

Hungary & Eastern Europe - Sixty Years Ago A Press Review by a Hungarian Refugee

It seems nearly everybody wants to go Egypt
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Hungary Travel Banned by U.S.

By the Associated Press

The United States today banned travel of American citizens to Communist Hungary.

A note charged the Hungarian government with persecuting Hungarian employes of the American legation and curtailing freedom of the press.

The sudden crackdown—first action of its kind since the goodwill era of the Summit conference last July—was one of three measures taken by Washington in connection with the arrest in Hungary of Endre Marton, Budapest correspondent of the Associated Press, and his wife, Ilona, a United Press correspondent then.

Given Prison Terms

The Martons, Hungarians, were seized last year and have been given prison terms by Communist courts on espionage charges.

Two local employes of the United States legation, Bela Kapotsy and Cornel Balas, Hungarian citizens, were picked up with the Martons, tried like them in secret and also given prison terms.

Apart from these, the State Department said in a note to Hungarian Minister Karoly Szarka that seven other "local employes" of the legation in Budapest had been seized by the Red police during 1951-1954 and their fates are unknown.

To Curb Diplomats

The United States note today informed the Hungarian minister:

1. The United States is re-instituting a travel ban on American citizens in the case of Hungary.

2. The United States intends to impose new restrictions on the travel of Hungarian diplomats in this country.

Hungarians have been forbidden since October 1953 to travel more than 40 miles from the White House unless they give written notification.

3. The United States "no longer considers feasible" the possibility of talks with the Hungarian government on "various problems" between the two countries.

How America eats



PASS THE PANCAKES: They're stuffed with cottage cheese

Hungarian Church Dinner

**Come to a Magyar meal to eat chicken paprikas,
stuffed cabbage, cheese-filled pancakes, crescent cookies**

By CLEMENTINE PADDLEFORD

This Week Food Editor

ELYRIA, OHIO

The table was seven feet long and four feet wide and every square inch a maze of sweetness. I counted 23 desserts, each one made with loving care just for me to taste. The bakers were there, all 23 of them to see that I tasted, to watch while I sampled, ears cocked for praise. And praise-worthy these desserts, each baker being an artist in her particular field.

First I forked into a slice of poppy-seed cake, next a long strip of strudel; the tortes followed, three kinds in a row. There were the celestial crusts, the open-face cheese cakes. . . I was unprepared for this superabundance of richness.

A full-size Hungarian dinner had preceded, and to this I did justice. I had second helpings of the chicken paprikas and those tiny egg dumplings called *nokedli*. "Another meat-stuffed cabbage roll?" "Thanks, yes." What I had mistaken foolishly for the dessert was a huge rolled pancake filled with cottage cheese and sauced with sour cream. Urged to have a third; well, why not! You would have done the same, the pancakes were delicious! You see my predicament. I had eaten until my eyes were glazed, for Hungarian cooks have a way with food that is piquant and savory and utterly satisfying, quite beyond words to describe.

For several years, whenever I was in the state of Ohio, someone was always mentioning the Hungarian church dinner put on for crowds by the women of the Magyar (meaning Hungarian) Evangelical and Reformed Church on West River Street in Elyria. This is an industrial town, some 90 factories are busy here. The population of 36,000 is made up of many foreign groups, but Hungarians predominate.

Life for them centers around their church, especially so since 1939 when the Reverend Louis Novak and his young wife Irene came to the parsonage. The Novaks, second-generation Hungarians, sensed a need among their people to keep the best of the old in their cultural background to

blend with the best of the new in their adopted America. Gifts brought from the old world must not be lost. Through the activities of the church, the Novaks have tried to preserve the poetry of the Old World, its folklore, the love of the dance.

It was the women of the church who said, "... and the cuisine of our native Hungary is as important as its music." No festival or holiday is complete without the traditional dishes. These women wanted their daughters, who were beginning to be real American girls, to inherit their own talent as cooks. So it was that whenever a community supper or picnic was in the making, the foods were prepared the Hungarian way.

It's Served Family Style

Outsiders began to hear of this fabulous eating — they wanted to come. Eventually organizations planning get-togethers would ask one of the nine Magyar Women's Guilds to prepare a chicken paprikas dinner. The church needed many things and the women saw a way to help earn the needed money. They charged \$2.50 a plate and served the dinner family style. This dinner is always the same, that is, until you come to dessert — then it's take your choice among the many pastries. Each woman contributes the thing which she does best, baking at home and donating the product.

Guests began coming from all directions, from Oberlin College seven miles away, they came from Cleveland and from local towns. The supper money soon was helping reduce the church building debt and in addition paid for an ultra-modern kitchen. It did much more — it proved a way to keep alive the fine culinary traditions of Hungarian cooks.

I had written to the Dorcas Guild and asked if they would let me know when a supper was on the calendar — I would like to visit and come early to see the dishes made. Instead I was invited as the honored guest, supper prepared just

for me by the 27 women of the Dorcas Guild. Mrs. Alex Miko was making *palacsintas*. She smiled and I smiled, as she deftly flipped a big thin pancake to the work board. Mrs. Grace Ballas laid on the filling of sweetened cottage cheese, then rolled the golden, brown-spotted pancake. The rolls she arranged in glass pie plates to be sauced later with sour cream, then into the oven until heated through all-a-bubble, that a main-course dish which I mistook for dessert.

Mrs. Al Wyszynski was making the tiny dumplings, the *nokr 'i* to go with the chicken paprikas, spoon-cutting the batter from the edge of a pot, about a teaspoonful at a time, click, click, click, to fall into the boiling salted water.

Tender Chicken and Dumplings

Mrs. Mary Messaros was busy with the sour-cream gravy to pass with the tiny dumplings, the bedrock of the chicken paprikas. She made this with chicken stock, blending in the sour cream along with finely chopped chicken giblets. Mrs. Louis Ignatz stuffed the cabbage leaves and showed me how the ends can be tightly closed to prevent a leakage, all without string or toothpicks.

Three girls from the Youth Fellowship group served the supper, a sit-down meal for 30 guests, a few invited town folks and of course Mr. Novak. After the Grace, chicken paprikas arrived. It seemed a timely "Thank you Lord, for these blessings. . ." The chicken was cooked tender but not overdone, and delicate the dumplings. Pass the chicken gravy to spoon over the *nokedli*, the cabbage meat-stuffed, the big pancakes.

Then dinner was over, and came the surprise, that table-load of desserts. Each cake was strange, delicious and rich. If you want these recipes, the women of the

— Continued on next page

Old-Country Recipes

church have prepared a booklet, "Hungarian Recipes," to pass on to their daughters. Now in its ninth printing, it sells for \$1.00 plus 25 cents postage.

Chicken Paprikas

<i>1 onion, chopped</i>	<i>4- to 5-pound chicken,</i>
<i>1/4 cup shortening</i>	<i>disjointed</i>
<i>2 tablespoons salt</i>	<i>1 1/2 cups water</i>
<i>1 tablespoon paprika</i>	<i>1/2 pint sour cream</i>
<i>1 teaspoon black</i>	<i>1/2 pint light cream</i>
<i>pepper</i>	<i>(optional)</i>

Brown onion in shortening; mix in seasonings; add chicken and brown 10 minutes. Add water; cover and simmer slowly until tender. Remove chicken; add sour cream to drippings in pan and mix well. If more gravy is desired, add the light cream. Add dumplings; arrange chicken on top. Heat through and serve. Yield: 4 to 6 portions.

Dumplings Nokedli

<i>3 eggs, beaten</i>	<i>2 1/2 cups sifted flour (about)</i>
<i>1/2 cup water</i>	<i>2 teaspoons salt</i>

Blend ingredients together, adding more flour if necessary, to make a stiff batter. Drop by teaspoonfuls into boiling salted water. Cook 10 minutes; rinse with cold water; drain.

Palacsinta

(Pancakes with Cottage Cheese)

<i>2 cups sifted flour</i>	<i>4 eggs, well beaten</i>
<i>2 teaspoons sugar</i>	<i>2 cups milk</i>
<i>1 teaspoon salt</i>	<i>Butter</i>

Mix flour, sugar and salt. Combine eggs and milk. Add gradually to flour mixture, beating to a thin smooth batter. Spoon 3 tablespoons of batter onto hot greased 6- to 7-inch skillet, tilting pan so batter is distributed to edges (cakes will be very thin). Brown lightly on both sides. Continue making cakes until batter is used up. Stack on warm plate. Spread with cottage-cheese filling. Roll up. Place in buttered baking dish, sprinkle with confectioners' sugar and heat thoroughly in a 300°F. oven. Serve topped with sour cream and preserves. Yield: about 24 pancakes.

Cheese Filling

<i>1 pound dry cottage cheese</i>	<i>1/4 to 1/2 cup sugar</i>
<i>1 egg, well beaten</i>	<i>Few drops vanilla</i>

Mix all ingredients well.

Stuffed Cabbage

<i>1 large head cabbage</i>	<i>1 teaspoon black</i>
<i>1 large onion, minced</i>	<i>pepper</i>
<i>3 tablespoons</i>	<i>3/4 pound rice,</i>
<i>shortening</i>	<i>washed well</i>
<i>3/4 pound ground</i>	<i>1 No. 2 can</i>
<i>pork</i>	<i>sauerkraut</i>
<i>3/4 pound ground beef</i>	<i>1 No. 2 can tomato</i>
<i>2 tablespoons salt</i>	<i>juice</i>
<i>1 tablespoon paprika</i>	<i>1/2 pint sour cream</i>

Core cabbage and place in enough boiling water to cover. With a fork in one hand and a knife in the other, keep cutting off the leaves as they become wilted. Drain. Trim thick center vein of each cabbage leaf. Brown onion in shortening. Add meat, seasonings, rice; mix well. Place a heaping tablespoon of filling on each cabbage leaf; roll up. Place in a pot and cover 2/3 full with water; arrange sauerkraut on top; add tomato juice. Cover and cook

slowly for about 1/2 hour. Pour on sour cream; cook 5 minutes. Yield: 6 to 8 portions.

Kifli

(Crescents)

<i>3 cups sifted flour</i>	<i>1/2 cup warm cream</i>
<i>1/2 pound butter or</i>	<i>or milk</i>
<i>margarine</i>	<i>1 tablespoon sugar</i>
<i>3 egg yolks, beaten</i>	<i>1/8 teaspoon vanilla</i>
<i>1 yeast cake or 1 package dry, granular yeast</i>	

Blend flour and butter thoroughly, using a pastry blender if desired. Add egg yolks and yeast cake which has been dissolved in cream (follow special directions on package for granular yeast). Add sugar and vanilla. Knead thoroughly on well-floured board. Chill dough if it is too soft to roll easily. Divide into 2 parts and roll each into a 12-inch circle. Cut into 16 pie-shaped pieces. Place a small amount of nut filling or lekvar on each wedge and, beginning at the rounded edge, roll up. Place on greased baking sheet, point underneath. Let stand for 20 minutes. Brush top of crescents with beaten egg. Bake at 350°F. for 15 to 18 minutes or until light brown. Yield: 32 crescents.

Nut Filling

Combine 1 pound ground walnuts, 6 tablespoons sugar and grated rind of 1/2 lemon. Stir in 1/2 cup hot milk.

June 6 1956

REBUKE TO HUNGARY

In a sharply worded note last week-end the United States administered a well-earned rebuke to the Communist rulers of Hungary while announcing new sanctions against that country. The outrageous arrest, trial in secret, and sentencing to long prison terms of two Hungarian citizens who had reported for American press agencies were one cause for this rebuke. So too was the Hungarian Government's persecution of its citizens who have worked for the United States Embassy in Budapest. As our note said, the aim of such steps has been to terrorize the Hungarian people, to discredit the American Legation, and to undermine the prestige of the United States in Hungary.

It is not difficult to understand why, even among its fellow Soviet satellites, the puppet Hungarian regime should feel compelled to undertake relatively extreme measures of this sort. As foreign travelers these last few years have confirmed in Hungary itself, the Rakosi puppet group is hated by a large fraction of its subjects. Its unpopularity and the widespread resistance arising therefrom have made the Hungarian regime's economic record one of the poorest among the satellite nations. In the very last few weeks the Hungarian Communist party has had to quell a revolt of its outstanding writers against its clumsy and stupid "thought control." Little wonder that the Budapest gauleiters feel special reason to fear truthful reporting or American influence in their land.

But the disgraceful behavior of the Hungarian Government stems from deeper roots than the situation in that country itself. The present extreme harassment of American Embassy personnel in Prague is in the same vein. What lies behind these phenomena is simply the basic Communist contempt for the most elementary principles of good manners in international relations, as in the relations between rulers and those they rule. Themselves accustomed to spy on foreign countries through individuals designated variously as reporters, diplomats and the like, the Communists cannot conceive of any other behavior by anyone else.

Moreover, accustomed to the most callous and dictatorial handling of their own citizens, they see no reason why they should give any better treatment to those of their citizens who work for United States agencies. It's all quite logical—to a Communist.

N. Y. Herald Trib. 7 II 2 56

Hungarians Rush To Visit Egypt

VIENNA, (AP). — Communist-ruled Hungary is gripped by "Egypt fever," complains the Budapest press. It seems nearly everybody wants to go to Egypt, perhaps seeing therein a chance of escaping the homeland.

This fever started recently when the Hungarian government announced it had contracted to build several bridges across the Nile and was sending a mission of engineers and technicians to carry out the project in Egypt.

"This news spread like wild-

fire," reports the newspaper "Dunantuli Naplo." "The 'Egyptian fever' spread like a disease which broke out with symptoms of hasty planning and whispering propaganda. People dashed to their lawyers demanding a divorce because they had heard only unmarried men were being accepted for the Egyptian mission. It is almost as difficult as treating an epidemic to handle this problem."

N.Y. Herald Trib. 2/11/50

Hungary Lays 3 Crashes To Propaganda Balloons

By The United Press

VIENNA, Feb. 8.—Hungary handed the United States a note today charging that American-launched propaganda balloons were responsible for three Hungarian air crashes, two of which caused fatalities.

The Hungarian protest followed charges by Czechoslovakia that balloons released by the Radio Free Europe organization may have been responsible for the crash of a Czech airliner last month in which twenty-two persons died. The Czech regime complained about the balloons to the United Nations.

In its note to the United States, Hungary said the propaganda balloons were responsible for the crash of three Hungarian planes and the death of two pilots.

Freedom Flight Seen

A Russian pilot was the only survivor of the collision of two Hungarian Air Force MiG-15 jet fighters near Pamhagen, Austria, Jan. 21. He told officials he and the dead Hungarian pilot had been chasing two unidentified airplanes. Austrian witnesses said, however, that the Hungarian pilot apparently was trying to flee to freedom and the Russian rammed his plane, forcing him to crash.

Radio Budapest, in a broadcast monitored in Vienna, said the Foreign Ministry handed the note to the American Legation in the Hungarian capital. It said the note denounced "the launching of American balloons carrying slanderous propaganda leaflets."

"American balloons caused the crash of a Hungarian plane and the death of its pilot last year and were responsible for the collision and crash of two Hungarian airplanes over Austrian territory Jan. 21," the note said. The pilot of one of the planes in the Austrian crash also was killed.

Echo Soviet Charge

In Munich, Germany, spokesmen for Radio Free Europe and Free Europe Press promptly dismissed the charges by Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

The Hungarian note echoed Russia's protest to the United States Saturday, in which the

Soviet Union charged that the United States was launching balloons carrying cameras and radios.

"For several months propaganda balloons were launched to Hungary from Germany by aid of American citizens," the Hungarian note said. "The balloons were not only carrying slanderous propaganda leaflets but also cameras, radios and explosives with the inscription 'Made in U. S. A.'"

Hungary demanded that balloon flights cease and said it "reserves the right" to claim compensation for damages.

Excerpts From Speech by Khrushchev to 20th Congress of Soviet Communist Party

MOSCOW, Feb. 14 (Reuters) —Following are excerpts from an official translation of the speech by Nikita S. Khrushchev, Soviet Communist Party First Secretary, before the party congress today, as made available by the Soviet Information Bureau and the official Soviet news agency Tass:

The period that separates us from the nineteenth party congress is not a very long one—three years and four months. But on account of the volume of work done by the party, on account of the importance of events that happened in that period in our country and beyond its frontiers, this is one of the important periods in the history of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, in the history of its struggle for the consolidation of the might of our country, for the building of Communist society, and for peace in the whole world.

Foreign Policy Events Cited

Important events in foreign policy occurred in the period under review.

Thanks to the consistent peaceable foreign policy of the countries of the Socialist camp, the tension in international relations, the tension fraught with great perils, yielded to a certain detente [since the last party congress in 1952].

Real prospects for the better opened out on the international scene.

The principal feature of our epoch is the emergence of socialism from the confines of one country and in its transformation into a world system. Capitalism has proved impotent to hinder this world-historic process.

The simultaneous existence of two opposed and world economic system of capitalism and socialism, developing according to different laws in the opposite direction, has become an irrefutable fact.

In accordance with concluded treaties, the Soviet Union is today helping the peoples democracies to build 391 enterprises and more than ninety separate shops and installations. We have granted to the peoples democracies long-term guarantees totalling 21,000,000,000 rubles at most favorable conditions.

The Soviet Union is also helping friendly countries and organizing production and the peaceful use of atomic energy.

Our country is helping the Peoples Republic of China to build in one five-year period alone 156 enterprises and twenty-one separate shops, supplying it with about 5,600,000,000 rubles worth of equipment.

The economy of world capitalism is developing in an exceedingly irregular manner and is becoming still more unstable.

Study of Techniques Urged

We should closely follow the economies of capitalism, not accept Lenin's thesis of the

to assume ever more monstrous proportions.

On the territories of states situated thousands of kilometers away from the boundaries of the United States, many large American military bases were set up spearheaded against the Soviet Union and the peoples democracies.

The sponsors of the cold war took the path of creating military blocs.

Many countries, against the wills of their people, found themselves drawn into close aggressive alignment — the North Atlantic bloc, the Western European Union, SEATO, the Baghdad Pact.

The organizers of the military blocs allege that they united for protection against the "Communist menace." This is utter hypocrisy.

Western Blocs Scored

The new feature here is that by creating all kinds of blocs and pacts the United States wants to secure for peace the dominating position in the capitalist world and reduce all its bloc partners to the position of docile executors of its will.

The sponsors of the "from positions of strength" policy allege that this policy makes a new war impossible, as it insures "an equilibrium of forces on the world arena."

The arms drive, "from positions of strength," the whipping together of aggressive blocs, the cold war—all this could not but aggravate and actually did aggravate international tension.

The forces of peace have grown considerably with the appearance in the world arena of the group of peace-loving states in Europe and Asia, which have proclaimed non-participation in blocs to be the principle of their foreign policy.

As a result, an extensive "zone of peace," including both Socialist and non-Socialist peace-loving states of Europe and Asia, has appeared on the world arena.

This zone extends over a vast area of the globe, inhabited by nearly 1,500,000,000 people, or the majority of the population of our planet.

Socialist Cooperation Asked

No little unhappiness in the world today stems from the fact that in many countries the working class remained split for many years and its different detachments do not act in a united front, a situation that plays only into the hands of the forces of reaction. But now, in our opinion, the prospects of changing the situation is opening up.

Here cooperation also with sections of the Socialist movement adhering to other views than ours in the question of the transition to socialism is possible and necessary.

Today many Social Democrats are for an active struggle against the war danger and militarism, for closer relations with Socialist countries, and for unity of the labor movement. We sincerely welcomed the Social Democrats, and are ready to do everything possible to unite our efforts in a fight for the noble cause of the de-



Nikita S. Khrushchev

solving the German problem in a new way, in the interests of peace and security of the peoples, including the German people.

The creation of a system of collective security in Europe, rejection of the Paris agreements, rapprochement and cooperation between the two German states—such is the sure way of solving the German problem.

As regards disarmament, we shall spare no effort to solve this all-important problem.

Bid for U. S. Pact Mentioned

Pending agreement on the major questions of disarmament, we express readiness to agree to certain partial measures in this sphere, such as the cessation of tests of thermonuclear weapons, not to permit troops on the territory of Germany to have atomic weapons, and the reduction of military budgets.

Implementation of the states of these measures would clear the road to agreement on other, more complex questions of disarmament.

For the strengthening of world peace, it would be of tremendous importance to establish firm, friendly relations between the two biggest powers of the world, the Soviet Union and the United States.

We believe that if the famous five principles of peaceful coexistence were made the basis of relations between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, this would be of truly outstanding significance for all mankind and would, of course, be no less beneficial to the people of the United States than to the peoples of the U. S. S. R. and all other nations.

We have lately undertaken new important steps aimed at securing a fundamental improvement of Soviet-American relations.

We refer to the proposal for the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and cooperation between the U. S. S. R. and the

umph, this by no means implies that the victory reached by armed intervention on the part of the Socialist countries in the affairs of the capitalist internal tries.

We believe that after seeing that communism holds advantages working men and women out, all earth will sooner or later on to the road of the state take build a Socialist society.

We have always asserted and continue to assert establishment of a new order in any country, new social internal affair of its is the people.

Such are our positions, based on the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

The principle of peaceful coexistence is gaining ever increasing wider international recognition.

And this is logical, since there is no other way out in the present situation. Indeed, there are only two ways: either peaceful coexistence, or the most devastating war in history. There is no third alternative.

Inevitability of War Denied

We presume that with differing social systems cannot just simply exist side by side. There must be progress to better relations, to progress confidence among them, stronger operation.

As will be recalled, the Marxist-Leninist premise is a says that while imperialism exists wars are inevitable.

While capitalism remains on earth the reactionary forces the capitalist monopolists of continue to strive for will gambles and aggressive war may try to let loose war, and

There is no fatal inevitability of war.

Now there are powerful and political forces, of social serious means of preventing the unleashing of war by the imperialists, should they try to start delivering a smashing blow of the aggressors and thwarting their adventurist plans.

To this end it is necessary for all the forces opposed to be vigilant and mobilized. It is necessary for them to slacken their efforts, to fight to preserve peace.

In view of the fundamental changes that have taken place in the world arena, new prospects have also opened up with regard to the transition of countries and nations to socialism.

It is quite likely that the forms of the transition to socialism will become more and more variegated. Moreover, it is not obligatory for the implementation of those forms to be connected with civil war in all circumstances.

Force Held Not Inevitable

The enemies are fond of depicting us, Leninists, as supporters of violence always and in all circumstances. It is true that we recognize the necessity for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society to Socialist society.

This is what distinguishes revolutionary Marxism from

tation of fundamental social transformations.

Of course in countries where capitalism is still strong and where it controls an enormous military and police machine, the serious resistance of the reactionary forces is inevitable.

There the transition to socialism will proceed amid conditions of an acute class revolutionary struggle.

The political leadership of the working class, headed by its advance detachment, is the indispensable and decisive factor for all the forms of the transition to socialism. Without this, the transition to socialism is impossible.

Such are the considerations the Central Committee of the party deems necessary to set forth with regard to the questions of the forms for the transition to socialism in present day conditions.

Party's Tasks Listed

What are the further tasks of the party in the sphere of foreign policy?

Undeniably to follow the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence among different states, irrespective of their social order. To fight actively for peace and the security of nations, and for confidence among states, by seeking the conversion of the relaxation achieved in international tension into lasting peace.

2. To strengthen by all means the fraternal relations with the Peoples Republic of China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Albania, the [East] German Democratic Republic, the Peoples Democratic Republic of [North] Korea, the Democratic Republic of [North] Vietnam and the Mongolian Peoples Republic, remembering that the greater the unity and might of the Socialist countries the more secure is the cause of peace. To strengthen by all means friendship and cooperate with the fraternal people of the Federal Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia.

3. To reinforce indefatigably the bond of friendship and cooperation with the republic of India, Burma, Afghanistan, Egypt, Syria and other states that stand for peace. To support countries that refuse to be involved in military blocs; to cooperate with all forces seeking to preserve peace. To develop and strengthen friendly relations with Finland, Austria and other neutral countries.

4. To conduct an active policy of further improving relations with the United States of America, Britain, France, Western Germany, Japan, Italy, Turkey, Iran and other countries, with a view to strengthening mutual confidence, extending trade, and expanding contacts and cooperation in the sphere of cultural science.

5. To follow vigilantly the intrigues of circles not interested in the relaxing of international tension, and to expose in good time the subversive activities of the enemies of peace and security of the nations; to take the necessary steps to strengthen further the defense capacity of our Socialist state; to maintain our defenses at the level demanded

Khrushchev Mentions Coexistence Principles

Nikita S. Khrushchev referred, in his address in Moscow yesterday, to the "five principles" of peaceful coexistence. He was speaking before the twentieth party congress.

In 1954 Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India and Premier Chou En-lai of Communist China agreed that the principles should govern relations between their countries.

The principles are: mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, nonaggression, noninterference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

problems connected with raising the people's living standards have not yet been solved.

Production of many important foodstuffs and manufactured goods still lags behind growing demands. Some towns and communities are still insufficiently supplied with such items as milk, butter and fruit. There are even cases where supplies of potatoes and other vegetables are irregular. There are also difficulties in supplying the population with certain high-grade manufactured goods.

The Central Committee reports to this Congress that it has adopted a decision on going over, during the Sixth Five-Year Plan, to a seven-hour day for all factory, office and other workers and a six-hour day for workers of the coal and ore mining industries employed at the ground; also to re-establish a six-hour day for some people between the ages of 16 and 18.

It is also decided soon to establish a six-hour day for factory, office and other workers on Saturdays and eve of holidays.

Beginning with 1957 the party and Government will transfer one branch of the national economy after another to a seven-hour day or, where it is expedient in the light of conditions of production, to a five-day working week (with an eight-hour day and two free days) with the aim of completing all this work by the end of the sixth five-year plan.

Aid to Pensions Pledged

The Central Committee of the party and the U. S. S. R. Council of Ministers are taking steps to introduce order into the pension system, with a view to considerably increasing the lower categories of pensions and somewhat reducing the size of the unjustifiably high ones.

All these measures will require considerable funds, of course.

In the next few years price cuts should therefore be smaller than before so that part of the funds earmarked for them could be diverted to carrying out the

In the sphere of home policy, the paramount tasks for the next few years are:

1. Persistently and energetically to widen the material and production base of Socialist society, to introduce in all branches of the national economy higher techniques, the latest achievements of home and foreign science and engineering, and the production methods of the foremost workers.

2. To ensure a steady rise in labor productivity on the basis of technical progress and above all the extensive electrification of the country, decisive improvement in the organization of work and production, and undeviating observance of the Leninist principle, and material interest of workers in the result of their labors.

3. Tirelessly to reduce the cost of industrial and agricultural production, to apply the cost accountability principle more widely in industrial enterprises, state farms, and M. T. S. [machine and tractor stations] to exercise the strictest economy, cut down expenditure of labor and material values per unit of output, and constantly improve the quality of the goods produced.

4. Along with a decisive improvement in capital construction, to utilize existing production capacities efficiently, for an increasingly-utilized potential existing in all branches of the national economy and every enterprise, construction site, every collective and state farm.

5. To continue to ensure any future priority in the rate of development of heavy industry—the foundation of the entire economy—and to extend considerably the production of consumer goods, and untiringly to push the development of the light and food industries.

6. Using the experience of foremost collective farms, state farms and M. T. S.'s to bring the annual production of cereals up to 11,000,000 poods [a pood is 36,113 pounds] and considerably to increase production of cotton, sugar-beet, flax, potatoes and other vegetables, and other farm produce by the end of the sixth five-year plan. Production of meat is to be doubled and milk nearly doubled, and production of wool is to be increased by 82 per cent.

7. Steadily to raise the material welfare and agricultural standard of the working people, to implement the decisions of the party on a shorter working day in an organized manner, and to carry out a wide program of housing construction for the working people.

8. Persistently to improve the work of the Soviet state apparatus, to reduce and make it less extensive, energetically to eradicate bureaucracy and red tape, improve the guidance given to all sectors of the national economy, work to make the guidance as concrete as possible so that it may provide practical help to lagging enterprise, collective farms and M. T. S.'s and state farms in

of party organizations and individuals, among them members of the Central Committee, was subjected to Bolshevik criticism, without fear or favor, at Central Committee plenary meetings. Some party officials who did not justify the high confidence placed in them by the party were removed from the Central Committee. It need hardly be said that the unity of the party, far from losing by it, has actually gained thereby.

If party unity was to be further consolidated and party organizations made more active, it was necessary to re-establish the party standards worked out by Lenin, which in the past had been frequently violated.

Collective Leadership Cited

It was of paramount importance to re-establish and to strengthen in every way the Leninist principles of collective leadership. The Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. tried to set an example in this matter. Everyone can see how much the role of the Central Committee as the collective leader of our party has grown in recent years. The Presidium of the Central Committee began to function regularly as a collective body, keeping in its field of vision all the major questions concerning the life of the party and country generally.

The Central Committee was concerned to develop the creative activity of party members and the people at large, and to this end it took steps to explain widely the Marxist-Leninist conception of the role of the individual in history. It vigorously condemned the cult of the individual as being alien to the spirit of Marxism and Leninism, and making a particular leader a hero and miracle worker.

At the same time this belittles the role of the party and the masses and tends to reduce their creative efforts. Currency of the cult of the individual tends to minimize the role of collective leadership in the party, and at times results in serious drawbacks in our work.

Complaints Mentioned

Unfortunately in many party organizations we still find the absurd juxtaposition of party political work and economic activity. We come across party "leaders" who hold that party work is one thing and economic and government work quite another.

These "leaders" even complain that they are being diverted from so-called "pure party" work and are made to study economics, technology and agronomy and to study production.

Such a conception of party work is fundamentally wrong and harmful.

The Central Committee found it necessary to correct some people who introduced confusion in certain clear issues which the party had settled long before.

Take, for instance, the question of building socialism in

it with about 5,600,000,000 rubles worth of equipment. The economy of world capitalism is developing in an exceedingly irregular manner and is becoming still more unstable.

Study of Techniques Urged

We should closely follow the economies of capitalism, not accept Lenin's thesis of the decay of imperialism in a simplified fashion, but study all the best that sciences and techniques yield in the world of capitalism, in order to use the achievements of world technical progress in the interests of socialism.

On the basis of the present situation, talk about "prosperity" has been renewed in certain circles in the West. Efforts are made to prove that allegedly the Marxist theory of crises is "outmoded."

Bourgeois economists are silent about the fact that only a timely confluence of circumstances of a favorable nature in capitalism retarded the growth of economic crises.

Even so, at the period of a brisker situation, even crises phenomena are showing themselves.

The commodity stock and also consumer credits have reached dangerous proportions in the U. S. A.

Rivalries Are Cited

Britain is displeased with the growing activity of West Germany and Japan. Western Germany and Japan are displeased with Britain barring them from its markets.

Altogether, they have more than enough grounds to be displeased with the United States, which is disorganizing the world market by carrying on unilateral trade, fencing off its markets from foreign imports, banning trade with the East, and resorting to dumping of agricultural produce and other measures hitting hard at other countries.

The economic struggle between the capitalist countries is flaring up with ever-growing force. As hitherto, the main contradiction is between the United States and Great Britain.

Anglo-American antagonism embraces a wide range of matters. Under the banner of "Atlantic commonwealth" the transoceanic rivals are laying their hands on the key strategic and economic positions of the British Empire, are trying to straddle imperial communications, shatter the system of preferred tariffs, and subjugate to themselves the sterling area.

The revival of Western Germany's economic might particularly aggravates the situation on the world market. The lessons of the two world wars show that, in their struggle for world markets, the German monopolies stop short of nothing.

In this connection, the situation in Western Europe is also becoming worse, as the emergence of a rapidly growing German rival harbors no good for France and Britain, the more so if it is to be pushed further along the road of militarization. The situation is also getting worse inside Western Germany itself, and the re-establishment of the might of the concerns and the monopolies intensifies the peril of the revival of the forces that in their day brought fascism to power.

Soon after the end of the second World War, the influence of the reactionary, military circles began increasingly to tell on the policy of the United States of America, Great Britain and France.

The international atmosphere became poisoned by war psychosis. The arms drive began

are for an active struggle against the war danger and militarism, for closer relations with Socialist countries, and for unity of the labor movement. We sincerely welcomed the Social Democrats, and are ready to do everything possible to unite our efforts in a fight for the noble cause of the defense of peace and the interests of the working people.

For the first time since the war a certain detente has set in international tension. In this atmosphere the Geneva four-power heads of government conference became possible.

The conference demonstrated the viability and correctness of the methods of negotiations between countries. It confirmed the Soviet Union's viewpoint that by negotiations the most complex of international problems can be solved, given mutual desire for cooperation and agreement.

Move for Amity Cited

Now some people are trying to bury the spirit of Geneva. As the facts show, certain Western circles have still not abandoned the hope of exerting pressure on the Soviet Union and wrestling unilateral concessions from it.

It is, however, high time to realize that such calculations are unrealistic. The Soviet Union has done a lot to bring closer the positions of the great powers.

It is now up to the United States, Great Britain and France. This of course, does not mean that the Soviet Union will refuse further efforts for easing international tension and strengthening peace.

On the contrary, since there has appeared a possibility of bringing closer together the positions of the powers on a number of major international problems, the Soviet Union will with still greater persistence strive to establish mutual confidence and cooperation between all countries, and between the great powers first and foremost.

And in this, absolutely necessary requisites in relations between great powers are equal efforts and mutual concessions. The method of negotiation must become the only method of resolving international issues.

Collective security in Europe, collective security in Asia, and disarmament—these are the three major problems, whose solution can create a basis for a stable and lasting peace.

The creation of a collective security in Europe would conform to the vital interests of the countries of Europe, big and small, and would simultaneously be a firm guarantee of world peace.

This would at the same time make it possible to solve the German problem. The present state of this problem cannot but cause uneasiness.

Washington-Bonn Axis Seen

Germany still remains split; Western Germany is being speedily rearmed. It is no secret that by restoring German militarism, each of the three Western powers pursues its own ends.

But who will gain from this short-sighted policy? First of all, the imperialist forces of Western Germany. First among the losers will be France, which by such a policy is being reduced to the position of a third-rate power.

There is emerging ever more clearly a new Washington-Bonn axis that is increasing the dangers of war.

Under the present situation there is a real possibility of

We have lately undertaken new important steps aimed at securing a fundamental improvement of Soviet-American relations.

We refer to the proposal for the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and cooperation between the U. S. S. R. and the United States contained in the message of Comrade N. A. Buganin to President D. Eisenhower.

We want to be friends and to cooperate with the United States in the effort for peace and security of the peoples as well as in the economic and cultural fields.

We pursue this with good intention, without holding a stone behind our back.

We have made a proposal for a treaty with the United States because the conclusion of such a treaty would accord with the deepest desires of the peoples of both countries to live in peace and friendship.

If good relations are not established between the Soviet Union and the United States, and mutual distrust exists, this will lead to an arms race on a still greater scale and to a still more dangerous growth of the forces on both sides.

We intend to continue to work for the further improvement of our relations with Great Britain and France.

We welcome the desire of the people of the Arab countries to uphold their national independence. Likewise the belief that also in Iran, Turkey and Pakistan it will be understood that normal relations with the U. S. S. R. are in the vital interests of those countries.

Friendship Pacts Urged

It is necessary to emphasize the importance of non-aggression of friendship treaties, the conclusion of which will help to remove existing suspicion and mistrust in relations between the states and to improve the international situation.

For its part, the Soviet Union is prepared to conclude such treaties with the respective states.

Trade, too, should play a great part in expanding the basis for businesslike cooperation between the countries.

Counterposing the slogan of the North Atlantic pact: "Let us arm," we advise the slogan: "Let us trade."

The Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems was, and remains, the general line of our country's foreign policy.

It is alleged that the Soviet Union advocates the principle of peaceful coexistence exclusively from tactical considerations of the moment.

However, it is well known that we have advocated peaceful coexistence just as persuasively from the very inception of Soviet power. Hence, this is not a tactical stratagem but a fundamental principle of Soviet foreign policy.

The foes of peace still allege that the Soviet Union intends to overthrow capitalism in other countries by "exporting" revolution. It goes without saying that there are no adherents of capitalism among Communists.

Interference Ruled Out

But this does not at all signify that we have interfered or intend to interfere in the internal affairs of countries where a capitalist system exists.

It is ridiculous to think that revolutions are made to order.

When we say that in the competition between the two systems of capitalism and socialism, socialism will tri-

The enemies are found depicting us, Leninists, as supporters of violence always and in all circumstances. It is true that we recognize the necessity for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into Socialist society.

This is what distinguishes revolutionary Marxists from reformists and opportunists. There is not a shadow of doubt that for a number of capitalist countries the overthrow of the bourgeoisie dictatorship by force and the consequent aggravation of the class struggle is inevitable.

But there are different forms of social revolution and the allegation that we recognize force and civil war as the only way of transforming society does not correspond to reality.

Leninism teaches us that the ruling classes will not relinquish power of their own free will.

However, the greater or lesser degree of acuteness in the struggle, the use or not of force in the transition to socialism, depend not so much on the proletarian as on the extent of the resistance put up by the exploiters, and on the employment of violence by the exploiting class itself.

In this connection the question arises of the possibility of employing the parliamentary form for the transition to socialism. For the Bolsheviks, who were the first to accomplish the transition to socialism, this way was excluded.

Changes Are Cited

However, since there have been changes in the historical situation, we follow an approach to socialism from another angle.

Socialism has become magnetizing force for the workers, peasants and intelligentsia in all lands. The ideas of socialism are really altering the minds of a growing mankind.

At the same time, the number of capitalist countries in the working class possesses in the present situation real opportunities of welding under its leadership the overwhelming majority of the people and of insuring its transition of the principal means of production into the hands of the people.

The "right-wing" bourgeois parties and the Governments they form are becoming more and more bankrupt.

In these conditions, rallying around itself the peasantry, the intelligentsia and all the patriotic forces, and by meeting out determined rebuff to opportunistic elements incapable of adopting a policy of coalition with the capitalists, the working class has the possibility of inflicting a defeat on the reactionary popular forces and gaining a firm majority in parliament, and converting it into an organ of bourgeois democracy.

In such an eventuality, this highly developed countries, may become an organ of genuine democracy, of democracy for the working people.

Use of Elections Urged

The winning of a parliamentary majority by the mass revolution of the proletarian working people, we bring about for the working class a number of capitalist and former colonial conditions insuring the

in good time the subversive activities of the enemies of peace and security of the nations; to take the necessary steps to strengthen further the defense capacity of our Socialist state; to maintain our defenses at the level demanded by modern armament and science, and to insure the security of our Socialist state.

Soviet Gains Discussed

The internal situation in the U. S. S. R. during the period under review featured a steady growth of all branches of social production, a further strengthening of the Soviet social and state system, the advancement of the material well-being of the people and the all-around development of Soviet culture.

The Communist party of the Soviet Union has always worked steadfastly to insure the priority development of heavy industry.

In its economic competition with capitalism, our country, owing to the advantages of the Socialist system of economy, is showing immeasurably higher rates of increase in production than the most advanced capitalist countries.

For instance, our average annual rates of increase in industrial output during the past five-year period were more than three times as high as that of the U. S. A. and 3.8 times that of Britain.

Nevertheless we still lag behind the leading capitalist countries in per capita production.

Greater Output Forecast

Now that we possess a powerful heavy industry developed in every respect, we are in a position to promote rapidly the production of both the means of production and consumer goods.

The party is doing and will continue to do its utmost to insure that the requirements of the Soviet people will be satisfied more fully and better; it considers this its prime duty to the people.

Within the next ten years we must make Siberia a leading producer of coal and electricity in the Soviet Union and the principal center of industries consuming a great deal of fuel and power—especially industries producing aluminum, magnesium and titanium as well as of the electro-metallurgical coke by-products and electrochemical industries.

We must pay special attention to speed up the development of the iron and steel industry in Siberia, Kazakhstan and the Far East.

The task now is to create in Siberia within the next two or three five-year plans the country's third metallurgical center with an annual output of 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 tons of pig iron.

The development of virgin and long-fallow land in Kazakhstan, Siberia and other areas, undertaken following the decision by the party, is of particularly great importance for the continued advance of agriculture.

Policy Termed Correct

The results of our work in Virgin-land development make it possible to draw the indisputable conclusion that the line of cultivating new lands adopted by the party is correct.

It must be said that we do not yet have an adequate quantity of consumer goods, that there is a shortage of housing, and that many of the important

highly skilled workers to eradicate bureaucracy and red-tape, improve the guidance given to all sectors of the national economy, work to make the guidance as concrete as possible so that it may provide practical help to lagging enterprise, collective farms and M. T. S.'s, and state farms in order that they might reach the level of the most advanced.

In the next few years price cuts should therefore be smaller than before so that part of the funds earmarked for them could be diverted to carrying out these measures.

The party regards the fundamental improvement in the people's housing conditions to be one of its important tasks.

Private house building should be developed on a larger scale side by side with Government construction; more extensive assistance should be given to factory, office and other workers in building their homes from their personal savings.

The Central Committee of the party has given and is giving much attention to strengthening the Socialist law. Experience has shown that enemies of the Soviet state attempt to use the slightest weakening of Socialist law for their foul subversive activities.

This is how the Beria gang, which was exposed by the party, was vanquished in its attempts to remove the state security agencies from the control of the party and Soviet Government and create an atmosphere of lawlessness and arbitrariness in these agencies.

To serve their hostile ends they fabricated false charges against honest workers and rank and file of the Soviet citizens.

The Central Committee has checked up on the so-called "Leningrad case" and found that it had been rigged by [Lavrenti P.] Beria and his accomplices in order to weaken the Leningrad party organization and to discredit its cadres.

After establishing that the "Leningrad case" was groundless, the Central Committee also checked up on a number of other questionable cases. The Central Committee took steps to restore justice and at the recommendation of the Central Committee the innocent people who had been convicted were rehabilitated, drawn important conclusions from all this.

Proper control by the party and Government over the work of the state security agencies has been established. Considerable work has been done to strengthen the state security agencies, the courts and the procurator offices by putting in tried and tested people.

The supervisory powers of the procurator's office has been completely re-established and strengthened.

Our party, state and trade union organization must vigilantly see to it that Soviet laws are observed, and must expose everyone who violates Socialist law and order and the right of Soviet citizens and sternly call a halt to the slightest manifestation of lawlessness and arbitrariness.

It is enough to point out that since 1951 the United States has appropriated \$100,000,000 annually for subversive activity against the Socialist countries.

We must therefore in every way raise revolutionary vigilance among the Soviet people and strengthen the state security agencies.

New Tasks Outlined

The great advantages of the Socialist economic system, the high rate of development of social production, make it possible for us to carry out in an historically very brief period the main economic task of the U. S. S. R.—to catch up and surpass the most developed capitalist countries in the output per capita of population.

eradicating bureaucracy and red-tape, improve the guidance given to all sectors of the national economy, work to make the guidance as concrete as possible so that it may provide practical help to lagging enterprise, collective farms and M. T. S.'s, and state farms in order that they might reach the level of the most advanced.

9. Widely to develop the initiative and creative effort of the millions of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, militantly to organize and lead the country-wide Socialist emulation for the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

1. Tirelessly to strengthen the great alliance of the working class and collective farm peasantry, the indestructible friendship of the peoples of the U. S. S. R., the morale and political unity of the whole of the Soviet society, to educate the working masses' millions in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, and to rally them still more closely around our glorious Communist party and around the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Membership Gains

As of Feb. 1, 1956, the C. P. S. U. had a membership of 7,215,505, of whom 6,795,896 were regular members and 419,609 candidate members. That is nearly treble the membership at the time of the eighteenth congress and 333,000 more than at the time of the nineteenth congress.

Shortly after the 19 congress, death took Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin from our ranks. The enemies of socialism hoped there would be confusion in the party's ranks, discord among its leadership, hesitation in carrying out its internal and foreign policy. However, their hopes came to naught. The party rallied still more closely around its Central Committee and raised still higher the all conquering banner of Marxism-Leninism.

The imperialists had placed special hopes on their old agent Beria, who had perfidiously wormed his way into leading posts in the party and Government. The Central Committee resolutely put an end to the criminal conspiracy of that dangerous enemy and his accomplices. That was a big victory for the party, a victory for its collective leadership.

The destruction of this gang of contemptible traitors helped further to strengthen the party and successfully solve the tasks confronting the country. The party has become still more monolithic.

The party's unity has been built up over the course of many years and decades; it grew stronger in battle with a host of enemies. The Trotskyites, Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists and other malignant enemies of the people, the men who would restore capitalism, tried desperately to undermine the party's Leninist unity from within—and all of them broke their necks.

The leading core of the party is not a group bound by personal relations or mutual advantage; it is a working collective of leaders whose relations are based on ideas and principles permitting neither of mutual forgiveness nor personal antagonism.

Ousters Are Cited

Whenever it was found that a party leader had made mistakes in his work, the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. unanimously took the necessary steps to correct the mistakes. The work of a number

The Central Committee found it necessary to correct some people who introduced confusion in certain clear issues which the party had settled long before.

Take, for instance, the question of building socialism in the U. S. S. R. and gradual transition to communism. Here some people employed erroneous formulations, such as the one that we have laid so far only the basis, the foundation of socialism.

Yet it is a well known fact that by the time the new Constitution of the U. S. S. R. was adopted in 1936 the Socialist system had triumphed and struck firm root in all branches of the national economy. This means that a Socialist society had been built already in the main in our country by then, and has been developed on the firm foundation of Socialist results of production ever since. Hence to claim that we have laid only the foundation of socialism would mislead party members and the people.

Other Extreme Shown

We encountered another extreme in the treatment of the question of Socialist development.

Some hotheads decided that the construction of socialism had already been completed and began to compile a detailed time table for the transition to communism. On the basis of such utopian views a negligent attitude to the Socialist principle of material incentive

in the field of party development, organizational leadership, and ideological and political work we are faced with the following tasks:

1. Continue to enhance in every way the role of the party as the leading and guiding force of the Soviet people, in all fields of political, social, economic and cultural life in the U. S. S. R.; further extend and consolidate the party's ties with the masses and raise its prestige still higher; safeguard and strengthen the unity and solidarity of the party and its leading core, strictly observe the principle of collective leadership in the party; extend criticism and self-criticism, broadly revealing shortcomings in all fields of economic and cultural development.

2. Develop inner-party democracy, and, on this basis, promote initiative and enhance the responsibility of party organization and all party members. Improve the work of organization and conducted by party units and directed to the solution of practical tasks of Communist construction, improve the selection, training and allocation of cadres; tighten the role of the trade unions and the Young Communist League in accomplishing the tasks of Communist construction.

3. Raise the level of ideological work in all party organization, direct it to the solution of practical tasks of Communist construction; ensure the creative assimilation by Communists to the theory and historical experience of the party; increase vigilance in our ideological work, wage an irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois ideology; intensify our efforts in Communist education of the masses and in eliminating the survivals of capitalism in the minds of men; make fuller and more active use, to this end, of all the ideological media—propaganda, agitation, the press, radio, cultural and educational organizations and institutions, science, literature and art.