break. It was mainly because of tensions between Peiping and Washington that the Communist world was able to avoid a noticeable rupture. Mr. Khrushchev told the Poles.

The changes in Moscow are also likely to have some effect on internal politics in the other Communist states. In Poland the opponents of Wladyslaw Gomulka's program based their arguments precisely on a desire to return to the old ways denounced by Pravda. It was widely supposed that these Polish Stalinists took their inspiration and even a good deal of their status from support received from some members of the Soviet Presidium.

The Czechoslovak Communist party concluded a central committee meeting only last month taking a firm stand on the old tough line. It is likely now that the Czech, the Rumanian and the Bulgarian parties, which all have strongly resisted changing ideas, will feel obliged to do some reconsidering.

As for Hungary, the situation there is so involved that there is no telling what the Moscow changes might mean there.

Yugoslavs Surprised

Yugoslavs, July 3 (Reuters)—The Soviet Communist party's dramatic dismissals came as a bombshell to Yugoslav officials tonight, but

Yugoslav Communist party. Moscow's charge that Georgi M. Malenkov, Lazar Kaganovich, Vyacheslav M. Molotov and Dmitri T. Shepilov were "shackled by old notions and methods" and were "stubbornly clinging to old methods" was in full accord with the private views of top-level Yugoslav Communists, well-informed sources said.

Yugoslav officials, however, declined any comment pending full study of messages from Moscow. "I am very surprised," a Government spokesman said. Foreign observers said the removal of what Yugoslavs regard as the "old Stalinist guard" of the Soviet leadership was likely to lead to new efforts by Soviet Communist party chief Nikita S. Khrushchev to improve relations with Yugoslavia.

Belgrade sources said the new move from Moscow was undoubtedly the most important event in the Communist world since Stalin's death in 1953 and subsequent developments including the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist party in February 1956, and the Hungarian uprising last October.

Nikita S. Khrushchev has now emerged as the strongest single leader in the Soviet Union, the sources said. Complete power now appeared to rest in his hands after a period of three years of "collective leadership."

The Yugoslavs regard Mr. Khrushchev as the exponent of "progressive" developments within the Soviet Union, and that, if the Soviet party leader now had complete power and freedom of action, he was likely to take speedy action to re-establish Soviet leadership in Eastern Europe on a new basis, the sources added.

N. Y. Times

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TITO AIDES TO SOVIET

Two Vice Premiers Plan Visit Described as Holiday

Yugoslavia, July 4 (Reuters)—Dr. Edvard Kardelj and Aleksander Rankovic, Yugoslav vice premiers, will go to the Soviet Union shortly on a holiday, usually reliable sources said today.

Observers said it was virtually certain the two aides of Marshal Tito would meet Nikita S. Khrushchev, Soviet Communist party chief, for a general discussion of the Kremlin shake-up and Soviet-Yugoslav relations.

The visit was expected to follow journeys to Western Germany and Scandinavia, which Dr. Kardelj and M. Rankovic will start within a week.

The sources said the officials had planned the holiday trip some time ago. But observers said it appeared probable that the Russian visit had been included at the last minute.

N. Y. Times

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Very Satisfied

PARIS, July 3 (AP)—The Polish Communist party's dramatic dismissals came as a bombshell to Yugoslav officials tonight, but it was "very satisfied" with the ousting of the Soviet leaders.

It is highly unusual for an embassy to take the initiative in such a case, it was stated.

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N. Y. Times

PEIPING IS SILENT ON SOVIET SHIFT

Makes No Comment for the Outside World—Broadcasts Moscow Communiques

By TILLMAN DURDIN (Special to The New York Times) HONG KONG, Friday, July 5

No comment from Communist China reached the outside world yesterday on the dismissal of Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Georgi M. Malenkov and Lazar M. Kaganovich from the leadership of the Soviet Communist party.

Peiping radio broadcasts monitored here carried only the text of the communiqué of the Central Committee of the Soviet party on the dismissal of the three men from the party's Central Committee and the text of the resolution condemning them. There was no expression of opinion in any of the Peiping newscasts.

Observers have noted that the departure of Mr. Molotov and Kaganovich from high Communist positions left Mao Tse-tung, head of the Chinese Communist party, more than ever the senior among the old-guard Communist revolutionaries still playing dominant roles.

Persons in close touch with developments in Communist China were cautious in analyzing the effects the Moscow dismissals might have on Chinese-Soviet relations and conditions in Communist China pending some indication of the reaction in Peiping.

It was believed that the Moscow changes would have no immediate major consequences in China. Insofar, however, as the Moscow shifts reflect weaknesses inherent in the dictatorial Soviet Communist system, the changes were regarded as a portent of what could happen in the dictatorial Chinese Communist system.

Dissension in Peiping

The Moscow dismissals came at a time when dissension within the ranks of the Peiping Government was receiving considerable attention at sessions of the National Peoples Congress, Communist China's rubber-stamp representative body, now being held in the capital of mainland China.

Leaders of the minor parties that the Communists have permitted to hold office in the Peiping regime are under heavy pressure for having attacked the Government during the last few weeks. Dr. Lo Lung-chi, Chang Po-chun and Chang Nai-ehi, all leaders of the Democratic League, are the main targets of the pressure.

News broadcasts from Peiping tonight said that Prof. Li Tsun-shan, president of Wuhan University, had charged that Mr. Chang and Dr. Lo had a plan to organize a party of "several million intellectuals to struggle for leadership in China." Professor Li spoke before a meeting of the Peoples Congress and seemed to imply that Mr. Chang and Dr. Lo sought to take power from the Communist party.

Mr. Chang, the Minister of Communications, and Dr. Lo, Minister of the Timber Industry, are both vice-chairmen of the Democratic League. Mr. Chang spoke out recently against one-

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party (Communist) domination of the Government, while Dr. Lo, a Columbia University graduate, charged that some persons had been unjustly condemned in Communist campaigns against "counter-revolutionaries."

Abuse of Red Policy Charged

Professor Li called Mr. Chang and Dr. Lo "leading lights among the Rightists" and said they were "now attacking all Communist theory and policy as dogma." The University president stated that the two non-Communist leaders used the recently-proclaimed "free opinion" policy of the Communist leadership as a cover under which to incite dissatisfaction among intellectuals, create disturbances, scoff at the successes of the Communist party and exaggerate every little fault.

Professor Li said Mr. Chang and Dr. Lo demanded a coalition Government and a capitalist instead of Socialist type of democracy.

He charged the two men with undermining Chinese-Soviet friendship and said they used two newspapers, the Kwangming Daily News in Peiping and the Wen Hui Pao of Shanghai to further their campaign.

Professor Li said Mr. Chang and Dr. Lo were now isolated because the workers and peasants and the pro-Socialist students "had spoken out."

A long article yesterday in the Peoples Daily, the leading Communist party organ, described a secret meeting of university professors called early last month in Peiping by Chang Po-chun. The article, whose text was received here in a Peiping newscast last night, said that Dr. Pei Shiao-tung, a Tsinghua University professor, described bitter discontent among students in China's universities and called the situation "explosive."

Peiping has not indicated how much longer the controversy over Mr. Chang, Dr. Lo and the non-Communists in the Peiping Government who have attacked the Communist regime is likely to go on. All the critics have explained themselves in appearances before their party groups, but their recantations and explanations are said to have been considered unsatisfactory by their party colleagues.

Indications from Communist sources as to what action will be taken against the Government's critics have been unclear. The Peoples Daily has said they would not be punished and that it would be enough to brand them as Rightists. The paper added, however, that "bourgeois and reactionary" forces had been deliberately left unchecked "in order to let the masses understand how dangerous they are and participate in their total elimination."

The London paper said: "We organized a trap to catch all those who were planning to usurp power."

Premier Chou En-lai stated in his long speech opening the Peoples Congress last week that if the minor party leaders persisted in criticizing the regime, they might be classed as "enemies of the people."

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EUROPE EXPECTS SOVIET PEACE BID

New Kremlin Approach fo East-West Talks Held Likely by Some Capitals

Special to The New York Times.

LONDON, July 3 — Nikita S. Khrushchev has consolidated his position by eliminating the three most prominent members of Stalin's old guard from the highest level of government in the Soviet Union.

To this view of today's events in Moscow, qualified British sources added the comment that Mr. Khrushchev, the most visible opponent of the "cult of personality" established by Stalin had now enhanced his own personal position.

The effect of the action upon Soviet policy may in time be reflected in a superficially more liberal attitude toward both the Western democracies and the Soviet satellites, these sources said.

The Central Committee's statement belabored Vyacheslav M. Molotov, former Foreign Minister for his narrow-minded opposition to Mr. Khrushchev's policy of coexistence and relaxation of international tension. But the British sources warned that the Soviet rulers' interpretation of these slogans probably would remain far different from that of the West.

Appeal to West Seen

It was suggested that Mr. Khrushchev, having rid himself of the most powerful holdovers from the Stalinist regime, would now appeal to the West as a representative of a united party and government bent on the peaceful settlement of outstanding differences, both in the field of political issues and in disarmament.

Although this "reformist" front may be false, those who study Soviet policy here indicated that it could present real problems to the Western powers.

There already exists in Western Europe, British sources said, a strong tendency to believe that the Soviet Union means no harm, that rearmament with all its financial burdens under NATO can be abandoned and that equitable settlement of issues, such as German reunification, can be negotiated with the Soviet Union.

Diplomats Expect Bid

Among professional diplomats there was an expectation that Mr. Khrushchev would ask for another heads-of-government meeting, preferably with President Eisenhower alone, but, if this proved impossible, with the President, Prime Minister Macmillan of Britain and Premier Maurice Bourges-Manouory of France.

One aspect of Mr. Khrushchev's action that surprised the British sources was that Lazar M. Kaganovich and Mr. Molotov, long considered to be supporters of the Stalinist policy in both foreign affairs and internal policy, apparently had made common cause with former Premier Georgi M. Malenkov and Dmitri T. Shepilov, who have been thought of as reformers.

It was said. The breaking point may have been the plan put forward recently by Mr. Khrushchev for dispersing control of Soviet industry.

This plan involved disbanding of many of the central industrial ministries and establishment of regional economic councils. Soviet newspapers, although they recognized its completion, have spent more time attacking opponents of the plan than glorifying its results.

There have been recent attacks against "snivellers and skeptics" in the Soviet press. Criticism of those who have "lost their links with life" also point to the sharpness of the debate within the party.

Paris Holds Rigidity Is Issue

Special to The New York Times.
PARIS, July 3 — The changes in the Soviet leadership were interpreted here as an attempt to end the rigidity of Soviet doctrine that had contributed to Moscow's isolation in the world.

Personal rivalries also were considered a factor by experts here who recalled the opposition between Nikita S. Khrushchev, and former Premier Georgi M. Malenkov.

The news was a sensation to those persons who follow Soviet affairs. There was a feeling of expectancy about possible changes in Soviet foreign policy as a result. Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Dmitri T. Shepilov, and Lazar M. Kaganovich are considered members of the "old guard" that, because of its doctrinal rigidity, had difficulty in adapting itself to changed economic and political conditions.

The charge against Mr. Molotov that he had hindered the betterment of relations between the Soviet Union and Japan, Austria and Yugoslavia was noted with interest, but the question was asked why Moscow had waited until now to try to improve these relations.

It was felt that Moscow now desired to go even farther and improve relations with the West by at least restoring them to what they were before the Hungarian revolt. Mr. Khrushchev and Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin were believed to be desirous to break out of the diplomatic isolation in which the brutal repression of that revolt had placed them. This isolation had threatened to continue and even be increased by the condemnatory report of the United Nations Commission on Hungary.

Another factor in the change was believed to be the divergences between the Soviet Union and Communist China over the theory and practice of Communism. It was thought that Moscow did not wish to be outdistanced by Peiping in the attempt to give Communism more

pragmatic form and to break out of the doctrinal strait-jacket that had led to errors in the political and economic fields.

Timing Surprised Italy

Special to The New York Times.
ROME, July 3 — Italy was not so much surprised by the changes in the Soviet Union as by their coming so early.

It was thought here it would take Mr. Khrushchev much longer to weather the dangerous crisis involving last fall's Hungary, over his rivals in the ruling group.

Experts on communism here felt that Mr. Khrushchev achieved his victory only with help of the Soviet Army. Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov's inclusion in the Presidium of the Soviet Communist Central Committee, according to these observers, is a sign of the prominence accorded by Mr. Khrushchev to the military.

Italian diplomats predicted another vigorous Soviet campaign for top level East-West talks. It was suggested that Marshal Zhukov might this time be in foreground of such a peace offensive. The ouster of Mr. Shepilov, in particular, was interpreted here as a blow to President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt. It was thought here that Mr. Shepilov had been be-

hind much of the recent trouble in the Middle East.

The Italian Communist party, the largest red organization west of the Iron Curtain, appeared to be in a state of confusion tonight. Some Communists said privately they rejoiced that the "peace course" had won in Moscow.

Today's development also caused a flurry of activity in the Vatican. Pope Pius XII asked his top aides in the Vatican's Secretariat of State to submit the latest reports of the Soviet situation.

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NEHRU SEES SHIFT IN SOVIET NORMAL

Indian Leader Sees Changes as Result of Long Process From Revolutionary Era

By LEONARD INGALLS
Special to The New York Times.
LONDON, July 4 — Prime Min-

ister Jawaharlal Nehru of India today described the political changes in the Soviet Union as a return to normalcy from a long revolutionary period.

Mr. Nehru is attending the British Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference here. He commented on the Soviet situation, disarmament, India's relations with Pakistan over Kashmir and other matters at a press conference he called.

Mr. Nehru's remarks covered some of the ground that has been covered at the conference of Prime Ministers but his opinions were presented as his own and not necessarily reflecting those of the Commonwealth leaders.

The changes in the Soviet Union, he said, indicated a process that had been going on in the Soviet Union for some years. "Every country that has gone through a major revolution gradually goes back to what might be called normalcy," he said. "The surprising thing about the Soviet Union has been that it has taken a longer period to go back to relative normality."

Interprets "Normality"

By normality, he said, he meant that the Soviet Union "is just not living at the high pitch of revolution; no country can live at that pitch for long."

On the question of Soviet domination of Hungary, Mr. Nehru said that "in Hungary or elsewhere any kind of foreign domination is not good and the people should have a chance to grow and develop as they choose."

In analyzing the Soviet action in Hungary last fall, he commented that the Hungarians "frightened" the Russians who could "see the hostile frontier coming nearer."

On the disagreement between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, Mr. Nehru said that before it could be settled India must insist on the withdrawal of Pakistani troops from the disputed territory. He said he had discussed the Kashmir problem with Prime Minister Harold Macmillan of Britain but Mr. Nehru did not report the results of the conversation.

"We have stood more from Pakistan than Israel or Egypt ever suffered from each other," Mr. Nehru asserted.

Turning to the Middle East he said his opinion was that "Egypt's attitude toward Israel has been more helpful in the last two years than that of some of the other Arab countries."

Backs Test Suspension

In reply to questions about disarmament, Mr. Nehru said he did not think it feasible to have an agreement covering everything but that the suspension of nuclear tests would "not endanger anybody but would improve the atmosphere for consideration of other problems."

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers met for a short time today to hear a report by Alan Lennox-Boyd, British Colonial Secretary, on the progress of Britain's colonies. The Colonial Secretary discussed political, economic and social matters affecting these areas.

During their discussion the Prime Ministers indicated a favorable attitude toward the admission to the British Commonwealth of the Federation of Malaya which will achieve its independence in August.

Muscovites Pause in Daily Routine To Express Surprise at Ousters

By MAX FRANKEL

Special to The New York Times.

MOSCOW, July 4—Dense

thought of Muscovites in their shopping near the Kremlin this afternoon, mindful of the sweeping developments within the old fortress.

They expressed surprise at the boldly headlined news that high and once trusted leaders stood exposed as plotters against the people's interests.

Many spoke trustingly of the wisdom of the Communist party. Nearly all nursed the hope that the cause of peace and Soviet prosperity had been served.

The Communist party itself worked for and reported the "unanimity" with which it said its 7,000,000 members were approving the dismissal of Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Georgi M. Malenkov and Lazar M. Kaganovich from the nation's ruling circle.

But the focus of world attention that bore down on Moscow today and the large type in Moscow's own newspapers belied the apparent mood of the people of the Soviet capital.

Muscovites bought frying pans in the G. U. M. department store, pinched fresh mushrooms in the market and swabbed the facades of their buildings to dress up the city for a forthcoming youth festival. They hurried in pursuit of their everyday but often overlooked chores.

Moscow's summer drizzle let the sun through for a few hours and a much longer than usual chain of visitors and tourists queued up for a look at the bodies of Lenin and Stalin in their Red Square mausoleum.

Near the tomb, a ruddy, kindly man stood holding the morning Pravda and shaking his head.

"I have been reading every word," he said. "I am very much surprised, especially about Molotov. I am a worker and come from an old peasant family. We have always followed Molotov's career and had thought that he was a devoted student of Leninist principles.

"But, of course, he is getting old, and his vision must be failing him. I hope the international situation will get better for our children now.

"You know, we have an old proverb here which says that whatever happens happens for the best. Do you have children?"

A Student Is Interviewed

A lanky, blond high school student leaning against the Kremlin wall blushed at the curious foreigner's approach. But soon he conversed easily, explaining that all his friends were talking about the news.

"Now that that group is liquidated, things ought to get much

better, especially since they opposed easing world tension," he said.

Another man snapped: "There is a policeman. Why don't you question him instead of me?"

But most Muscovites approached were prepared to express at least their interest in and surprise at the news.

An ice cream vendor in Manezhnaya Square did not think politics affected him deeply enough to merit discussion.

A woman vendor of ice cream pops at the Central Market, however, thought the party's decision was "very good."

A near-by peasant watering his stock of flowers said he cherished his right to think the party's decision was wrong. But he didn't say why he thought it was wrong.

A bundled-up peasant woman, fresh from the woods with soil-stained mushrooms, had just heard it on the radio.

"It's very bad," she said. "It's very bad that some of our leaders should have done these things. Molotov and Malenkov were liked and trusted by us."

A potato merchant let his scales slip to note that these high matters did not affect his life.

A man behind the meat counter thought "what is good for the party is good for the country and for me." He had heard that the demoted leaders had made mistakes, he said, but "just think, they resisted the party after it made its decisions!"

A dapper, tall electrical engineer in the Central Department Store here threw away half his ice-cream cone and cautiously framed his reply: "No, there isn't too much discussion of the news. You know, we don't have the custom of discussion once things are decided here. Besides what is there to discuss? These men have been exposed and disciplined."

The young man hoped the news would be reported objectively in the West.

Party Locals Meeting

Within the Communist party, however, there appeared to be much to discuss and approve. Party "actives" and locals are meeting "everywhere," according to official announcements.

They are displaying "firm-knit cohesion and unity of party ranks." They are reporting to Moscow their "hearty approval" of the exposure of the anti-party group.

It was disclosed today also that newly elevated men in the party structure had gone out to the distant corners of the Soviet Union last week-end to report the drastic decisions and the shake-up ordered by the party's high command.

The "unity" meetings were held before public announcement of the demotions in Leningrad, Kiev, Alma-Ata, Tashkent, Baku, Minsk, Tiflis, Riga, Gorki, Sverdlovsk and many other cities.

At most of these meetings, local party propagandists and

Soviet Report in Cairo Omits Shepilov, Once Lauded for Obtaining Arms Deal

Special to The New York Times.

CAIRO, July 4 — The Soviet and of Mr. Shepilov as an alter-

emission in Cairo distributed to the Egyptian press today copies of the report by Tass, the official Soviet news agency, of the latest shake-up in the Kremlin hierarchy.

There was no mention, however, of Dmitri T. Shepilov, being among those involved.

The omission was all the more curious in view of the fact that Egyptian newspapers this morning gave full play to other news agency reports telling of the ouster of Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Georgi M. Malenkov and Lazar M. Kaganovich from the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party.

The only explanation seemed to be that Mr. Shepilov had scored considerable success in the initial stages of the Soviet Union's drive to penetrate the Middle East through Cairo. He received much credit for having laid the groundwork for the deal President Gamal Abdel Nasser made for Soviet arms in the summer of 1955 when Mr. Shepilov as editor of Pravda, organ of the Moscow party, visited Cairo.

Mr. Shepilov was roundly applauded by the Nasser regime when he returned again last July as the Soviet Foreign Minister.

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SELF-SERVICE STORES PROMISED IN SOVIET

Special to The New York Times.

MOSCOW, July 3—Soviet con-

sumers have been promised self-service stores and other retailing improvements to cut down the constant crush in almost every store.

The pledge was made yesterday by D. V. Pavlov, Minister of Domestic Trade, as he reported a record increase in retail sales. He said the volume of trade in the first six months of the year was 291,000,000,000 rubles, 15 per cent higher than same period last year. The official exchange rate for the ruble is 25 cents.

To demonstrate what he said was the rapid growth of the Soviet people's living standards, the Minister gave figures on the per capita volume of trade adjusted to 1940 prices. He said on this basis the pre-war figure was 914 rubles. In 1955 it had risen to 1,844 rubles. He estimated that this year's figure would be 2,140 rubles.

The Minister reported it now was possible to begin selling milk through the state trading system in all parts of the Soviet Union. He said this was because collective and state farms had produced 2,000,000 tons, more milk in first five months of this year than in the corresponding period of 1956, an increase of 28 per cent. In the past, peasants have sold their surplus milk on the free market.

In addition to self-service stores and more home deliveries, the Minister said at least 20,000 vending machines would be installed soon to sell milk, beer, sandwiches, sausages, pastries, perfumes and other goods.

Officials heard from leaders who had returned home from Moscow with new titles and responsibilities. They spoke fervently for the new order of things.

But there appeared to be hasty and "enthusiastic" consultations in the party ranks throughout the Soviet Union. Ordinary citizens were obviously surprised by the developments.

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Death Terms Commuted For Two Hungarians

Death Terms Commuted For Two Hungarians

LONDON, July 4 (Reuters)

—Death sentences passed on two Hungarian writers, Gyula Obersovszky, and Jozef Gali, have been commuted by the Presidential Council of the Supreme Court in Budapest, M. T. I. Hungarian news agency, reported tonight.

Mr. Obersovszky will serve a life sentence and Mr. Gali fifteen years of imprisonment.

Following world-wide protests, the death sentences were suspended by the Supreme Court last month for "re-examination." The supreme prosecutor then submitted a new brief to the Supreme Court in favor of the two writers.

Mr. Obersovszky, 30-year-old journalist, and Mr. Gali, 27, an ailing playwright originally were sentenced in April to prison terms of three years and one year respectively for having written and produced an illegal anti-Government newspaper.

The Supreme Court changed their sentences June 20 to death after it had heard their appeals against the original prison terms.

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BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, July 4

—Polio epidemic has hit Yugoslavia. More than 43,000 cases have been reported.

VIENNA, July 3 (AP)—Roman Catholic relief services announced today that 2,000 units of polio vaccine had been sent to Hungary to help stem a reported epidemic.

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PURGE IN MOSCOW

Once again this morning the headlines on the front page of this newspaper tell of a purge in Moscow, a purge which has sent toppling men who only a few days ago were titans on the Soviet scene. The sheer drama of this news must amaze even the most blasé observer. Molotov has fallen, he who forty years ago worked at Lenin's side in preparing the Bolshevik revolution. Kaganovich has fallen, he who first spotted Khrushchev's talents more than three decades ago, when Khrushchev was an unknown and barely literate minor party functionary. Malenkov has fallen, he who in March, 1953, appeared to be Stalin's successor as Premier of the Soviet Union and head of its Communist party. Not since the Nineteen Twenties, when such former giants as Trotsky, Bukharin, Kamenev and Zinoviev met defeat, has there been a parallel to the news Moscow announced yesterday.

The victor, clearly, is Khrushchev. Yesterday's Moscow newspaper articles, which gave the first hint of the political lightning stroke to come, made it evident that the losers had opposed Khrushchev's policies, and by implication had opposed Khrushchev's power. The same impression of Khrushchev power is given by the new composition of the Communist party Presidium, especially by the known political records of those who have been promoted and those who have been demoted. Once again, as in the case of Stalin, it has been proved that the First Secretary of the Communist party is the key figure in the Soviet Union, whose control of the party machine enables him to defeat even his most august opponents.

It would be wise, at this early point, to be cautious in assessing the policy implications of this latest round in the Soviet struggle for power. The official charges against Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov attempt to picture them as vile figures who sought only a return to Stalinism. That they are vile we have known for long, but Khrushchev & Co. are also vile on the same grounds and were also Stalin's close collaborators. Meanwhile it would be wise not to forget that it was Malenkov who in 1953 first tried to get higher priority for the long-suffering Soviet consumer, and it was Malenkov too who, first among Soviet leaders, recognized publicly that nuclear war would bring world suicide. These positions were not Stalinist.

What is clear beyond debate, however, is the Stalinist character of this purge. Three of the highest rulers of the Soviet Union have been dismissed by a vote taken in secret in the Communist party Central Committee, a body composed of individuals who hold no mandate from the people of the Soviet Union. Their dismissal arises because of policy differences involving questions of the first importance to every Soviet man, woman and child, yet no ordi-

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nary Soviet citizen was even aware of what was going on until yesterday's newspapers appeared. The men who have lost have had no chance to defend their positions in public; they have had no opportunity even to argue their case among the seven million members of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, let alone among the 200,000,000 people of the country. Is this spectacle of secret government, secret struggle and secret purge anything but pure Stalinism?

The essential character of the Soviet Union has not changed. It is still a totalitarian dictatorship in which a minute group of individuals successfully arrogate to themselves all power over the Soviet people. But a totalitarian dictatorship, we now see again, is far from the seamless whole it tries to show publicly. Both the men who were purged yesterday and those who purged them have spoken in the past about their "unity." Now we know there was no unity.

Some of us sometimes become discouraged at the public squabbles of a democracy and the habit of a democracy of speaking with many voices simultaneously. But as we read the latest news from Moscow we should understand that it is precisely the diversity and freedom of democracy which are our great strength, while the facade of unanimity in Moscow hides gigantic conflicts and, inevitably, corresponding weaknesses.

N. Y. Times

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U. N. CHECKS ON LEAK

Sifts Report Ceylonese Gave Hungary Data to Russians

Special to The New York Times
UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.
 July 3—The United Nations has been quietly checking reports that a 36-year-old staff member from Ceylon supplied data to Soviet officials on the United Nations' fact-finding investigation on Hungary.

It was confirmed today by United Nations officials that an "active investigation" was being made of reports that Dhanapala Samarasekara turned over the Hungarian data to Vladimir Grusha, who was first secretary of the Soviet delegation until he left this country April 10 at the United States Government's request.

Mr. Samarasekara has denied the reports as "fantastic fabrications" and explained that as a United Nations employe he could not discuss the matter. He is continuing in his post in the Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

Manchester Guardian

JUN 26 1957

Still Time for Mercy

Mr Kadar's Government may yet escape the immortality that an artist's death can so easily confer on his killers. The Hungarian Minister of Justice has discovered a legal objection to the sentence of death passed on the two young writers Jozsef Gali and Gyula Obersovszky last week, and the Supreme Court, which sentenced them, is to re-examine their cases. The legal circumstances were in any event unusual—the lower court would only have imprisoned them for one and three years respectively—and it may be that the horror with which the outside world received the news of the coming executions had nothing to do with their suspension. But horror there certainly was—felt and expressed not merely by bodies like the International P.E.N. Club and writers from Mauriac to Sartre but also from loyal Communists like Picasso and Aragon—and the Hungarian authorities may well have been taken aback by the vehemence of this reaction. They had met nothing like it after any of the other hundred death sentences which they themselves admit have been passed since the revolution. (The International Commission of Jurists puts the number of executions in thousands.) Among the victims of the guillotine in the French Revolution it is Chénier who is remembered. But there were, and are, countless men and women who have no eloquent advocates like M. Aragon or their own works to speak for them, and it is as well to remind the Hungarian courts and Government from time to time that they too are not forgotten.

N. Y. Times

JUL 4 1957

CPYRGHT East German Students Seized

BERLIN, July 3 (AP)—The East German Security Police are said to have arrested ten students at the Martin Luther University at Halle-Wittenberg on charges of plotting against the Red regime. The independent West Berlin newspaper Telegraf said today the ten were accused of "having prepared an organized opposition against the state of the farmers and workers."

A Year After Poznan

CPYRGHT

--Poles on Tightrope

CPYRGHT

CPYRGHT

CPYRGHT

Gomulko Isn't Out Of Woods

-BY DAVID M. NICHOL,
Daily News Foreign Service

BERLIN—One year

ago this week the workers of the big Gegielski locomotive plant in Poznan reached the point of no return.

In the twisted and peculiar economy of Poland it no longer was possible to live on their earnings. Their bitterness and discontent boiled over into savage rioting that very quickly took on political overtones.

Order was restored by the military forces and police, but only at the cost of much blood. The shots fired in Poznan's streets on that "Black Thursday" reverberated throughout Poland and the rest of the world.

BY OCTOBER, in a series of astonishing upsets, the Polish Communist party renounced its Stalinist leaders, had elected their onetime prisoner, Wladystaw Gomulko, as secretary, had thrown out the Soviet field marshal who ran the army and the ministry of defense, and generally had let down the bars on political discussion.

The country remained Communist, but much more nearly independent of Moscow than it had ever been since the war. It was possible again to be "Polish."

The Soviets were stunned and uncertain, but when Hungary drank from the same heady cup and proposed to go even farther in freeing itself of Communist toils, Moscow put down the uprising in the most ruthless manner.

Both within and without its sphere, the Soviet Union had suffered the most grievous setback since it embarked on its program of subjugating Central Europe.

WHAT HAS been the result in the year since Poznan's matters signaled the start of

Poland itself has walked an agonizing tightrope. Much of its newfound political liberty has been preserved, but only under the most extreme pressures.

At the same time even the most sympathetic observers are compelled to admit that very little progress has been made toward solving the elemental economic problems that drove the Gegielski workers into the streets.

The hope that flared so brilliantly is dimming and in danger of flickering out.

FOR THEIR part the Soviets have recoupled their influence and initiative in a nearly incredible fashion.

The rot has been checked and confined to Poland.

The Kadar government, in the face of world-wide condemnation, is functioning in Hungary.

East Germany and Czechoslovakia are committed more solidly to Moscow's leadership than some of Moscow's own people.

The prestige and appeal of Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito among the restless millions of Eastern Europe have waned since he was caught over an ideological barrel by the Hungarian revolution. This, for Moscow, is a plus.

GERMANY remains divided. In West Germany the hand of Chancellor Adenauer may be less firm after the elections in September.

Europe's Common Market to which the Soviets are opposed bitterly, seems a distant and unattainable dream while France wallows in the chronic economic and political crisis.

EVEN IN Poland the Soviets are making themselves felt again. One of the best indications was the journey last week of Gomulko to Eastern Germany.

Much has been made of the communiques that seemed to give some justification to Gomulko's brand of "national communism."

Far more important is the fact that he could be compelled to undertake a mission that was politically and personally distasteful.

The significance of this "surrender" has not been lost among peoples who are quick to detect power relationships.

INSIDE Poland Gomulko is battling opponents on both sides in what he describes as a struggle against "nationalist revision and nihilistic dogmatism."

"Revision" is Communist terminology for the very kind of independence for which Gomulko appeared to stand a year ago.

"Dogmatism" means a slavish following of Stalin's methods.

WASHINGTON'S understanding of Gomulko's difficult role lies behind the proposals to extend economic aid to Poland to the amount of \$95 million.

West Germany for similar reasons is beginning to show some interest in "normalizing" its relationships with Warsaw. Officially there now are none.

Gomulko admittedly has only a limited time in which to produce basic improvements in Poland's economy or to be replaced by some more orthodox regime.

Over and over, in speeches and writings, recurs the theme that there must be "no retreat from October." Its very frequency is alarming.

AS USUAL it is the people who suffer most. So far they seem to be drowning their miseries in floods of alcohol.

Public consumption of liquor, according to Polish newspapers, was 25-30 per cent higher in the first three months of 1957 than it was a year ago, and the trend is steadily up.

Washington Post

JUL 3 1957

Menzies Urges U. N. Action on Hungary Report

Reuters

LONDON, July 2.—The London conference of prime ministers from the British Commonwealth states today heard argument in favor of United Nations action on Russia's suppression of the Hungarian revolution last fall.

Prime Minister Robert Menzies of Australia told the conference that the General Assembly should be convened at the earliest moment to consider the recent report on the revolt, and not wait until its regular session in September. According to the sources, Britain supported this view.

Later, military chiefs outlined for eight of the Commonwealth leaders Britain's new defense plans based on the H-bomb deterrent. The prime ministers of Ceylon and India followed past custom and did not attend the secret defense briefing.

Today was the first chance of learning the details of Britain's new defense policy which relies less on ground forces and more on American-supplied guided missiles and British possession of the H-bomb.

CPYRGHT

London Times

JUN 27 1957

EUROPEAN MOVE TO AID POLAND

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BERLIN, JUNE 26

Poland may receive economic and financial help from the European Assembly countries if a suggestion made by an Assembly committee here to-day is adopted. The committee dealing with matters concerning countries not represented on the Assembly announced after a three-day meeting in west Berlin that there had been "favourable developments" in the denationalization of Poland's economy and that, for example, there were now 20,000 private businesses in the country, twice as many as at the time of Mr. Gomulka's return to power last year. The committee is to consider details of the suggested aid at a later date.

Pillage, Decay in Old German Area

Houses Vacant; Others Dismantled; Farmlands Lie Fallow; Air of Uncertainty Prevails

CPYRGHT

(Larry Rue, veteran Tribune foreign correspondent, obtained a visa to enter Poland to cover the Poznan fair on the anniversary of the riots which caused Moscow to give Poland a new measure of freedom. Rue, familiar with communism after observing it in Russia and satellite countries, drove to all parts of Poland, talking to farmers, laborers, and professional men. They said they could talk freely for the first time since World War II. Another in the series will appear tomorrow.)



Larry Rue

BY LARRY RUE

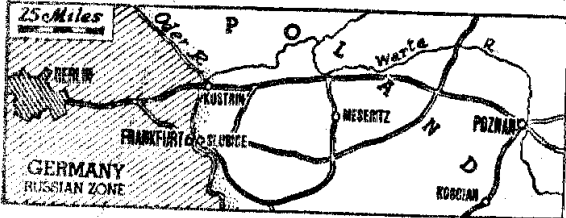
(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

POZNAN, Poland, July 2—It was a Sunday morning

when we crossed the Oder river at Frankfurt. The Polish part of that German city, on the eastern bank of the river, is now called Slubice.

The Polish customs house was fairly well manned. And we had to fill out many forms, the Polish officers were polite and did not object to our taking cameras into the country. They took our word for the amount of money we carried and our declaration that we had no dutiable goods in the automobile.

Even 12 years after World War II, one gets the impression of entering a ghost town when crossing the Oder. Many



buildings, from which the Germans were kicked out after the war, stand vacant and decaying. At some houses grass was growing thru the windows.

Girls in Communion Dresses Wave

In the main streets of Slubice we saw Poles in their Sunday best. Little girls were wearing their white communion dresses and had flowers in their hair.

As in Hungary a year ago, children, even the smallest, waved eagerly at the passengers in the car as we passed by.

In every town in the former German provinces there was the same depressing sight of abandonment. Many of the present Polish inhabitants, who were moved here from eastern Polish territory annexed by Russia with the approval of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, seemed uncertain about their future.

There is no sign of any effort to repair, or improve, houses formerly owned by the Germans, had been pillaged. Furniture, window panes, fixtures, wood, iron gates, shingles,

and anything movable had disappeared. Whole buildings, undamaged by the war, had been torn down. Large areas of farmland lie fallow.

Pillaging Worse Than War
It was easy to believe post war destruction in the Oder-Neisse territories, thru Polish newspaper reports that pillaging, dismantling, and neglect, was far greater than the actual war damages.

We had been prepared for bad roads, which visitors to the Poznan fair a year ago had complained about. To our surprise the road to Poznan, for the most part, was excellent altho there were stretches of cobble stone where one could break a spring, if not careful.

There was hardly any motor traffic on the road despite the fact that the international fair was just taking place in Poznan. Large groups of people were walking between the villages.

In the countryside most traffic was horse-drawn. Often saw the Russian-style plow with a wooden yoke over the horses' heads.

Bulge Out the Doors

In the towns every type of public transport—street cars, buses and trains—was overcrowded. Riders actually bulged out of doors.

Half the distance from the present German-Polish frontier to Poznan was German until the annexation of the Oder-Neisse territories. This comprised 43,958 square miles with a pre-war German population of nearly 10 millions in 1945. This annexation has never been recognized by the western governments.

The new western Polish frontier stretches from Szczecin (Stettin) on the Baltic in the north along the Oder and Neisse rivers to Upper Silesia on the Czech border, including the rich Silesian industrial region.

Poznan [Posen], which was under Prussian rule twice in recent centuries, was reincorporated into Poland after World War II.

Thousands of foreigners from the western countries attended the international trade fair here, which is trying to outbid the Leipzig fair as the most important east-west trading center.

Register with Agency

Our visitors had to register with "Orbis," the Polish tourist agency, where a series of forms, mentioning all the personal data already needed twice (when applying for a visa and when passing the frontier post) had to be filled out.

Polish Churches Freer, Pastor

NEW YORK—(AP)—A prominent Protestant clergyman says there is "far more religious freedom" at present in Poland than there is in Spain and Portugal.

The Rev. Dr. Gaither P. Warfield, imprisoned by both the Russians and Germans during World War II in Poland where he was superintendent of the Methodist Church, made his comment after a recent 10-day visit to Poland.

Now general secretary of Methodist overseas relief, he said he found there was "freedom of religious worship" there, and a "ready willingness" on the part of Poles to freely voice opinions to strangers.

M.Y.H.T. CPYRGHT
JUL 3 1957

Hungary Dancers Arrive Today

Vera Pasztor and Erno Vashegyi, Hungarian dancers and choreographers who escaped into Austria during the revolution in Hungary last fall, will arrive today on an Air France plane and make their American debuts in the Empire State Music Festival at Ellenville, N. Y., Friday night, July 26. The Symphony of the Air and a ballet corps also will take part in dances with music by two Hungarian composers, Bela Bartok and Zoltan Kodaly.

Both leading members of the ballet of the State Opera in Budapest, Miss Pasztor and Mr. Vashegyi were caught by the Russians as they started to cross the Austrian border, but escaped after bribing a Russian guard. They have since been dancing with the Zurich Opera in Switzerland.

Before this information was passed on to the police desk, the visitor was assigned a place to stay. Because of the acute lack of hotel space we were assigned to the home of a city engineer.

We were fortunate. For we had modern, comfortable, and clean rooms. The engineer and his wife welcomed us as personal guests.

The night before we left for Warsaw they gave us a party. They served fine Polish sausages, tomato salad (tomatoes were selling at \$1.50 a pound in local stores) and Polish liquor.

When we departed, the housewife handed us a note in German. It read:

"Please convey thru your newspaper the best wishes and greetings to the families Broniarczyk in Chicago and Detroit, formerly of Polska [Lisevo], who are our relatives, but whom we have not heard from since the war."

CPYRGHT

N. Y. Times
JUL 5 1957
**BONN HOUSE VOTES
ANTI-CARTEL LAW**

Measure Bans Price-Fixing
or Any Other Steps That
Curb Free Competition

By **ARTHUR J. OLSEN**

Special to The New York Times.
BONN, Germany, July 4—The

lower house of Parliament approved today anti-cartel legislation designed to insure genuine competition in West German industry. Approval in the upper house of Parliament is expected.

The legislation provides that any agreements made by business concerns or associations of business enterprises shall be invalid if their effect is to limit or reduce free competition.

A Federal cartel agency, as well as individual agencies in each state, will be set up to administer the law. They will be empowered to forbid such agreements and impose fines of up to 50,000 Deutsche marks (about \$12,000) against violators.

With the permission of administering authorities, however, business concerns will be allowed to combine to promote exports, to rationalize production in certain industries, to establish agreed standards on items of production and to enter into price-fixing agreements in time of an economic crisis.

Bundestag approval of the legislation by a substantial majority amounted to a sweeping victory for Dr. Ludwig Erhard, Minister of Economics, against a virtual solid front of German industrialists.

Dr. Erhard stubbornly insisted upon and finally obtained legislation that would give the Federal Government authority to invalidate price-fixing and market-sharing agreements such as dominated the German economy in the years before World War II.

The Economics Minister, whose free-enterprise philosophy dominates West German economic policy, has predicted that the new law will put an end to the historic designation of Germany as "the classic cartel land."

Rights Specified in Measure

United States economic experts speak of the West German legislation as a desirable model for other West European countries. Independent observers emphasized, however, that the West German legislation would be no more effective than the administering authority chose to make it.

The power of Dr. Erhard to make what he wishes of the anti-cartel law arises from a paragraph authorizing him to permit the formation of a cartel "insofar as the resulting limitation of competition is necessary in light of overwhelming considerations of the overall economy and the common good."

"There is no doubt in informed

N. Y. Times
JUL 5 1957
**TREATY DEBATE COOL
IN HOT, HUMID PARIS**

Special to The New York Times.
PARIS, July 4—About one-

sixth of the members of the National Assembly were present today for a debate on treaties that would transform the economies of Western Europe.

It was the third day of discussion of the twin treaties to create a European common market and a nuclear pool among France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

More than thirty speakers remained to be heard, but no one expected any of them to throw new light on the problems raised by the treaties. The debate thus far has gone tediously over old ground, revealing ideas and prejudices long known, probably changing no votes.

One explanation given was the heat wave that has reigned since Sunday, with temperatures and humidity resembling Washington at its worst—Washington in the days before air conditioning, which Paris does not have. The atmosphere in the Assembly chamber, however, was not oppressive.

Another reason may be that the basic principles of the two treaties have already been debated in the Assembly and adopted, those of the nuclear pool in July, 1956, and those of the common market in January, 1957.

The issue now is largely that of deciding whether, in negotiating the treaties, the Government followed the Assembly's instructions.

circles here that Dr. Erhard intends to administer the law strictly. On his insistence, the draft legislation passed through exhaustive committee examination substantially unchanged, despite heavy pressures from a powerful industrial lobby and political quarters.

Those pressures were reflected in the Bundestag vote. A few members of the normally well-disciplined Government Christian Democratic Union joined with a solid Socialist, Free Democratic and Refugee party opposition in voting against the measure. There was no teller count.

The new law will replace the decartelization decrees imposed by the Western Allies during the post-war occupation of West Germany. Upon assuming sovereignty, West Germany agreed to accept those decrees as valid law pending the adoption of new legislation. However, the decrees have been in effect only nominally during the last five years.

WESTERN EUROPE

N. Y. Times
JUL 5 1957
**UNITY HOPES RISE
IN WEST GERMANY**

British Doubt Foreign Policy
of Soviet Will Change—
Paris, Rome Cautious

Special to The New York Times.
BONN, Germany, July 4—

Hopes for German reunification were raised here today as a result of the changes in the Soviet hierarchy.

Newspaper and political commentators advanced the optimistic thought that the apparent liquidation of hard-core Stalinist-influenced Soviet policy might lead to serious negotiation on the reunification of Germany in freedom.

The West German Government withheld comment pending a study of reports from Moscow and consultation with diplomats of the Western Allies. Dr. Heinrich von Brentano, the Foreign Minister, spent the day conferring with his experts on Soviet affairs.

It was clear that the government regarded the dismissals of the Stalinists from the Presidium of the Soviet Communist party the most significant event within the Soviet Government since the removal and execution of Laurenti P. Beria four years ago. Veteran German diplomats counseled close watch on the developments in East Europe for clues to a realistic appraisal of the power play by Nikita S. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Soviet Communist party.

British Dubious of Change

Special to The New York Times.
LONDON, July 4—The British Government feels it unlikely that the sweeping changes in the Soviet leadership will bring "any rapid changes of any significance" in Soviet foreign policy.

In the first official pronouncement on the Soviet shake-up, the Earl of Gosford, Parliamentary Foreign Under Secretary, said in the House of Lords today:

"It appears that the policies laid down at the Twentieth Party Congress will still be followed. Mr. Khrushchev, whose personal prestige has been enhanced by the ousting of his critics, has been associated with all the recent main changes in Soviet policy and it must be presumed that the policies he has advocated will be continued with even greater vigor and authority."

French Comment Confused

Special to The New York Times.
PARIS, July 4—The party upheaval manifested certainly only a struggle for internal power and not necessarily a more conciliatory attitude in world affairs, French experts concluded today

N. Y. Times
JUL 4 1957
**FINNISH PARTY QUILTS
COALITION CABINET**

Special to The New York Times.
HELSINKI, Finland, July 3—

Three Cabinet ministers representing the Swedish People's party in Finland's three-party coalition Government resigned last night.

The three ministers, Nils Meinander, Bertel Lindh and Forsten Nordstrom, objected to any delay in pressing forward with the Government's stabilization program.

The Swedish Peoples party men were replaced by two Agrarians and one Liberal. The Agrarian-Liberal coalition commands the votes of only sixty-six of the diet's (Parliament's) 200 members. Before the walk-out of the Swedish Peoples party the Cabinet could count on seventy-nine votes in the house.

- The new cabinet includes:
- President—Dr. Vieno J. Sukselainen (Agrarian).
- Foreign Affairs—Johannes Vibulainen (Agrarian).
- Justice—Arvo Helminen (non-party).
- Interior—Harras Kyta (Liberal).
- Defense—Atte Pakkanen (Agrarian).
- Farmer—Matti Miettunen (Agrarian).
- Second Minister of Finance—Ahti Karjalainen (Agrarian).
- Education—Kerttu Saalasti (Agrarian).
- Agriculture—Kustaa Eskola (Agrarian).
- Communications—Vilho Sorvali (Agrarian).
- Second Minister of Communications—Kustaa Tiitu (Agrarian).
- Trade and Vice President—Esa Karttila (Liberal).
- Social Affairs—Iina Karvikkola (Liberal) and Pekka Malinen (Liberal).

N. Y. Times
JUL 4 1957
British Fund for U. N. Force

LONDON, July 3 (Reuters)—

Great Britain has told the United Nations that she will contribute \$1,268,650 toward the cost of the United Nations emergency force in the Middle East, Allan Noble, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, said today. He explained that it included 7.81 per cent of the first \$10,000,000 to come from member states and a proportion of a supplementary sum. Mr. Noble declared that "it is certainly the Government's policy that the force should stay in the area as long as it is thought necessary."

CPYRIGHT

In a series of cautious, confused comment by both Communist and non-Communist French sources, these trends of speculation stood out:

"The 'collegial' direction of the Soviet party, put to the test after the death of Stalin, was showing signs of inefficiency. Nikita S. Khrushchev appeared to be trying to oust men capable of opposing him and to replace them with appointees more amenable to his direction.

N. Y. Times

JUL 4 1957

FRANCE'S DEBATE ON POOLS IS MILD

Few Deputies Have Studied Facts—Finance Minister Warns on Inflation

By HAROLD CALLENDER

Special to The New York Times
PARIS, July 3—Felix Gaillard,

minister of Finance, said today France must attain a better economic balance and check inflation to enter the European common market in favorable circumstances.

The discussion of the common market treaty and its twin, that creating a European nuclear pool, continued in the National Assembly.

Premier Maurice Bourgès-Maunoury was authorized by the Cabinet to make the vote on the treaties a question of confidence.

But the debate so far has revealed none of the passion that split the nation and nearly every party when the European Defense Community Treaty was discussed and defeated.

Approval Is Expected

Few deputies have studied the three massive volumes representing the two pending treaties. There seemed a good chance they would be approved by the Assembly without the fight that took place over the defense community treaty.

At a news conference for foreign correspondents, M. Gaillard insisted that France must move rapidly to repress her balance of payments because of the impending common market.

He expected results of new legislation within two or three months. He emphasized that new tax revenues of 450,000,000, 000 francs or \$1,200,000,000, and economies of a similar amount, applied to the eighteen months that were expected to intervene before the common market treaty entered into force.

Now that United States aid is approximately finished France "must pay her own way" by increasing her exports, said M. Gaillard. He remarked that he hoped to increase exports by 30 to 35 per cent.

He said regular exporters could sell 15 to 20 per cent more abroad and non-exporting producers could be taught to export through a commercial organization acting for them abroad that the government sought to create.

M. Gaillard said the main cause of the adverse trade balance was internal inflation that encouraged domestic rather than foreign sales. The cause of this inflation he found in the national budget deficit.

M. Gaillard would give no estimate of the future gap between exports and imports, but André Philip told the Economic Council that for the next twelve months the foreign trade deficit would be at least \$800,000,000.

It has been suggested that the foreign loans France would need to meet her deficit would be \$700,000,000 or more. M. Gaillard said the need for such loans would be as short as possible.

He said the reimposition of import quotas was an emergency measure that the Government

N. Y. Times

JUL 4 1957

PREMIERS OBTAIN TRADE ASSURANCE

British Back Preservation of Commonwealth Pattern in European Integration

By THOMAS P. RONAN

Special to The New York Times
LONDON, July 3—British

Commonwealth countries urged Britain today to protect their interests in the movement toward European economic integration.

They were assured by British officials at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference that Britain regarded the preservation of the Commonwealth trade pattern as of vital importance.

These officials stressed at the same time that it would be a serious economic setback for Britain, and consequently for the rest of the Commonwealth, if she were excluded from an economically integrated Western Europe.

Attending today's two sessions, in addition to Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, were Peter Thorneycroft, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir David Eccles, President of the Board of Trade, and the Earl of Home, Secretary for Commonwealth Relations. Six other Prime Ministers and the representatives of three more were present.

The first session was devoted to affairs of the sterling area. The chief topic here was the availability of capital for Commonwealth development. Some of the countries, notably India and Ghana, are badly in need of capital investment.

Mr. Thorneycroft noted that Britain had long been the major supplier of such capital and that her outlay for this purpose had been averaging about £200,000,000 (\$560,000,000) a year.

He questioned whether Britain could keep up that pace without jeopardizing her own financial situation.

The afternoon session was devoted to the plan of France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg to set up a common market together with their colonies, and Britain's proposal to link other European nations with it in a free trade area.

Most of the conferees stressed to Britain that they wanted to have continued access to the European market for their agricultural products and raw materials. They reiterated their objections to any arrangement that would interfere with the special privileges their products now enjoy in the British market with regard to duties and quotas.

hoped would soon end and that would not apply to imports under trade agreements.

M. Gaillard announced that within ten days a decree would allow foreign tourists to buy gasoline at slightly more than one-half the new price charged French consumers. This price is 89 francs a liter or about 50 cents a gallon if paid in foreign currency.

London Times

JUN 27 1957

M. SPAAK SUPPORTS GEN. NORSTAD

AGGRESSIVELY MINDED SOVIET GENERALS

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

PARIS, JUNE 26

Commenting at a luncheon of the Anglo-American Press Association in Paris to-day on Mr. Gromyko's Press conference about General Norstad's statement, M. Spaak, secretary-general of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, said that at the risk of repetition, he would emphasize that N.A.T.O. was a defensive organization.

He was somewhat surprised at the strength of Mr. Gromyko's reaction, for he, M. Spaak, had got his staff to turn up recent speeches by Soviet military leaders, which showed that they were quite ready to proclaim Soviet strength in nuclear arms and make such references as "crushing the United States" or "reducing to ashes the territory of any enemy whatsoever." If Mr. Gromyko's logic led him to think that General Norstad and N.A.T.O. were aggressively minded, then he would also have to admit that the Soviet Union was too.

Speaking of the development of N.A.T.O. M. Spaak said that they had now reached the stage of its political organization. For himself, he had, on assuming his new job, taken the report of the "three wise men" as his personal charter, with its emphasis upon political consultations within the alliance. However, this idea of serious political consultations between the Powers was a new one, and it cut across secular traditions. So far it had not been possible to do much beyond the point of supplying reciprocal information.

CONSULTING N.A.T.O.

Governments, he said, should not make decisions about policy before consulting N.A.T.O.; the consultation, to be worth while, must precede the decision, which must then be made in the light of discussion within the alliance. All this was a difficult and delicate task, but he personally felt sure that the era of individual diplomacy was past.

An essential problem for N.A.T.O. in the weeks to come, he said, would be that of disarmament. Here M. Spaak repeated some of the views that he has often expressed before: that the only real disarmament was that which was general and supervised, and that disarmament in the nuclear and conventional fields could not be dissociated, for moral reasons if for none other. The horrors of an atomic war should not obliterate the memory of the horrors of the Second World War; the crime of war began with the killing of the first innocent victim.

He thought that they would have to be very careful in the disarmament negotiations, lest, at the end of all their efforts, the final results might be merely to have brought war nearer. They must look at the question as a whole, and not make distinctions that were not there. It might even be necessary to accept a partial solution—although M. Spaak refused to explain what he meant when he said this.

London Times

JUN 27 1957

NAZI LITERATURE FOUND BY GERMAN POLICE

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BONN, JUNE 26

Altriss Hoelzer, the former leader of a banned organization known as the Deutschen Reichsjugend, with its headquarters in Bonn, has been arrested on a charge of sending out a circular letter to former members. Literature found by the police expressed Nazi sentiments. So far no connection has been traced between the organization, whose membership was about 750, and any political party or Waffen S.S.

Wash. Evening Star
 Approved For Release 2002/07/22 : CIA-RDP65-00756R000500130067-0
 JUN 29 1957

London Times
 JUN 18 1957

Strong Canada Bid Made By Red-Dominated Union

EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

TORONTO, June 29 (NANA)—A Communist-dominated trade union is making a strong bid for power in the central Ontario mining region that is the world's biggest production center of uranium ore, vital mineral for atomic energy and atomic weapons.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police and other security agencies are keeping a worried eye on the situation in the tough, booming mines of the Algoma basin, in the Elliott Lake, Bancroft and Blind River areas.

Here the Red-spotted Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union has made substantial headway in organizing the miners. The union's main Algoma victory has been to sign up sufficient workers to become bargaining agent for the labor force in the world's biggest uranium mine, Consolidated Denison.

Steady Retreat Shown

In general the Communists are having a bad time in Canada, where they masquerade under the name of "Labor-Progressive Party." Membership has fallen from an immediate postwar peak of 20,000 to 4,000. Leadership is split into bitterly squabbling factions. Funds are low.

Within the trade union movement, the picture shows a steady retreat of Communist influence, losing membership to unions affiliated to the 1,100,000-member Canadian labor congress. The two main strongholds of Red labor activity in Canada today are Mine-Mill and the United Electrical Workers.

Mine-Mill has 30,000 Canadian members. These are important centers having to do with the raw stuffs of atomic energy—uranium mines in Ontario and Saskatchewan, in the plant at Trail, British Columbia,

that produces heavy water for atomic research. They are also strongly entrenched in the Sudbury, Ontario, nickel mines.

Red Organizers Active

United Electrical have 22,000 Canadian members. This membership is grouped particularly in the plants and shops of Canadian General Electric, Canada Wire and Cable, and Canadian Westinghouse.

While withdrawing on most fronts, the Reds have cunningly chosen the new and raw uranium mining zone of Ontario for an energetic offensive. Red organizers from Mine-Mill are intensely active among the workers of such important mines as Consolidated Denison, Algoma, Pronto, Paladay, Greyhawk, Northspan, Stanrock and Milliken Lake.

They show every sign of having plenty of funds, platoons of full-time organizers and skillfully prepared tactics. Their operations are based on headquarters at Sudbury.

Battling the Communists is the Canadian branch of the United Steel Workers of America, from regional headquarters at Saint Marie. The fight is to sign enough men to be able to claim bargaining rights to draw up contracts for a mine's labor force.

Steelworkers officials allege that besides legitimate means of persuasion—including reference to their undoubtedly impressive record of negotiating wage hikes—the Reds are using violence, graft and bribery. The Communists, they charge, will pay for junkets for recreation-starved Algoma miners, taking them to the comparatively bright lights of Sudbury and picking up the checks for beer, women and steaks.

It is no surprise to me that France should take exception to Sir David Eccles's remarks on German domination of the European Common Market. Having closely followed the history of the new treaty from its conception, and from conversations with my French commercial and other acquaintances, I know that however much Britain swears that she is not dividing Europe, France, nevertheless, feels she is in danger of doing just that.

In a remarkably short time the French and German negotiators of the treaty have succeeded in burying the trade war hatchet, and the two countries have managed to achieve a realistic *entente cordiale* in a rather magnificent way, quite as strong as that between France and this country. Let those who minimize this bond consider the Saar settlement, the acceptance by the French of General Spaide in a position of command, the inauguration of an official Franco-German cultural commission, negotiations for road haulage integration now in progress, not to mention the Euratom Treaty, which was fraught with strategic dangers.

All this has been achieved in the face of a United Kingdom reserve that seems to be on the brink of turning into downright sullenness. Can we wonder at Europe viewing with concern our talk about a Grand Design based on the idea of an Atlantic Community to protect not greeted with enthusiasm by the Six, and heavy phrases like "a hostile block across the Channel threatening the very life of the United Kingdom"?

There is no doubt in my mind that Britain should go right into Europe as seventh member of the Common Market, with the Commonwealth following in various degrees of free trade relationship. Without us the Market will be dominated by Germany, which means that, even with equal defence commitments, Germany will also dominate British markets elsewhere.

For this basic reason the French have always declared that Europe needs Britain. The combination of French thought, German power, and British administration is envisaged as giving Europe her best chance of avoiding another trade war. Let the Government consider this lest they further alienate the Continent and precipitate that which they wish to stave off.

Yours faithfully,

BERTRAM PEEL

187, Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2.

Sir,—One of your recent correspondents, in a letter published on June 4, has underlined Sir David Eccles's statement that "Germany will inevitably dominate the Common Market nations." It appears that now there is some hesitation before the scheme receives signed acceptance. Is it opportune therefore to raise one or two questions?

Your correspondent, Mr. Paul Grant, speaks of "Germany's natural advantages over the United Kingdom." And he goes on to speak of our commitments in the defence of Europe which aggravate our disadvantage in the fierce struggle for shares in the Common Market.

Sir, is there also another consideration which ought to be taken into the reckoning when we calculate upon our chances of survival under the scheme? In estimating production costs which have to be covered in selling prices, is there any of the peoples concerned in the scheme carrying such a burden of taxation as the United Kingdom? This is an overhead charge from which no business or enterprise can escape. Would it be useful, clarifying, if with the publicizing of the Common Market or the Free Trade Area schemes a table were provided giving clearly the figures of the national debts pertaining to the several nations alongside of the current rates of taxation obtaining? If in this regard the United Kingdom appears to signal disadvantage, since taxes play so significant a part in "overheads," are we not almost hopelessly handicapped in entering a struggle for markets with no holds barred?

Yours faithfully,

PERCY JACKSON.

55, Sealfy Road, Scarborough.

London Times

JUN 11 1957

POLITICAL UNITY IN EUROPE

CPYRGHT PRESIDENT GRONCHI'S APPEAL

Rome, June 10. President Gronchi

announced members of the European Movement here today that "too great a delay in uniting Europe will impair the fundamental principles of liberty and democracy." In a speech which frequently brought loud applause from the 1,000 delegates, the President of Italy declared: "Euratom and the common market are great steps but Europe will only achieve its real identity with political unity." Signor Gronchi said he addressed the congress "with great hope, but I would not be sincere with myself and with you if I said I felt great optimism."

The congress is one of the biggest gatherings of European parliamentarians in recent years. M. Robert Schuman, former Prime Minister of France, presided at today's opening session. Former presidents of the movement, which was founded in 1948, include Mr. Duncan Sandys, the British Minister of Defence, and M. Spaak of Belgium, the secretary-general of N.A.T.O. The main topics of discussion are "A Europeanization of a European foreign policy," and "Problems of associating Europe and Africa." *Reuter.*

BRITAIN HOLDS HER LEAD IN A VAST COMMONWEALTH

covering From Suez Crisis the Member Nations Take Up World Problems

By THOMAS ROBERTSON

LONDON, June 29—A tribute

to the British Commonwealth's last week from an unexpected quarter—Moscow.

At the eve of the opening of Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference last Wednesday the Moscow radio described the Commonwealth as "an important factor in world politics."

It is that assessment most of rest of the world would see. And it would go along with Moscow's evaluation of present conference as "an act of no little importance."

Moscow indulged in a bit of free thinking when it emphasized the serious differences that have arisen among members of Commonwealth as a result of British-French intervention in Egypt and implied that these differences were continuing.

The Suez crisis and all its repercussions are being reviewed. But the conferees have not touched this discussion as an act at which blame must be apportioned. They are interested in determining the practical effects of the Suez crisis and in adjusting their policies accordingly.

His elasticity, this give and take, are in large measure the life of the Commonwealth's strength. British and Commonwealth statesmen have long recognized that the widely divergent interests in this vast family of nations rule out any rigid operating formula.

India's Example

They also know that each of ten members of the Commonwealth cannot be expected to subscribe to all of the policies of the others. That the Commonwealth can function as "an important factor in world politics" without universal agreement was made clear by Prime Minister Nehru last week when he rebuffed rumors that India was about to quit.

These rumors, encouraged by the words of Mr. Nehru's public statements, have flourished for weeks. But Mr. Nehru emphasized that India did not intend to leave. And he was equally emphatic that this did not mean Indian approval for all the acts of other members of the Commonwealth.

The British-French intervention in Egypt brought one of the most dangerous crises the Commonwealth has faced. India and other Commonwealth countries angrily disapproved it and virtually all were resentful that they had not been kept properly informed by the British Government.

The present conference was in fact originally summoned to clarify this anger and resent-

ment and to strengthen the weakened Commonwealth links. But time has assuaged much of the wrath felt last fall. And the Prime Ministers are concerned now with demonstrating the solidarity of the Commonwealth and with insuring that it will grow in strength.

Survey of the World

During the talks that will last until Friday the conferees—seven Prime Ministers and the deputies of the other three—are ranging over virtually all the world's problems.

Appropriately enough they began with a review from Selwyn Lloyd, British Foreign Secretary, of the progress of the United Nations subcommittee talks here on armaments. They moved on to a consideration of the international situation, first in broad terms and then in relation to specific areas. And all of this was against a background of their assessment of Soviet intentions. Their conference agenda covers, too, a consideration of the effects of British defense cuts on the Commonwealth as a whole and on each of the Commonwealth countries and a discussion of the Commonwealth's economic affairs.

The future role of Britain as a world power and as head of the Commonwealth is largely bound up with the discussions of defense and economics. And this is true of the role that the Commonwealth will play in world affairs.

These conferences are not held to reach decision on Commonwealth policy. But the views and information exchanged are a major factor in determining what policy each of the member countries will follow with regard to Commonwealth and world problems.

Questions of Defense

Defense is a major interest at this conference because it is the first conference held since Britain announced her decision to slash her conventional armaments and to realign her forces.

Traditionally the Commonwealth has relied on Britain's aid and bases scattered throughout the world, on her great fleet and in more recent years her potential air force to keep its line of communications open and to protect its interests.

Now that Britain is cutting her army, navy and air force and planning to concentrate on small but highly mobile units for military action, the other Commonwealth countries are studying the effects these changes will have on their own fortunes. More than even the defense problems of the discussion of the Commonwealth economic situation.

economic integration and Britain's desire to become part of that movement have called into question the economic arrangements that have been a major factor in holding the Commonwealth together.

Britain has given preferred tariff treatment to Commonwealth agricultural produce and other goods. And they in turn have eased the way for the importation of her manufactured products. Britain has insisted that agricultural produce be exempted from the tariff and quota restrictions that might be imposed by the European free trade area she has proposed. This area would include the common market being established by France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

Colonial Imports

The exclusion of agricultural products would have the effect of protecting Britain's arrangements with the other Commonwealth countries. But the European nations have not yet given their assent. And the situation has been vastly complicated by the decision of the six European nations to give preferred treatment to imports from their colonies.

Britain feels strongly that she must participate in the economic integration of Europe or face the disastrous prospect of being frozen out of a huge and profitable market. But if she does this at the expense of her commercial arrangements with the Commonwealth, she risks loosening the vital economic links that help keep the Commonwealth together.

There is another trend within the Commonwealth that threatens the old economic set-up. That is the tendency of countries like Australia, New Zealand and India to build up their own manufacturing industries and to rely less and less on imports from Britain.

Finally, Britain always has been looked upon as the chief source of investment capital for other Commonwealth countries and the colonies. But the demands are constantly pyramiding and Britain, with economic troubles of her own, is in no position to meet all of them.

In the opinion of most observers who follow the fortunes of the Commonwealth, it may, through the force of changing world circumstances, become even looser than it is but it is destined to have a long and useful life.

These observers feel, too, that it will be many years before Britain's position as the recognized leader will be challenged. None has as many ties as she with each of the others and none has as yet come close to rivaling her in world prestige.

France In Europe

The French National Assembly is scheduled today to begin consideration of the European customs union treaty. With French politics in their present state of temporarily suspended confusion, it might be supposed that the customs treaty faces the fate visited by the Assembly on some earlier plans leading toward European integration, notably the unsuccessful scheme for a European Defense Community.

The present case, however, is different. A good part of France's present political uneasiness arises from the poor state of the country's finances, particularly in a foreign trade balance increasingly adverse. To help correct this France is counting on a loan from the European Payments Union; and it is believed that the European Payments Union will insist, as one of a number of conditions, that France accept the treaties setting up a customs union and establishing Euratom, the projected European atomic-energy pool. Though the Assembly has frequently shown itself unpredictable, the chance seems good that under those pressures it will act responsibly.

An additional pressure is provided by what has become the clear inevitability of closer co-operation among the nations of Europe, developing in time into European unity. The movement toward integration has received many setbacks, and at moments has appeared moribund; yet it revives each time stronger than ever. It simply makes sense.

It makes special sense in the customs union treaty, under which France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg would progressively, over a dozen years, abandon existing import duties and other tariff barriers. Once it comes into operation, Britain, Switzerland, Austria and the Scandinavian countries are expected to participate.

There was a time when the notion of a Europe in which the various countries traded freely among themselves would have seemed an impossible dream. It is no longer a dream, and no longer impossible. It is close to a reality. The French National Assembly has the historic opportunity of casting the vote needed to make it so.

C. S. Monitor

JUN 28 1957

Britain: Radio Telescope Ready

Scientists at the town of Jodan bank are preparing to take over operation of the world's biggest radio telescope. They said June 26 that by picking up and focusing on the natural radio emissions of stars as far away as a billion light years the telescope will give them a picture of events taking place at the moment of the universe's estimated birth.

NEAR EAST, AFRICA

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N. Y. Times

JUL 5 1957

SENATOR BIDS U. N.
SPUR RESETTLING
OF ARAB REFUGEES

Humphrey Asks Commission
to Study Means of Solution
—Would Free Cairo Assets

By DANA ADAMS SCHMIDT

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 4—Sen-

ator Hubert H. Humphrey proposed today the formation of a United Nations good offices commission to explore means of solving the problem of the 900,000 Arab refugees who fled from what is now Israel.

The Minnesota Democrat made his proposal in a report to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on his tour of the Middle East during April and May.

The existence of this refugee problem ten years after the Arab-Israeli war is "a challenge to the conscience of humanity," he said.

The "vast majority," he believed, could find homes in the Arab states but there must also be "a commitment by Israel to accept a limited number of token repatriates."

Cites Talk With Nasser

The Senator reported that President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt had indicated in an interview that "both the problems of passage through the Gulf of Aqaba and the Suez Canal for Israel ships and shipping intended for Israel could be handled peacefully."

"In the case of the Suez Canal he reiterated that the matter might be settled in the World Court," [the International Court of Justice at The Hague, the Netherlands]. "His language was moderate and non-belligerent, although he did say that any Arab leader that tried to negotiate with Israel for a peace settlement would be shot."

Senator Humphrey recommended that the United States try to reach the people of Egypt without condoning President Nasser's extremism by releasing frozen Egyptian assets and approving an application by the Committee for American Remittances Everywhere (CARE) to use surplus foods to feed 3,500,000 to 4,000,000 Egyptians a day.

Assets Put at \$10,000,000

About \$10,000,000 in Egyptian assets have been kept frozen in

the United States ever since President Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal Company in July a year ago. American officials maintain that the funds are being kept for possible eventual compensation of the Suez Canal Company stockholders.

On the subject of the Arab refugees Senator Humphrey said that according to experts he had consulted, Iraq is "desperately short of people" and could with advantage absorb the entire refugee population. The Senator said Iraq actually needed 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 new inhabitants.

Syria, too, is underpopulated, he said. In addition it is believed that as many as 200,000 persons

could be settled in the Jordan Valley if the proposals made by Eric Johnston for joint development of the river by Israel and the Arab states were accepted by the Arab states. Mr. Johnston is the special Presidential representative on Arab-Israeli water projects.

On the Israeli side, Senator Humphrey disclosed that Premier David Ben-Gurion had told him in an interview that Israel

would be prepared to admit a limited number of refugees who would pledge to become constructive and productive Israeli citizens and not subversives." Furthermore, Mr. Ben-Gurion said, "Israel has already disclosed its willingness to compensate the refugees for property left in former Palestine; the United States has offered to lend Israel the money."

The Senator's proposal was in line with the thinking of a number of responsible United States officials who see in the current clamor in the Middle East an opportunity to tackle this most difficult of Israeli-Arab issues.

Direct Negotiations Pressed

The United States in Senator Humphrey's opinion, should use its leadership to bring about direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab states for a final peace settlement.

As one way of combatting Communist penetration, he reiterated his project for the formation of a Middle East Development Agency composed of Middle Eastern and contributing states. It would operate within the framework of the United Nations to finance development plans and also to "work out a solution to the whole Palestine-Arab refugee problem."

Of the Israeli Premier he wrote: "He is a man of courage, vision, intelligence, and determination, and he has a sense of humor."

Of President Nasser he said: "On a personal basis Nasser was both polite and ingratiating. From all I saw and heard I am sure that Nasser is not a Communist. I am equally sure,

N. Y. Times

JUL 5 1957

Nasser Top Aide Speeds to King Saud;
Effort to Restore Alliance Is Pressed

Special to The New York Times.

CAIRO, July 4—Egypt's Defense Minister flew unexpectedly to Saudi Arabia today. His mission reportedly was to try to ease the strain on relations between Saudi Arabia, on the one hand, and Egypt and Syria, on the other.

The Egyptian official, Maj. Gen. Abdel Hakim Amer, was the only passenger in a military transport plane. His trip was seen as another step in the efforts Egypt has been making to pull together the Arab alliance behind President Gamal Abdel Nasser's policies of so-called positive neutralism.

On paper, at least, General Amer is still the joint commander of the armed forces of three countries. The alliance also originally included Jordan but was seriously split when King Saud backed the Jordanian monarch, King Hussein, in his fight against pro-Nasser elements and their Communist supporters.

The Egyptian and Syrian Ambassadors in Jidda, Saudi Arabia's port capital, have had long discussions with King Saud recently in what was believed by Arab diplomats to be attempts to find means of regaining the one-time confidence and friendship of the monarch.

Cleavage Is Widened

The rift between Syria and Saudi Arabia became more bitter after the Syrian Minister of Defense, Khaled el-Azm, last month openly denounced King Saud and the Damascus press began almost daily attacks against him.

Although the Egyptians have been just as angry about King Saud's support of King Hussein and his apparent leanings toward the United States, they have not openly attacked him.

It was clear, however, that the Syrians hoped King Saud would make some concession toward them.

Having been virtually isolated from the rest of the Arab world because their neutralist policies were promoting Soviet penetration into the Middle East, Egypt and Syria now are working in close concert to try to convince King Saud, at least, and through him the other Arab states, that Arab unity against Israel is more urgent than other East-West issues.

Egyptian and Syrian military leaders all week have been in close communication to map plans of defense against what they have said is a large buildup of Israeli armed forces near the Syrian border around the Lake Huleia area. Neutral observers here believe there is such a threat.

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Chicago Tribune

JUL 3 1957

World Bank Will Lend
for Roads in Ethiopia

PARIS, July 2 (Reuters) —

The world bank has lent Ethiopia 15 million dollars for extension and improvement of its highway system. No new road has been built in the country since before World War II.

however, that he is unduly naive about the menace of communism, both inside Egypt and in the entire Middle Eastern area.

"Nasser's obvious pan-Arabism could easily drive him into further conspiratorial entanglements. He was much more persuasive and balanced when he discussed his plans for developing Egypt's domestic economy."

N. Y. Times

JUL 5 1957

BRITONS OUT OF JORDAN

Last Soldiers and Airmen Go
From Port of Aqaba

AMMAN, Jordan, July 4 (AP)

—Britain pulled her remaining soldiers and airmen out of Jordan today, ten weeks ahead of schedule.

A Royal Air Force contingent left the airstrip at the port of Aqaba and the 1,700 soldiers at the Aqaba base began boarding the troopship Devonshire.

Ironically, the Devonshire will take them home Sunday through the Suez Canal. She will be the first Western troopship to transit the canal since the Suez crisis last fall. Last March Britain and Jordan agreed to end the pact whereby Jordan had received a \$33,000,000 annual subsidy and Britain had the use of military bases in Jordan.

N. Y. Times

JUL 4 1957

16 SLAIN, 40 HURT AS EGYPT VOTES

5,000,000 Ballot for Lists Hand-Picked by Nasser for New Parliament

Special to The New York Times

CAIRO, July 3—More than 5 million Egyptians voted today in elections for the country's first post-revolution Parliament.

The list of candidates was hand-picked by the regime of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Sixteen persons were reported killed and forty injured after rival tribesmen began pushing one another trying to vote in the village of Qena in upper Egypt, 250 miles south of Cairo. This was the only major incident reported by the Ministry of Interior in an otherwise unusually quiet election.

The Government reported that several persons had been arrested at Mansoura, near the delta town of Damietta, for "insulting the election board."

Firearms Ban Defied

The Government had strictly forbidden the carrying of firearms, traditional in the more primitive villages of Egypt. However, according to the Ministry report, small arms were brought into play at Qena before policemen could break up the melee.

It was unofficially estimated that 90 per cent of the registered men and women voters cast ballots in the 270 constituencies where there was a contest between opposing candidates. No voting took place in the seventy-five constituencies in which hand-picked candidates were automatically sealed without opposition.

In five other constituencies there was no voting because all prospective candidates had been disqualified as "unfit" by the three-man Executive Committee of the newly formed National Union, which is to be Egypt's only political body under President Nasser's chairmanship.

Although the election produced a holiday atmosphere, there was a general feeling of apathy. Each of the final total of 1,160 candidates (several dropped out at the last minute) had been carefully screened as reliable supporters of the Nasser regime.

A number of Communists were stricken from the lists, but a handful of their most ardent spokesmen were assured of seats in the new 350-member Parliament.

Because of all this, the election campaigns became more or less mere popularity contests in which each aspirant tried to outdo the other in proclaiming his faith in President Nasser's nationalist, positive-neutralist doctrines.

For the first time in Egypt, women and members of the armed forces could vote. In the wealthier districts of Cairo and Alexandria, large numbers of women went to the polls. In poorer districts and in villages, where tradition keeps women more strictly bound to home, they were less numerous.

There were five women candidates for Parliament, two of them running in Cairo. Most of the men one talked to in the

Washington Post

JUL 5 1957

Survivors Battle Wolves, Disease

5000 Iranians Killed by 'Quakes Along Caspian Sea, Majlis Is Told

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TEHRAN, Iran, July 4 (AP)—A member of Parliament tonight said more than 5000 Iranians were killed by earthquakes Tuesday in one mountain slope and coastal area along the Caspian Sea.

Reports from there said survivors are battling wolves, sickness, thirst and starvation.

The area is 75 to 100 miles northeast of Tehran, across the towering Elburz Mountain range, and about the same distance from Soviet Turkmenistan. No quake reports have come from Soviet sources.

Iran announced officially earlier in the day that the known quake dead for the whole 30,000-square-mile area

of devastation totaled more than 1000.

Deputy Amiri Nuri, representing much of the stricken area, told the Majlis (lower house of Parliament) that because most villages in the area of devastation between ancient Amul and Babul have no roads or communications the Government was unaware of the greater death toll.

A Government spokesman quickly replied that later reports indicated the toll was well above the 1500 figure announced earlier.

The Government, acknowledged that aid teams had not yet reached most of the ravaged part of northern Iran.

Reports as early as last Tuesday night said the quakes struck on a 500-mile arc bordering the Soviet Azerbaijan border on the northwest to south of Tehran to Soviet Turkmen on the northeast.

They said all Iranian ports and villages on the Caspian were devastated and implied the adjoining Soviet areas doubtless were damaged similarly.

A Government spokesman Amul and Babul, the most accessible of the mountain slope and coastal towns, are farm and industrial centers. The area sloping down from the nearly 10,000-foot heights of the Elburz is a freshish subtropical land that produces oranges and cotton.

N. Y. Times

JUL 4 1957

NASSER'S SHAM PARLIAMENT

Egypt passed from a purely military to a Nazi-type dictatorship under the same management when President Nasser supplemented his ruling junta with a hand-picked sham Parliament chosen in a national election that was a mockery of the democratic process. Like the national plebiscite of last year, by means of which Nasser elected himself President against no opponent and with 99.9 per cent of the total vote, this first parliamentary election after the overthrow of King Farouk is also hailed in official propaganda as the freest and cleanest election in Egyptian history, which does indeed reek of fraud and corruption. But just how free and clean the election was can be judged from the conditions under which it was held:

1. There was only one party in the field, Nasser's own "National Union." All other parties have been suppressed.
2. All potential opponents were barred from running as "enemies of the state" and only those were permitted to become candidates who could "prove" that they supported Nasser and his policies.
3. Despite this, half of the original 2,500 candidates were thrown out by a Nasser screening committee as doubtful, leaving it to the voters to choose between those who shouted more or less loudly in favor of Nasser.

streets and polling places did not give them much of a chance of winning the required absolute majority.

The ballots bore distinctive signs next to the names of the candidates, such as a camel, a watch, a palm, or a tree. This was to help the large number of illiterate voters mark their choice. Voters took their ballots into crudely improvised booths and marked them in what appeared to be carefully guarded secrecy.

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All sixteen members of Nasser's Cabinet and fifty-two other stalwarts of the regime were declared elected without an election after their would-be opponents had been scratched.

Why did Nasser enact this farce? Like all Fascist or Communist dictators, the Egyptian dictator feels compelled to pay lip service to democracy, though only to cloak his tyranny with its trappings. His dictatorship follows the Hitler pro-

TOTYPE not only in respect to a subservient Parliament, but also in respect to general policies, including a racism expressed in his ambitions for a pan-Arab empire, his disregard of treaty obligations, his expulsion of foreigners and seizure of their properties, even in his compact with Moscow. One can only hope that Western attempts to "do business with him will not bear results like those in the case of Hitler.

N. Y. Times

JUL 5 1957

JEWS REASSURED IN NORTH AFRICA

Tunisia and Morocco Grant Freedom of Emigration, U. S. Group Is Told

By THOMAS F. BRADY

Special to The New York Times

RABAT, Morocco, July 4—A delegation of the American Jewish Committee has received assurances here and in Tunisia that the principle of freedom of movement—which means individual emigration—will be maintained in the two newly independent countries of North Africa.

The three-man delegation headed by Irving M. Engel of New York, president of the American Jewish Committee, left Casablanca today for Paris en route to the United States. The trip has included visits to France, Italy and Israel as well as Tunisia and Morocco.

Martin Gang, a Los Angeles lawyer, and Alan M. Stroock of New York, chairman of the American Jewish Committee's committee, are with Mr. Engel. Their organization is known as non-Zionist in its sympathies.

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The members of the delegation said Habib Bourguiba, Tunisian Premier, had assured them in a ninety-minute interview that his country was determined to demonstrate that Jews could live in harmony with the rest of the people in an overwhelmingly Moslem land.

But he added, according to the delegation, the "citizens of Tunisia must be first and above all Tunisian."

Although Mr. Bourguiba has frequently shown his conviction that there must be no discrimination against Tunisian Jews, his Government has indicated scant sympathy for Zionist activities and propaganda in Tunisia.

Within the national framework and in accordance with the spirit of independent Tunisia, Jewish religious cultural and welfare institutions will certainly be able to carry on their activities, Mr. Bourguiba told the delegation. He added that adapting the legally-recognized Jewish community organization to Tunisia's new government structure would present no serious problem, provided membership in the community was limited to Tunisian citizens. This question arises because of the long-standing quasi-official recognition of the Jewish community within the Tunisian state.

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TRIAL OF MOSLEM AROUSES ALGIERS

Conviction of Tribal Chieftan Will Bar Rebel Contacts, French Sources Say

By HOMER BIGART
Special to The New York Times
ALGIERS, Algeria, July 4—

French sources said today that contacts between Frenchmen and the Algerian nationalist movement had become virtually impossible as a result of the conviction last night of one of the most distinguished Moslems in Algiers.

The trial of the Moslem, Bahaaga Abdel Kader Boutaleb, a former delegate to the Algerian National Assembly, had attracted wide attention here. The chahaga (tribal chief) was accused of having associated with Moslem rebel leaders and of using hidden bombs in his house.

Says He Aided French

The chahaga denied having any knowledge of the bombs, saying he was frequently away from home. As for rebel contacts, the chahaga contended he had been entrusted by high French officials on the staff of Robert Lacoste, French Minister for Algeria, to communicate with the rebels and discuss cease-fire terms.

Though widely regarded as an arm friend of France, the chahaga was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. He is a descendant of the Emir Abdel kader, who led native resistance against the French from 1830 to 1847.

French sources, including a Roman Catholic priest, said contacts with Moslems had become highly dangerous as early as last January when security forces began arresting Frenchmen on charges of associating with rebels. Among those arrested were two priests who later were released after a protest from their Archbishop.

Some of the prisoners admitted they had given refuge to Moslems who were being hunted by paratroopers of Gen. Jean Massu. They said they had done this to save the Moslems from torture.

General Massu is security chief of Algiers area, and all local police are subordinate to him.

French Homes Searched

The paratroopers searched several French homes looking for arms as a result of this harassment of many Frenchmen who support the Moslem independence movement fled to France.

No visitor can stay very long in Algiers without hearing about the "house of torture." This is the Villa Sessini, large white neo-classic building that in pre-war days housed the German consulate. It is on a hillside above the port and is surrounded by lush gardens.

The grounds are enclosed by walls topped by barbed wire and

Denies Britain Receives Egyptian Peace Proffer

LONDON, July 2 [Reuters]

Britain has received no approach from Egypt for resumption of diplomatic relations, a foreign office spokesman said today in reply to questions at his daily press conference about a television interview last night in which Egyptian President Nasser said he wanted to return to normal relations with Britain.

N. Y. Times CPYRGHT
JUL 5 1957

Syria Links Spies to Britain

DAMASCUS, Syria, July 4

Syrian authorities reported today that they had uncovered a spy ring allegedly working for the British Embassy in Beirut, Lebanon. A spokesman said three members of the ring had been arrested and would have a military trial. He identified them as a Lebanese formerly employed at the British Embassy, a Syrian lawyer and a Syrian customs guard.

The entrance is guarded by paratroopers with tommyguns.

A few days ago at a rendezvous in downtown Algiers, this correspondent met a Frenchman who said he had spent several days as a prisoner in the villa. "I was among twelve or thirteen Frenchmen taken to this place and systematically tortured," he said, continuing:

"We were arrested during the February-March round-up. At Villa Sessini we were put in small dark cells with neither windows nor artificial light and nothing but mats on the floor. "They wanted me to inform on a Moslem friend. They took me to a pavilion on the grounds where they trussed me up, tying my hands and feet together behind my back.

"In this position I was hoisted on a pulley and carried out over a pool of water. I was dipped in the pool and kept submerged until I was nearly drowned. This was called the bathtub treatment."

Alleges Electric Burning

He said he was later subjected to electric shocks. Currents were shot into his body from a portable dynamo, he alleged. He said he had received superficial burns.

The man also said he had been bitten by a German shepherd dog set upon him by the guards.

He said that after eight days at Villa Sessini he was taken to a paratroop camp outside Algiers and held there until the marks of torture had disappeared. Then he was released.

The Frenchman said that while he was at the paratroop camp a committee arrived from Paris to investigate accounts of torture that had appeared in the Paris press. All the paraphernalia of torture was removed from the Villa Sessini during their visit, he said. A Government spokesman announced tonight that an international Red Cross team had just completed a fifty-day tour of forty-eight prisons and concentration camps in Algeria and would report its findings to

Bomb Blast Damages U.S. Consulate in Algiers

ALGIERS, July 4 (AP)—

The explosion today in the United States Consulate in Algiers.

The blast caused no casualties. It occurred in the third-floor hall of the Consulate building on Rue Michelet at 7:55 p. m. (2:55 p. m., EDT).

There was immediate speculation that the bomb had been planted by extremists among the French population of Algiers.

Feeling against the United States has run high in some French circles here since Sen. John F. Kennedy's (D-Mass.) speech urging independence for this rebellion-racked territory. First reports said the explosion caused insignificant damage. The bomb had been placed in front of the third floor offices of the Consulate, which was closed for the U. S. national holiday.

N. Y. Times CPYRGHT
JUL 4 1957

EISENHOWER WARY ON ALGERIA POLICY

U. S. Is Trying to Be Fair and Decent, He Asserts—Paris Reaction Sharp

WASHINGTON, July 3 (AP)—

The suggestion of senator John F. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, that the United States press France to grant independence to Algeria aroused no enthusiasm in President Eisenhower today. Some members of Congress strongly disagreed with Senator Kennedy.

The President said the United States was trying to be decent and fair to both sides—the French and the Algerians—and often worked behind the scenes in such controversies.

President Eisenhower noted that Secretary of State Dulles had said about the same thing at his news conference yesterday.

The President said that there was nothing more complicated than the Algerian question and that the United States, in playing the role of a peacemaker, should not "begin to shout about such things or there will be no effectiveness."

Celler Assails Proposal

Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn, who is chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, also took issue with Senator Kennedy. He said in a statement that the proposal "at this time is as immature as it is unfair."

Senator Thruston B. Morton, Republican of Kentucky, said American pressure for Algerian independence would "jeopardize the prospects" for a "liberal solution" by the French themselves.

Senator Morton, a former Assistant Secretary of State, said in a Senate speech that Algeria's Front of National Liberation, the leading rebel organization, so far had rejected a "no-strings-attached" French offer of a cease-fire to be followed by

The rejection was coupled with insistence that the French first recognize Algeria's right to independence and the Front of National Liberation as the provisional Algerian Government, Senator Morton continued.

"It is evident that no French Government could survive if it accepted such terms," the Senator asserted.

Most Arab diplomats in Washington who could be reached welcomed Senator Kennedy's suggestion enthusiastically. Assaad Ahmad Zabarrah, chargé d'affaires of Yemen, said it was "a beautiful speech by an excellent man."

The French Embassy attacked the speech "an internal affair between the Senator and the United States Government."

"We are rather touchy on subjects of competence," a spokesman added, "and believe that we have full competence in Algeria."

Paris Is CPYRGHT
By ROBERT L. DORE
Special to The New York Times

PARIS, July 3—France's De-

partment Minister suggested today that Senator Kennedy was encouraging Algerian rebels to prolong their bloody rebellion.

"I don't know whether Mr. Kennedy has nights without nightmares," said the minister, André Morice.

"What I know well," he continued, "is that this will result in a great increase of innocent victims and the prolongation of a drama that would have been long ended if so many of our thinking friends had weighed their words or their acts. It is the blood of others that pays for their errors."

A published statement by Jacques Soustelle, former Governor General of Algeria, said: "The initiative of Senator Kennedy, if it were followed by a large part of the Congress and by the United States Government, would produce as an inevitable consequence a rupture between France and the United States—an extremely deep break."

This was about as far as anyone here went. Most other officials and a majority of editorial commentators said Senator Kennedy's motivation was political and noted that Mr. Dulles had promptly restated the United States official policy of non-intervention in Algeria.

American Prestige Grows in Arab Countries

By H. B. SHARABI

BEIRUT, Lebanon—Since the last fall there has been a steady trend in the Arab countries toward a subtle realignment with regard to the East-West conflict.

An important factor underlying this tendency is the fact that the choice now is no longer between the "West," as represented by Britain, France and the United States on the one hand, and the "East" as represented by Communist Russia and her European satellites on the other, but clearly and simply between the United States and the Soviet Union. The direct commitments of America and the USSR in the Middle East have created a new atmosphere in which it has become increasingly difficult if not impossible for any Arab government or political group to avoid taking a clear stand in the cold war.

Commitments Made

"Positive neutrality" in the Arab world today no longer means what Egypt and Syria would like it to mean. Each nation is committed one way or another to one or the other of the two world camps. During the writer's visit to this area three years ago, the situation was fundamentally different. International communism was not even viewed as an important factor in determining Arab attitudes (with the possible exception of Iraq), and the West signified simply the imperialist powers of Britain and France and "pro-Zionist" America.

The change brought about by the mutual stand of Russia and the United States during the Suez invasion has acted upon the two most sensitive problems of Arab concern, namely, Israeli expansionism and direct or indirect Anglo-French imperialism. In Arab eyes both Russia and America stood in October-November, 1956, for the cause of truth and justice in the Middle East. But present developments seem to show that of the two stands the American is by far the more radical in its effect; for despite the fact that the Soviet Union has scored significant political and psychological gains in Syria and Egypt, the new Eisenhower policy has been a curbing influence on anti-American, anti-Western feeling.

A new air of growing confidence is evident, especially in Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Lebanon. A new militant spirit has resulted in concrete steps to stem pro-Communist movements and at the same time move into closer cooperation with the United States—an act which only a few months ago would have created widespread disturbances and caused the immediate collapse of governments.

This change is perhaps best demonstrated by the new rapprochement between the three Arab monarchies of Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Jordan. King Saud's visit to Jordan last week has sealed the new Riyadh-Baghdad-Amman triangle, thus creating a new Arab pro-Western, anti-Communist alliance which may extend to Libya and possibly Tunisia and Morocco.

In these recent developments the so-called "street" (or the politically active masses of the population) did not rise against the new alignment, despite bitter Egyptian opposition. Intellectual and professional circles backing Egyptian President Nasser's policies in the Arab world seem now to have serious doubts regarding the genuineness of Egypt's Arab nationalism and her intentions in the Arab world.

Their doubts are primarily caused by the clumsy, heavy-handed activities of Egyptian diplomats in the various Arab countries. For example, the details of the Egyptian Military Attache's activities in Jordan, published in Amman and given wide coverage in the Arabic press, created a wave of resentment which was plainly evident in the recent Lebanese election.

The bold, outspokenly pro-Western stand of the present regime in Lebanon, backed by the election victory, is based on the following three points, which sum up the spreading conviction that American interest in the Middle East offers the best hope for Arab

progress and independence:

- The United States of America is no longer partial to the claims of Zionism and in terms of the Eisenhower doctrine constitutes the best guarantee against Israeli aggression. (The sending of the 6th Fleet during the Jordan crisis is cited as proof of America's determination to prevent Israel from expanding at the expense of her neighboring Arab countries.)
- The United States is not an imperialistic power, and has no designs to dominate any Arab country; she is rather the Arab bulwark against the return of French or British imperialism to the area, and is the only guarantee against Communist subversion or attack.
- The United States is the only nation in the world both willing and able to aid large-scale economic development in the Arab countries; she is ready, under the Eisenhower doctrine, to supply the Arab countries with vast financial and technical assistance without impinging on the independence or sovereignty of these countries.

H. B. Sharabi, assistant professor of modern Middle East history at Georgetown University, is author of "A Handbook on the Contemporary Middle East." He is on a three-month tour of the Middle East.

Manchester Guardian

JUN 25 1957

INFLATION IN MIDDLE EAST

Trade diverted to Eastern Europe

By our Financial Staff

The crisis over Suez last autumn has caused some inflation in the Middle East and has led the countries in the area to divert some of their trade from Western to Eastern Europe, according to a survey of economic developments in the Middle East that has been compiled by the United Nations in New York. These are the more general economic consequences.

The direct impact of the fighting in October and November, 1956, was "shortlived and quickly diffused." Direct material losses from the fighting fell wholly on Egypt, except for the losses of the Israeli forces in Sinai. It fell particularly in the field of transport, and included airports, aircraft, roads, military vehicles, railways, and the floating equipment used in operating the Suez Canal. Indirect losses to Egypt resulting from the military operations were also "quite substantial." Loss of income from canal services was at an annual rate of £E11 millions.

Loss of secondary income was also substantial. After the withdrawal of British and French troops the Egyptian Government started a construction and public works programme in Port Said which relieved unemployment.

Israeli losses

Israel also suffered economic losses from the preparation of the campaign by purchases of arms, from the slow-down in production due to mobilisation, the cost of the campaign itself, the suspension of tourist services and the fall in receipts from tourists. These losses were made up by increased foreign resources

reduced output generally, and caused prices to rise.

The report summarises the ways in which Egypt was able to continue financing foreign trade after the sterling balances had been frozen by the British Government. Credits already built up on bilateral accounts with East European countries were drawn down; credits were given by India, Indonesia, and Japan, these countries accepting Egyptian pounds or deferred payment for their exports to Egypt; and the People's Republic of China opened a credit of 40 million Swiss francs (£E4.4 millions) to help Egypt pay for imports from all sources. In addition, Egypt drew \$15 millions from the International Monetary Fund and obtained a credit of \$15 millions from Saudi Arabia. In these ways Egypt contrived to maintain and even increase her holdings of gold and dollars in the last quarter of 1956.

Drop in oil output

Except for oil, the countries of the Middle East do not make much use of the Suez Canal for their own trade. The consequences of its closure were felt most by more distant countries and by the oil producers. Oil production fell very sharply, the worst hit being Iraq, owing to the destruction of the pipelines. The least affected was Persia which sent oil to the refinery at Bahrain to replace supplies from Saudi Arabia.

But although oil production fell sharply, the oil producing countries were not much affected economically because they were able to draw on accumulated reserves. Development programmes were maintained. The situation has appeared in Egypt, Israel, the Lebanon, and Syria while the foreign exchange resources of Saudi Arabia have been strained.

Washington Post
JUL 5 1957

FAR EAST

Red Chinese Minister Admits Role in 'Plot'

By David Chipp
Reuters

PEKING, July 4—Communist

Foreign Minister Chang Po-chun said in a confession published today that he and another non-Communist Minister had favored "Anglo-American democracy" for Communist China. Chang also said that "there might have been occurrences of Hungarian affairs" early last month as a result of tension among some university students and other people in the Peking area.

(Existence of an anti-Communist group of intellectuals in China was mentioned today in a speech to the National People's Congress—Red China's Parliament—according to the Communist New China News Agency.

(The agency report, monitored in Hongkong, quoted President Li Fa of Wuhan University as saying there was a plan to organize a party of several million intellectuals to struggle for leadership of the nation.)

'Serious Sin'

Chang's confession was featured today on the front pages of the official Communist Peking People's Daily and other Peking newspapers. He made it at a meeting yesterday of the non-Communist Democratic Party of which he is chairman.

It was the first confession by a "rightists" Minister of attacks on the Communist Party. Chang admitted he had "committed a serious sin in politics."

He added: "I admit that I am an ambitious man among bourgeois right-wingers. Since the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress (in February 1956, when Stalinist methods were first attacked), I have denied the revolutionary strength of the Soviet Union and the

merits of Stalin.

"In criticizing the Soviet Union, I have made wrong evaluations, such as saying that though she possessed heavy industry, she was lacking in ancient culture."

Student in London

Chang admitted that he had formed an alliance with another democratic leader, Lo Lung-chi, who heads the Timber Industry Ministry. This alliance, he said, was made "only for the sake of our individual political ambitions" and was in favor of Anglo-American democracy.

So far, Lo has not replied to criticisms of his attacks on communism. He knows the West well, having studied at the London School of Economics.

In 1927, studying under the late Socialist Prof. Harold Laski, he prepared a thesis on British parliamentary government. He submitted this for a degree at Columbia University, New York.

Chang said he had been delighted to know that early in June there had been tension in some universities in the Peking area and that "some dissatisfaction had arisen on the part of both students and people and there might have been occurrences of Hungarian affairs" if these two groups had joined forces.

Chang denied he had issued any sort of order or instruction which might have started things moving when he knew the situation was tense. He added: "If I were ever found to have done so I should be willing to undergo greater punishment."

Observers here believe there is no immediate likelihood of a purge. Individual Communists are adamant that no such thing is intended. It is thought that if rightists make acceptable confessions, they will be forgiven.

N. Y. Times

JUL 5 1957

TAIWAN AIDE WARNS ON SOVIET STRATEGY

HAMILTON, N. Y., July 4 (AP)

Nationalist China's Ambassador to the United States said today the Soviet Union was using "nuclear diplomacy" to keep non-Communist nations neutral in the cold war.

The Ambassador, Hollington K. Tong, declared at the ninth annual Foreign Policy Conference at Colgate University that "this diplomatic offensive" also had caused some forces "to seek to push America into the camp of appeasement."

"I have in mind," he said, "at least one Senator who has publicly urged negotiations with Red China, looking toward eventual recognition by the United States." He did not name the Senator.

Mr. Tong asserted that "fears of a nuclear war are being successfully exploited by Russia and are attracting more and more non-Communist nations in the East and West to the bandwagon of neutralism and appeasement."

Approximately 1,000 delegates from forty countries are attending the five-day conference, which ends tomorrow.

N. Y. Times

JUL 5 1957

CHOU COURTS JAPANESE

Reported Urging Tokyo Act as Intermediary With U. S.

Special to The New York Times.

TOKYO, July 4—Chou En-lai

was reported today to have told a group of visiting Japanese that Japan could act as an intermediary to bring the United States and Communist China closer together and avert war.

The Chinese Communist Premier was said to have described Japan's role as a "bridge of peace across the Pacific." Mr. Chou's remarks were quoted in dispatches to Japanese newspapers.

At the same time, however, Mr. Chou charged the United States with fostering plans for war against Red China. He said Washington would attempt to drag Japan into war on its side. The antidote is for Japan to recognize Red China and then to sign a nonaggression pact with it.

N. Y. Times

JUL 4 1957

REDS LINK DULLES, CHINA'S RIGHTISTS

Peiping Paper Calls His Views on Eventual Freedom 'Fantastic Nonsense'

By TILLMAN DURDIN

Special to The New York Times.

HONG KONG, July 3—Secretary of State Dulles was linked in Peiping yesterday with "rightist" elements in mainland China who recently have criticized the Communist party and regime.

The Peoples' Daily, a leading Communist party organ, said Mr. Dulles hoped that these elements "would work in coordination with the United States to overthrow China's peoples' democratic dictatorship and rebuild American colonial rule."

The newspaper bracketed Mr. Dulles and the "rightists" in an editorial answering the Secretary of State's speech in San Francisco last week. Mr. Dulles defended the continued nonrecognition of the Peiping Government by the United States and said that Communism's rule was "a passing and not a perpetual phase."

Mr. Dulles told a news conference in Washington yesterday that he believed in and was working for the eventual peaceful liberation of the Soviet and Chinese peoples. He said he was confident that the trend toward freedom in the Communist world was a basic truth.]

Acheson Theory Recalled

Calling Mr. Dulles' views a "fantastic dream," the Peiping newspaper said his references to individualists in China indicated he was reviving the theory of his predecessor, Dean Acheson, that so-called "democratic individualists" could be relied upon to overthrow communism in China.

The newspaper belittled the influence of critics within China of the Communist system. It said that the rightists among the Chinese bourgeoisie and intellectuals resemble "poor fish washed ashore by the tide of socialism in China" and described Mr. Dulles as also "a helpless fish wriggling in a dry pond."

The critics referred to by the Peoples' Daily are leaders of minor parties who are members of the Peiping regime as subordinate associates of the Communists.

N. Y. Times CPYRGHT
JUL 5 1957

5 Tokyo War Criminals Freed

Special to The New York Times.

TOKYO, July 4—The last five

of the 147 Japanese war criminals convicted by Australia were released today from Sugamo Prison. This reduced the number of war criminals still held to sixty-three, all of them convicted by the United States. It is reported here that Washington has agreed to surrender "custody" of these prisoners to Japan, but there has been no specific agreement.

N. Y. Times CPYRGHT

JUL 5 1957

Red Guns Down Taiwan Plane

TAIPEI, Taiwan, July 4 (UP)—

Communist Chinese coastal anti-aircraft gunners shot down a Nationalist F-84 Thunderjet fighter early today, National Air Force headquarters announced. A communiqué said the fighter was one of a small group on routine patrol over the Taiwan [Formosa] Strait. It was hit while flying near the Nationalist

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

Washington Post

JUL 5 1957

Cuban Troops Moving for Showdown

HAVANA, July 4 (INS)

Government troops in the Cuban province of Oriente appeared today to be preparing for a showdown with the rebel forces of Fidel Castro.

Unofficial reports from Santiago de Cuba and Manzanillo, largest cities in the rugged southeastern province, told of troop, tank and plane movements.

Police stations and other Government buildings were said to be sand bagged, leading to reports that Castro may be planning to launch an offensive of his own.

The search for rebels was concentrated in an area where troops seized arms and 15 men in a raid last Sunday on a farm north of Castro's headquarters in the Sierra Maestra Mountains, Associated Press reported.

In Bayamo in Oriente province, police seized 15 bombs in a new house. Oriente is the center of opposition to the regime of President Fulgencio Batista. One Cuban was wounded in Guantanamo when a bomb exploded.

A report from Palma Soriano, near Santiago de Cuba, said troops had clashed with 30 young members of a rebel organization and had arrested the Mayor of the town who was a member of the group.

The reports said all patients who can be moved have been evacuated from hospitals in Palma Soriano and Santiago.

CPYRGHT

N. Y. Times

JUL 4 1957

CUBA BOMBINGS GO ON

Cache of Dynamite Is Seized —Radio Program Banned

Special to The New York Times.

HAVANA, July 3—Scattered acts of terror and sabotage by enemies of the regime of President Fulgencio Batista occurred throughout Cuba during the last twenty-four hours.

Bomb exploded in various towns. In Pinar Del Rio, authorities seized a cache of dynamite, fuses and other bomb-making materials.

The Minister for Communications, Ramon Vasconcelos, suspended the next two weekly radio programs of "Before the Press" on the grounds that statements made during last week's program had disturbed the public peace.

Washington Post

JUL 5 1957

Peronists Tear Down U. S. Flag

CPYRGHT

BUENOS AIRES, July 4 (AP)

hundreds of anti-demonstrators shouting Peronist slogans toppled down a United States flag last night. Police scattered the mob with clubs and tear gas and restored the flag to a staff on a local branch of a New York bank.

Several persons were arrested. The demonstrators were part of a crowd at a rally held by followers of leftist presidential candidate Arturo Frondizi, who is bidding openly for support from the followers of ousted dictator Juan Peron.

At the rally, Frondizi's mouthpiece, Raul Damonte Tabora, attacked "imperialism" and the pro-American regime of provisional President Pedro Aramburu.

N. Y. Times

JUL 4 1957

3 QUIT CHILE'S CABINET

Ministers Oppose Government Decree Setting Price Rises

CPYRGHT

The New York Times.

SANTIAGO, Chile, July 3—

Three Cabinet ministers resigned today in protest against Government decrees raising the prices of certain foodstuffs and services.

The three included Jorge Aravena, Minister of the Interior; Oscar Pinochet, Minister of Lands, and Roberto Muñoz, Minister of Health. All are members of the Agrarian Labor party. The three ministers had contended that the price increases might provoke public disturbances.

President Carlos Ibanez del Campo appointed Francisco Ryanas Minister of Health and Ignacio Garces Minister of Lands.

N. Y. Times

JUL 4 1957

Peruvian Paper Reopened

Special to The New York Times.

LIMA, Peru, July 3—La Tri-

N. Y. Times

JUL 4 1957

NEW TARIFF RISE STIRS COSTA RICA

Figueres' Decree Protested in Assembly Debate—Auto Cost Doubled

By PAUL F. KENNEDY

Special to The New York Times.

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica, July 4—

The Legislative Assembly here began a debate last night on President José Figueres' tariff increases, a matter likely to become a Presidential campaign issue later this year.

The President by executive decree increased from 50 per cent to 100 per cent the import duties on more than 200 items, including radios, household appliances and automobiles.

It was said officially that the move had been made to conserve the nation's dollar reserves. As of June 1 the national gold and dollar reserve was reduced to \$21,300,000, which was \$2,000,000 less than at the same date in 1956 and \$8,000,000 less than in 1955.

The decree raised a storm of protest from business, generally, and automobile importers, especially. Critics said the action had been taken without proper consideration and that it would impair the national economy and raise prices. The debate in the Assembly is merely to air feelings over the matter, inasmuch as the Presidential decree already is in effect.

Plant Bananas, Figueres Says

President Figueres, whose Administration has experienced frequent clashes with business, made light of the protests. In an interview he said, "These merchants want to make a living by importing nice things, but why don't they go out and plant bananas for a living so that the country can make dollars instead of spending them?"

Dealers in American automobiles have protested that the tariff increases are discriminatory. The new imposts call for a graduated rise, both on value and according to weight. The new tariffs will almost double the delivery price on some heavy automobiles. Dealers complain that the increase will give an unwarranted advantage to light European cars, which in recent years have gained rapidly in sales.

Puerto Rico's political parties and limiting the amount of money parties can accept from private contributors. The government will pay out more than \$1,000,000 every four years to the three political parties.

Under the law, each party will get \$75,000 in each non-election year and \$150,000 in an election year. Individual private contributions are limited to \$4,000 in a election year.

N. Y. Times

JUL 4 1957

THE DOMINICAN MYSTERY

One more step has now been accomplished in the slow but relentless process of unearthing the truth about the disappearances of Prof. Jesús de Galindez of Columbia University and the young American pilot Gerald Murphy. So far as Generalissimo Trujillo, dictator of the Dominican Republic, is concerned it is a step backward, or at least he has sidestepped. He had been asked by our State Department to lift the diplomatic immunity of the former Dominican Consul General in New York, General Espaillet, so that he could come to the United States to testify. General Trujillo refused.

This is by no means the end of the case. On the contrary, it clears the way for another move by the State Department, working in conjunction with the Department of Justice. Neither in the case of Dr. Galindez nor of Gerald Murphy can the American Government allow the mysteries to remain unsolved. The Columbia teacher, a distinguished Spanish Basque scholar, was snatched from the heart of New York City on March 12, 1956. Murphy disappeared in the Dominican Republic on Dec. 3, 1956. In the latter case the American authorities are convinced that the Dominicans gave a false version of Murphy's death. The State Department believes there is sufficient evidence to link the two cases.

In the circumstances and considering how greatly public opinion in the Western Hemisphere has been aroused, it is obvious that the matter must be pursued further. The State Department needs no urging, for it is clearly keeping up the pressure. The affair is in the hands of a grand jury in Washington which is developing material furnished by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the American Embassy in Ciudad Trujillo and the New York police. Something may well come of this investigation during the summer. It is obvious now that we cannot expect cooperation from the Dominican Government.

CPYRGHT

Washington Post

JUL 3 1957

U. S. Ships Visit Brazil

RIO DE JANEIRO, July 2

A task force, including the battleship Iowa, a cruiser and nine destroyers, arrived at Rio de Janeiro today for a courtesy visit to Brazil. Eight thousand sailors, including Midshipmen of the U. S. Naval Academy, were aboard the warships.

JUL 2 1957

Sign Puerto Rico Bill to Subsidize Political Parties

SAN JUAN, P. R., July 1 (AP)

Gov. Luis Muñoz Marín today signed a law subsidizing

British-Held Islands on Doorstep of U.S. Being Formed Into Nation of West Indies

3,000,000 to Enjoy Self-Government in Commonwealth System.

By DONALD GRANT
A Staff Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch.
(FIRST OF A SERIES)
BRIDGETOWN, Barbados, July 1.

A process of establishment here, a federation of British-held tropical islands just south and east of continental United States. Preliminary work is going forward in Barbados and next winter the 3,000,000 people of these islands will merge their national identities in what will be known as the West Indies.

The West Indies will enjoy a large measure of self government from the outset and within a very few years are expected to achieve full self determination as a commonwealth, either within the British system alongside Canada or, if the people choose it, outside as in the case of Burma.

What is happening in these flower-decked and sun-drenched tropical islands is a part of a larger process going on all over the world. Formerly subject peoples everywhere are moving toward self government, in peace as here or in violence as in some other areas, and at the same time they are seeking higher living standards—in Asia, Africa and here in the Western Hemisphere.

Important to U. S.

For a great many reasons the United States cannot ignore this process, especially here on our own doorstep. The West Indies stand guard over the entrance to an area of considerable strategic importance, including our own Gulf Coast, the Panama canal and the shipping lanes for Venezuelan oil and iron ore. During World War II the United States used several of the islands as bases and still holds an important naval base in Trinidad, one of the islands in the new federation.

It is precisely this base, called Chaguaramas, which the new West Indies nation has picked tentatively as the site for its new capital.

Nevertheless it is United States policy to encourage formation of the new nation and self determination of the peoples in it. Not only is opposition to colonialism a historic United States policy but at this particular juncture of history the orderly transfer of power from empires across the sea to the people who live in a given area is believed to be a move which can serve to forestall Communist exploitation of the colonial issue. This area already has had a taste of such exploitation in British Guiana, where Communists in 1953 gained political control which was only broken by British troops.

British Guiana, still suffering the after effects of that crisis, will not immediately become a member of the West Indies federation though leaders of the new nation hope it may join the venture later. Guiana is to hold an election next month which may be a test of the continuing strength of the Communists there lead by a former Chicago girl named Janet Jagan.

Race Conflicts Involved.

But in a world which can be circumnavigated by airplanes and guided missiles in a matter of hours, the political effects of an event like the formation of a new nation is by no means limited to the immediate area. One simple circumstance of this new nation is expected to have especially wide reverberations.

More than 90 per cent of the people of the West Indies are colored people by United States standards. The non-colored people mostly from the British Isles, have been the rich and powerful ones here; the colored people have been the poor workers.

Now the governing powers are being assumed by the majority of the people who are colored and poor though most of the large plantations in these agricultural islands are still owned by the white minority, who either live here as they have for many generations or in some cases are absentee landlords living in London.

This is a situation in many ways comparable to Algeria, where at this moment a bloody and cruel struggle is in progress between the French settlers and the Berber and Arab people. It is even in some ways comparable to the Union of South Africa where a white minority discriminates rigidly against a colored majority, denying to that majority even the rudiments of self government.

Differences of Opinion.

One of the most notable differences between Algeria and South Africa on the one hand and the West Indies on the other was pointed out to the Post-Dispatch by Sir Grantley Adams, the Oxford-educated colored man who is Prime Minister of Barbados. "The history of Barbados," he said, "and to a large extent of the other islands of the West Indies has been for many years one of a series of missions sent out from London to try to teach the planters that the slaves have in fact been set free."

France, on the other hand, is employing nearly 300,000 troops on the side of the "planters" in Algeria and the full force of the South African government is used against the Negroes there.

Will the experiment in the West Indies succeed, or will it result in more eruptions like that in Guiana? Or in a gradual economic and political disintegration?

"I has got to work" said Edward Noziglia, a well informed young American foreign service officer who is United States consul in Barbados and the ranking American diplomat in this area.

Many white planters on Barbados, however, are convinced that self government in the West Indies will never work although they do not openly oppose it.

"In the end," said one wealthy planter whose family has been on the island for nearly 300 years, "Canada—or the United States—will have to take over." He was careful to add that he did not wish to be quoted by name.

Governor Is Hopeful.

The British Governor of Barbados, Sir Robert Arundell, a professional Colonial Office civil servant, was quietly optimistic.

"I expect it won't always go perfectly smooth," he said, "but these people have been working into self-government for a long time. On Barbados at any rate there has been some kind of self-government since the beginning. Of course, at first it was exercised mainly by the planters and only relatively recently by the ordinary voters."

Sir Robert, who began his career some years ago as a Colonial Office district officer in Africa, smiled as he recounted some of the changes he had seen in the colonial service. Our conversation took place in the spacious living room of Government House. Through the open window looking onto the garden could be seen a magnificent flamboyant tree in full scarlet bloom. Small birds flew through the room as we talked, perching for a time on the elaborate chandelier.

"In the old days," said the Governor, "we had pretty full control of things in our districts but as I have grown more senior I have been giving up authority until today I am fairly much of a figurehead."

The colonial governors in these islands are not, however, without considerable influence and in an emergency they can exercise more than a little authority. If present plans materialize, however, these governors will in fact be little more than honorary representatives of the Queen at official ceremonies.

The first step will be taken in December or early January when Lord Hailes arrives in the islands to begin his term as the first Governor General of the West Indies. This will activate the new federation and the new nation will be officially in existence.

The second step will take place sometime early next year when the first federal election will be held. Each island will select by popular vote its representatives to a House of Representatives. The House will have full federal legislative powers excepting that the Governor General reserves veto powers on certain matters, notably foreign policy and defense. Other powers will be reserved for the separate island governments which already enjoy self rule on most local matters.

Perhaps the greatest significance of the creation of the federation is that the government in London officially has stated that the federation will facilitate complete self-government.

Singly the islands could be but the smallest of nations, but collectively it is hoped they can achieve both political and economic viability.

Ten Political Units.

There are 10 units in the new federation. These may be one or a whole group of islands. No one seems to know exactly how many individual islands are involved because the territories include many small clumps of uninhabited rocks as well as the largest island, Jamaica, with an area about that of Puerto Rico and a population of 1,500,000.

Islands in the new federation are grouped in the 10 units of Antigua, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla—the three comprising one unit—St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the unit of Trinidad and Tobago. Notably absent from this list are British-held mainland units of Guiana and Honduras which send observers to federation meetings but have come to no decision about joining.

At the moment the new nation, the West Indies, visibly consists of no more than a series of makeshift offices in a new school building in Bridgetown, Barbados, offices separated by temporary heavy board partitions. Here is assembled a skeleton secretariat of some 30 men and women from all over the islands.

A deeper look is necessary to see the reality—and the problems—of the Western Hemisphere's newest nation.

Baltimore
JUN 29 1957

La Prensa Sees Big Peron Plot

Buenos Aires, July 1 (AP)—The newspaper *La Prensa*, muzzled for five years by the old Peron regime, charged today the ex-dictator is using half of South America as a base for a drive to return to power in Argentina.

La Prensa accused exiled Juan D. Peron of having organized commands in five countries ringing Argentina—Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, Brazil and Uruguay.

But it said Venezuela is mainly responsible for the Peron plot to overthrow the provisional government of Maj. Gen. Pedro Aramburu. Venezuela gave Peron asylum after he was ousted in September, 1955.

La Prensa said the Venezuelan capital of Caracas is where "the supreme command of sabotage of destruction and of subversive works is installed."

La Prensa, whose fight against Peron in 1951 became an epic in the annals of press freedom, said Uruguay uncovered last week a Peronist subversive plot there against Aramburu and ordered Peronists jailed.

THE CRISIS IN COMMUNISM

A collection of items on the confusion in Communist ideology and the resulting disaffection and desertions from Communism throughout the world. Material will be reproduced under this heading from time to time as it becomes available.

The Belgian Road to Socialism.

by Alois Gerlo.

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I have left the Belgian Communist Party (BCP) after 17 years as a member. I had to take this step in order to remain true to myself and to my former fellow members.

I still believe in Marxist Socialism, just as I did before.

I no longer believe in the BCP. I have gradually become convinced that the BCP can no longer play a single useful role in Belgium, with a view to the establishment of a socialist regime. The Belgian Communist Party emerged from the underground in 1944 as a strong party and one deservedly renowned, but this party has now definitely lost or rather destroyed its opportunity.

I am now convinced that when the party congress meeting in Vilvoorde in December 1954 made an effort to alter the course of the party it was already too late. The mistakes had been too serious and the "line" had been too bad. At that time the BCP had already separated itself from the Belgian labor movement and was completely isolated. It was already too late for the party to renew its contacts with the working class and the serious efforts which were afterwards made by militant, devoted and honest party members could not produce any results.

The BCP has become a small, powerless faction. It stands outside of the workers' movement in Belgium. It has lost the confidence of the Belgian workers. Anyone who thinks that in spite of everything the struggle for socialism and peace is still possible within the ranks of the BCP is wasting his time and energy.

Personally I wish to carry on this struggle within the ranks of the Belgian labor movement and as a member in good standing of this class. I do not wish to fool people anymore. The clincher about the "vanguard" is done for, as far as I am concerned. That is the reason for my resignation.

There is, however, a second and equally important reason. I am a liberal, that is, a convinced adherent of free investigation. I reject every dogma, every Talmudism. I wish to think independently and to retain my freedom to criticize. I do not wish to be suspected of having surrendered my freedom of thinking. This suspicion will ultimately weigh down upon anyone who remains a member of the BCP.

In spite of the resolutions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the BCP continues slavishly to parrot the Pravda; the Soviet leaders and their actions still remain sacred and everything they say is apparently gospel for the leaders and the press of the BCP. Such an attitude is not only anti-liberal; it is neither Marxist nor Leninist; it degrades man and impoverishes his mind. I will not participate in this and neither will the Belgian workers. It is largely for this reason that they have turned their backs on the BCP.

In Belgium the road to socialism is through the Belgian Socialist Party (BSP), or, to express my opinion more exactly, through the mass of the workers organized in the BSP and affiliated organizations.

In the maturing of this new conviction the resolutions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU held in Moscow in February 1956 played a very great role. These resolutions do not contradict what I have written above. The 20th Congress passed many good resolutions. Among other things it corrected many mistakes. And it emphasized - and proved for those who needed such proof - that the CPSU can also make mistakes.

Among the essential points which have qualified the 20th Congress as a genuine congress of renovation, I wish to mention: 1. the demolition of the Stalin cult; 2. the thesis about the different roads to socialism, and in this connection, 3. the changed attitude of the Communists in the Soviet Union toward the socialist parties.

The thesis about the roads of the various countries toward socialism, or - as Marc Pierson stated in *Le Soir* - the thesis of "socialist pluralism," expressly pointed out that this socialism can be reached along other roads than those pursued by the Soviet Union.

This thesis is actually not new, but one which had fallen into oblivion under Stalin. Marxism has always expressed the opinion that different roads to socialism are possible and even inevitable, because of the internal and external conditions in which any country may find itself at a given moment.

Jean Jaures wrote in 1902: "the social revolution is being accomplished among each of the great people of modern times by means of an autonomous movement" (in *La Petite Republique*, 2 January 1902).

On the eve of the October Revolution Lenin wrote: "All nations will attain to socialism, this is inevitable, but this will not take place in exactly the same way in every nation. Every nation will make its own contribution to one form or another of democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the tempo in which the socialist transition is brought about in the various domains of social life" (Collected Works, Volume 23, page 58, Russian).

The thesis of the socialist pluralism was applied by the Yugoslav Communists, hence the breach with Stalin who apparently wanted the Soviet experiment copied everywhere.

This thesis is also being applied with visible success by the People's Republic of China, which is pursuing a policy of peaceful reorganization of private industry and commerce.

Finally, and this is once more "creative Marxism in action," the People's Democracy of Poland is now resolutely proceeding along this way. The Polish leader Gomulka, who was once arrested as a deviationist, has made a brilliant come-back. A plebiscite of the Polish people supported him.

Nikita Khrushchev stated in his report to the 20th Congress: "It is not true that we regard violence and civil war as the only way to change society." There is also the parliamentary road, the way of the parliamentary majority. In this regard Khrushchev stated: "Socialism has become a great magnetic force for the workers, the farmers, and the intellectuals of all countries. The ideas of socialism will dominate the minds of all of working humanity. At the same time the present situation offers the working class in a number of capitalist countries a real opportunity for uniting the overwhelming majority of the people under its leadership and for guaranteeing the transfer of the decisive means of production into the hands of the people. The rightist bourgeois parties and the governments set up by them are increasingly suffering fiasco. Under these circumstances the working class has an opportunity -(by uniting about itself the working farmers, the intellectuals, and

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all patriotic forces, and forcing back the opportunist elements which are unable to surrender the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landowners)- to inflict defeat upon the reactionary forces which oppose the interests of the people, to gain a stable majority in parliament, and to change this parliament from an organ of bourgeois democracy into a genuine instrument of the will of the people."

This assuredly does not mean a conversion to reformism. The problem dealt with concerns the form of the transition to socialism. The main thing is the content of this transition, and for all Marxist socialists this content remains the socialization of the essential means of production and the establishment of the government of the working class, a government which Marx and also the Quaregnon statement of principle of the Belgian Socialist Party called "the dictatorship of the Proletariat," a terminology which is now somewhat obsolete.

At any rate there is no doubt about the fact that the acceptance of the thesis, first, of socialist pluralism, and secondly, of the parliamentary road to socialism has brought the CPSU considerably closer to the socialist parties. It was accordingly all the more normal for the 20th Congress to emphasize the desirability and even the necessity for improving the relations between Communists and socialists and for overcoming the dangerous division of the international labor movement.

Thinking things through logically, all of this means that the struggle which the BCP is actually waging against the BSP makes no sense whatever. In a country such as Belgium, in view of the objective situation and historical evolution, we must see to it that the BSP obtains a parliamentary majority and that this majority is used toward establishing a really socialist regime. Neither of these, however, will be brought about by continuing to support an impoverished, totally isolated and discredited little Communist party. It is himbug to affirm: 1. that the cause of workers' unity is hereby served, and 2. that this contributes to the reinforcement of the leftist, Marxist trends in the BSP.

The thesis which Khrushchev - proceeding from a realistic view of the international situation and of the actual power relationships in the various countries - formulated correctly, in our opinion, has implications not only for the BCP but also for all Communist disruptive little parties which assume a position over against a strong socialist party and which have no hold on the laboring masses. The problem is quite different where there are Communist and socialist parties of equal strength or where the working class is represented by a strong Communist and a weak socialist party.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU also began the demolition of the Stalin cult. This demolition, which was actually begun immediately after Stalin's death, was sealed at the Congress by the secret report of Khrushchev. In view of the reactions in the entire world and first of all in the other Communist parties, the CPSU set forth its standpoint in greater detail in another important document; the resolution of the Central Committee "about the victorious struggle against the cult of the individual and its consequences" adopted in July 1956.

That which we remember from all of this material is that Stalin was a tyrant who respected no one, at least during the last years of his life. In this regard the highest party authorities of the CPSU decided to tell the truth, no matter how unpleasant.

Stalin's substitution and substitution of his personal decisions in place of the normal course of justice. He did the thinking for everyone and he was always right. He withdrew himself from criticism by no longer calling together the regular party authorities. This attitude resulted in a number of judicial crimes and mass repressions and it also led to a general sclerosis and paralysis of the initiative of the masses and of creative thinking in every field. Such an attitude was completely in conflict with Marxism and (not least) with the example of Lenin.

People may disagree with some of the things contained in the secret report of Khrushchev and they may dispute the way in which this report was brought to the attention of the world; at any rate, the report remains a great liberating act. And there is little sense in wanting to start a fight against the terms "Stalinism" and "destalinization." As a result of the 20th Congress these terms have simply become standardized. The Belgian Communist know very well the term "Stalinism" means. It has resulted in the wrecking of their party.

Does the use of these terms mean that henceforth there are two kinds of Communists and that there is a threat of a new split within the labor movement?

Not at all, unless some want to cling obstinately to the deviations from Marxism-Leninism branded by the 20th Congress. This really seems to be the case with the leadership of the French Communist Party, which has assumed a grave responsibility by opposing the necessary destalinization and democratization, and not in France alone. In this regard and in connection with the discussion about this matter, the BCP - which had an opportunity to show that it can still think independently - is standing nowhere, or rather, it is once again standing on the wrong side. Among other things the BCP is continuing to speak of "mistakes" and "miscalculations," and sometimes of "serious mistakes and miscalculations," but every thinking person, every Belgian worker knows that the things involved were outright crimes and violations of justice.

The sclerosis is making headway. The theoretical schematism for beginners is making headway.

What do I think about Hungary?

Do not expect me to express a definite and convinced opinion in regard to this tragedy at this time. I am still without a sufficient knowledge of the facts and the matter is far from simple.

I have of course developed an opinion on the basis of the mass of reports, pro and con, and on the basis of my own appreciation of the events.

As far as the course of the insurrection is concerned my opinion is the following: at the bottom there was a justified and practically general state of dissatisfaction, which nevertheless did not in the beginning threaten the people's democratic regime. In part, however, as a result of the weakness and the blunders of Nagy, the reactionary and clerico-fascist elements assumed the leadership of the movement and introduced a kind of white terror which was directly aimed against the socialist achievements in general and against the Communists in particular. The scope of this fascist terror is to some extent underestimated in the West. At any rate, the result was that persons such as Janos Kadar thought the matter over and began a different course, that of the defense of the people's democracy with the aid of the Soviet troops.

This intervention was undoubtedly a very regrettable matter. I think this decision must also have been a painful one for the Soviet government, in

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view of the policy introduced by the 20th Congress, but that there were two kinds of considerations which turned the scale:

1. considerations of a military nature: the threatening of the entire defensive position of the Soviet Union in Central Europe;
2. considerations of a political nature: I do not think that there was a betrayal of the destalinization. To the contrary, I believe that without the interference of the Soviet troops the destalinization would have run into difficulties. It stands to reason that if Hungary should have been lost as an allied nation the unconverted "Stalinists" would have raised their heads everywhere and would have caused a great deal of trouble for the new course of the Politburo. I believe that this view is confirmed by the fact that Gomulka and the Poles got their way, so that "Hungary" did not destroy every hope which the 20th Congress had aroused.

Let me be so free as to an almost prophetic article of Blaude Bourdet in the 18 October 1956 issue of L'Observateur, prior to the tragic development in Hungary, which concludes as follows: "And, my Polish and Hungarian friends, do not throw out the socialist baby with the dirty Stalinian bath water."

The future alone will show whether the interference of the Soviet troops in Hungary has saved socialism and peace. If this proves to be the case, then that interference was the least of two evils. When all is said and done, however, I cannot forget that the Hungarian tragedy and the counter-revolution were possible only as a result of 10 years of terror and folly, as a result of the fact that incorrigible "Stalinists" such as Rakosi and Geru who were hated by the people remained in power until it was too late.

That this was the great, the initial crime cannot be emphasized enough, if similar dramas are to be prevented from occurring elsewhere. Socialism is not an export commodity and it is particularly no terror. (1)

(1) I will gladly set forth in a following contribution my views on the problem of the unity of the workers and of coexistence on the world scale.