Stalin's Repressions Spelled Out in Khrushchev Speech Made Public Here

Following is a 4,000 word condensation of the State Department's release of Khrushchev's report to the closed meeting of the 20th Soviet CP Congress on the role of Stahn. The entire document is 26,000 words. The text appears to be authentic although it is not of-

Party at the 20th Congress, in been said about the cult of the began to disregard the serious adindividual and about its harmful monitions of Vladimir Ilyich.

posedly knows everything, sees power by Stalin, which caused uneverything, thinks for everyone, told harm to our party. can do anything, is infallible in

written in his lifetime. The role of nihilation. Stalin in the preparation and ex-ecution of the Socialist revolution, had fought a serious fight against in the Civil War, and in the fight the Trotskyites, rightists and bourfor the construction of Socialism geois Nationalists, and that it disin our country is universally armed ideologically all the eneknown. . . . At the present we are mies of Leninism. This ideological organs, at the same time often repressions against activists inconcerned with . . . how the cult fight was carried on successfully, of the person of Stalin has been as a result of which the party begradually growing, the cult which came strengthened and tempered. became at a certain specific stage Here Stalin played a positive role, son encouraged and permitted ar- elevated himself above the Party the source of a whole series of Worth noting is the fact that bitrariness in others. Mass arrests and above the nation that he exceedingly serious and grave per- even during the progress of the and deportations of many thou- ceased to consider either the Cenlegality.

BECAUSE of the fact that not all as yet realize fully the practi-vears later, when Socialism in our fight ... we certainly would not praise him.

After the cal consequences resulting from the cult of the individual, the great harm caused by the violation of the principle of collective direction of the party and because direction of the party and part direction of the party and because of the accumulation of immense and limitless power in the hands of one person—the Central Committee of the party considers it when the Soviet social structure have falle of terror. The social basis for political movements and groups hostile to the party had violently contracted, when the ideological opponents of only in absolutely necessary to make the material pertaining to this matter available to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Sothe Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

expression of collective leadership through the Government apparatus already liquidated and socialist re-Being a militant Marxist-revolu-tionist, always unyielding in mat-vievites, Bukharinites, long since our party was politically consoli-our party was politically consoli-Did the Trotskyites at this time sent to Stalin. He approved these ters of principle, Lenin never im-politically defeated by the Party, dated and had strengthened itself posed by force his views upon his and subsequently also against both numerically and idelogically. co-workers. He tried to convince; many honest Communists, against

acute mind expressed itself also in lectivization, who actively fought the masses he often the masses he of those negative characteristics rightists for the Leninist party line. which resulted later in grave con-sequences. Fearing the future fate "Enemy of the people." This term dividuals who had not committed

comrades, that he is capricious and tile intent, against those who had led on the Leninist principle of abuses his power.

retaining Stalin in this post, hoping "confession" of the accused him-of socialist legality-which result-Control Committee of the the defects which caused Lenin proved, "confessions" were acthe Central Committee of the the defects which caused Lenin serious anxiety.

As later events have proven against the accused. a number of speeches by dele- Lenin's anxiety was justified: in gates to the Congress, as also the first period after Lenin's death. formerly during the plenary CC- Stalin still paid attention to his CPSU sessions, quite a lot has (i.e. Lenin's) advice, but later he

When we analyze the practice of After Stalin's death the Central Stalin in regard to the direction of Committee of the Party began to the party and of the country, when implement a policy of explaining we pause to consider everything to those persons who in their time concisely and consistently that it which Stalin perpetrated, we must had opposed the party line, there is impermissible and foreign to be convinced that Lenin's fears were often no sufficiently serious the spirit of Marxism-Leninism to were justified. The negative char- reasons for their physical annihilaclevate one person, to transform acteristics of Stalin, which, in tion. The formula, "Enemy of the him into superman possessing su-Lenin's time, were only incipient, People" was specifically intropernatural characteristics akin to transformed themselves during the duced for the purpose of physicalthose of a God. Such a man sup-last years into a greve abuse of ly annihilating such individuals,

suasion, explanation, and patient had worked with Lenin during his the party's central committee who Such a belief about a man, and cooperation with people, but by life, but, despite this, Lenin bene- were elected at the 17th Congress, specifically about Stalin, was cul-imposing his concepts and demand-fitted by their work, he corrected 98 persons, i.e., 70 percent, were tivated among us for many years, ing absolute submission to his them and he did everything pos-arrested and shot (mostly in 1937 The objective of the present re-opinion. Whoever opposed this sible to retain them in the ranks 1938). port is not a thorough evaluation concept or tried to prove his view- of the Party; he induced them to of Stalin's life and activity. Con- point, and the correctness of his follow him. cerning Stalin's merits, an entirely position-was doomed to removal sufficient number of books, pamph- from the leading collective and to lets and studies had already been subsequent moral and physical an-

versions of party principles, of furious ideological fight against the sands of people, execution without tral Committee or the Party. party democracy, of revolutionary Trotskyites, the Zinovievites, the trial and without normal inves- . . . Stalin thought that now he provinces. Bukharinites and others-extreme tigation created conditions of ing could decide all things alone and Many thousands of honest and against them. The fight was on

During Lenin's life the central this period (1935-1937-1938) that Soviet state was strengthened, committee of the party was a real the practice of mass repression when the exploiting classes were of the party and of the nation. was born, first against the enemies lations were rooted solidly in all he patiently explained his opinions those party cadres who had borne in a whole series of cases his intol-In addition to the great accom-plishments of V. I. Lenin . . . his years of industrialization and colthat he detected in Stalin in time against the Trotskyites and the

of the Party and of the Soviet automatically rendered it unnec-Nation, V. I. Lenin made a com-essary that the ideological errors pletely correct characterization of of a man or men engaged in a Stalin, pointing out that it was controversy be proven; this term necessary to consider the question made possible the usage of the stration of . . . brutal force. . . . of transferring Stalin from the posi-most cruel repression, violating all Were our Party's holy Leninist

"Enemy of the people," actually eliminated the possibility of any THIS DOCUMENT of Lenin's kind of ideological fight or the come acquainted with a large was made known to the delegates making of one's views known on quantity of materials in the NKVD at the 13th Party Congress, who this or that issue, even those of a archives and with other docudiscussed the question of trans-ferring Stalin from the position of and in actuality, the only proof and in actuality, the only proof facts pertaining to the fabrication Secretary General. The delegates of guilt used, against all norms of cases against Communists, to declared themselves in favor of of current legal science, was the lalse accusations, to glaring abuses

quired through physical pressures Party, Soviet and economic activ

revolutionary legality, and to the never enemies, spies, wreckers fact that many entirely innocent etc., but were always honest Compersons, who in the past had de munists; they were only so stig fended the party line, became matized and often, no longer able

WE MUST assert that in regard

It is a fact that many persons tee elected at that Congress. who were later annihilated as

He (Stalin) discarded the Leninist method of convincing and educating; he abandoned the method administrative violence, mass re use mass terror against the Party pressions, and terror. He acted on cadres. an increasingly larger scale and more stubbornly through punitive violating all existing norms of creased more and more after the morality and of Soviet laws.

sions at a time when the revolution IT WAS PRECISELY during was already victorious, when the

the masses, he often chose the path of repression and physical annihilation, not only against acthe Soviet Government. Here we

have a proper attitude toward his who were only suspected of hos- the norms of party life and tramp- referred to the era when the ex-

bad reputations. This concept, collective party leadership.

THE COMMISSION has be-

ists, who were branded in 1937 This led to glaring violations of 1938 as "enemics," were actually to bear barbaric tortures, they charged themselves (at the order of the investigative judges-falsifiers) with all kinds of grave and unlikely crimes.

> The Commission has presented to the Central Committee Presidium lengthy and documented materials pertaining to mass repressions against the delegates to the 17th Party Congress and against members of the Central Commit-

It was determined that of the Stalin acted not through per-enemies of the Party and people 139 members and candidates of

> The same fate met not only the Central Committee members but also, the majority of the delegates cruel and inhuman tortures. to the 17th Party Congress.

WHAT IS the reason that mass 17th Party Congress? It was be-Arbitrary behavior by one per-cause at that time Stalin had so

charged with "the preparation" of workers. . . . LENIN used severe methods terroristic acts; this deprived them The vicious practice was conby force, and when, in a convinc-tences were prepared in advance. ing manner, they disproved the ac-Yezhov would send these lists to cusations against them.

actually constitute such a danger lists. to our Party and to the Soviet state? . . . It is clear that in the A LARGE part of these cases situation of Socialist victory there are being reviewed now and a was no basis for mass terror in great part of them are being void-

in 1937 . . . contained an attempt military collegium of the Supreme at theoretical justification of the Court has rehabilitated 7,679 permass terror policy under the pre-sons, many of whom were rehabitext that as we march forward to-litated posthumously. ward socialism class war must Mass arrests of Party, Soviet, allegedly sharpen. Stalin asserted economic and military workers that history and Lenin taught him caused tremendous harm to our

Actually Lenin taught that ap-cialist advancement. tion of the Secretary General because of the fact that Stalin is exagainst anyone who in any way
cessively rude, that he does not disagreed with Stalin, against those

cause of the fact that Stalin is exdisagreed with Stalin, against those

moral-political
principles observed after the death
of Vladimir Ilyich?

In practice, Stalin ignored

mass repressions had a pegative
is necessitated by the resistance of influence on the moral-political

mass repressions had a pegative
is necessitated by the resistance of influence on the party, created after the death
of Vladimir Ilyich?

In practice, Stalin ignored

Soviet Spokesman **Refuses Comment**

MOSCOW, June 4.-A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman refused to comment today on publication by the U.S. State Department of Nikita Khrushchev's speech exposing Joseph Stalin.
The Communist Party First

Secretary's speech was released by the State Department in Wash-

ploiting classes existed and were powerful. As soon as the nation's political situation had improved, when in January, 1920, the Red Army took Rostov and thus won a most important victory over Denikin, Lenin instructed Dzherzhinsky to stop mass terror and to abolish the death penalty.

STALIN deviated from these clear and plain precepts of Lenin.

This terror (of Stalin) was actually directed not at the remnants of the defeated exploiting classes but against the honest workers of the Party and of the Soviet state: against them were made lying, slanderous and absurd accusations concerning "two-facedness," "espionage," "sabotage," preparation of fictitious "plots," etc.

Now when the cases of some of these so-called "spies" and "saboteurs" were examined, it was found that all their cases were fabricated. Confessions of guilt of many arrested and charged with enemy activity were gained with the help of

At the same time Stalin, as we This was the result of the abuse have been informed by members of ideological struggle for that of of power by Stalin, who began to of the Political Bureau of that time. did not show them the statements of many accused political activists when they retracted their confessions before the military tribunal and asked for an objective examination of their cases. There were many such declarations, and Stalin doubtlessly knew of them.

> This is the kind of vile things which were then practiced.

Even more widely was the falsification of cases practiced in the

repressive measures were not used security, fear and even desperation. all he needed were statisticians; he innocent Communists have died as Had Leninst principles been ob- treated all others in such a way a result of this monstrous falsifiideological grounds. But some served during the course of this that they could only listen to and cation of such "cases" as a result of the fact that all kinds of slancourt cases the accused were against eminent Party and state

> Stalin personally for his approval Mass repressions grew tremend-of the proposed punishment. In ously from the end of 1936 . . . 1937-1938, 383 such lists con-The mass repressions at this taining the names of many thou-

> Stalin's report at the February-March central committee plenum from 1954 to the present time the

country and to the cause of So-

RUSHCHEV SPEECH

(Continued from Page 2)

situation of uncertainty, contributed to the spreading of unhealthy suspicion, and sowed distrust among Communists. All sorts of quently we could not prevent the slanderers and careerists were acslanderers and careerists were ac-

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Only because our Party has at its disposal such great moral-political strength was it possible for it to survive the difficult events in 1937-1938 and to educate new cadres: There is, however, no doubt that our march forward toward Socialism and toward the preparation of the country's detense would have been much more successful were it not for the tremendous loss in the cadres suffered as a result of the baseless and false mass repressions in 1937-1938.

could look at a man and say: one of his speeches in those days 'Why are your eyes so shifty to-day," or "Why are you turning so much today and avoiding looking created we have lost forever." me directly in the eyes?" sickly suspicion created in him a general distrust even toward emi-time actually did not direct the nent party workers whom he had military operations and ceased to known for years. Everywhere and do anything whatever. He returnin everything he saw enemies, ed to active leadership only when and "spies." "two-facers,"

indulged in great wilfulness and that it was necessary to take cerwhere one could not express one's

he was an "enemy of the people." millions of Soviet people raised by primary.

Meanwhile, Beria's gang, which the Party.

Assem ran the organs of State Security, pressuring him, tortures, bringing any consideration for anyone or other two considered Eisenhowhim to a state of unconsciousness, anything. deprivation of his judgment, takdeprivation of his judgment, taking away of his human dignity. In this manner were "confessions" action and Yugoslavia began artificially to men, Rep. Ralph Gwinn, is being quired.

the Great Patriotic War.

in the patriotic war appears to be Tito. He will fall." entirely improbable. Stalin had Army, on the basis of a strategic case of Yugoslavia and have found plan prepared by Stalin long before, used the tactics of so-called "active defense," i.e., tactics which, as we know, allowed the Germans to come up to Moscow and Stalingrad. Using such tactics the Soviet Army supposed to the propersolution which is approved the Buckley to Hold Smith Act Debate This Thursday in Community all progressive humanity.

Buckley to Hold Smith Act Debate Church, 40 East 35 St.

Debate topics to the Community Church, 40 East 35 St. Soviet Army, supposedly, thanks only to Stalin's genius, turn-

What are the facts of this mat-ment. ter?

awares.

manders, declarations of deserters from the enemy Army, and even the open hostility of the enemy. Is this an example of the alertness of and for this reason the doctors are state. . .?

state. . . ? The result was that already in lery and other military equipment; he annihilated large numbers of our military cadres and disorganized our military leadership; consethe country.

Very grievious consequences, especially in reference to the beginning of the war, followed Stalin's annihilation of many military commanders and political workers during 1937-1941. . . .

The policy of large-scale repres-

hidden

enemies.

sion against the military cadres led also to undermined military discipline, because for several years officers of all ranks and even soldiers in the Party and Komsomol

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superiors

It would be incorrect to forget STALIN was a very distrustful that after the first severe disaster man, sickly suspicious; we know and defeats at the front Stalin Party's endorsement of DiFalco for this from our work with him. He

AFTER THIS, Stalin for a long some members of the Political Possessing unlimited power, he Bureau visited him and told him

materials which it falsified. And more capricious, irritable and Democratic machine, what proofs were offered? The brutal; in particular his suspicion There is special interest in the

THE POWER accumulated in vited to visit Stalin who, pointing the hands of one person, Stalin, to the copy of a letter lately sent. There is also special interest in

We have carefully examined the

LET US ALSO recall the "afed to the offensive and subdued fair of the doctor-plotters." Actu-Buckley. the enemy.

Moder ally there was no "affair" outside The doctor-plotters. The epic victory gained through of the declaration of the woman the armed might of the land of the doctor Timashuk, who was prob- ing the annual conference of the Soviets, through our heroic people, ably influenced or ordered by N.Y. Civil Liberties Union. soviets, through our heroic people, ably influenced in this type of novel, someone . . . to write Stalin a lettile film and "scientific study" as being ter in which she declared that doctor in the proper conclusion concerning ter in which she declared that doctor in the proper conclusion concerning ter in which she declared that doctor in the proper conclusion concerning terms and the proper conclusion concerning terms are the proper conclusion concerning terms and the proper conclusion concerning terms are the proper conclusion concerning terms and the proper conclusion concerning terms are the proper conclusion concerning terms and the proper conclusion concerning terms are the proper conclusion concerning terms and the proper conclusion concerning terms are the proper conclusion concerning terms and the proper conclusion concerning terms are the proper conclusion. completely due to the strategic tors were applying supposedly impractical work.

proper methods of medical treat
We are abs

Despite . . . particularly grave Stalin to reach an immediate con- gress, will lead the Soviet people warnings, the necessary steps were clusion that there are doctor-plot- along the Leninist path to new not taken to prepare the country ters in the Soviet Union. He issusuccesses, to new victories, properly for defense and to pre-ed orders to arrest a group of emvent it from being caught un-inent Soviet medical specialists of our party-Leninism! He personally issued advice on the . . . Everything was ignored; conduct of the investigation. . .

the first hours and days the enemy COMBADES: we must abolish suscentation mayer had thestroyed in our border regions the cult-of the individual decisive bath world a world and the state of the individual decisive bath world a world and the state of the individual decisive bath world a world and the state of the stat a large part of our sir force, artil by once and for all we must drawn were commenter that the

Primary

(Continued from Page 1)

white, Democratic designee.

Two other drives for increased Negro representation in the State Assembly were cut short when Democratic machines in Queens and in Harlem succeeded in knocking insurgent Negro candidates off the primary ballot.

The only contest involving the Liberal Party is in the form of a write-in challenge by Morton Baum, GOP nominee for Surrogate in Manhattan. The Liberal Party, after considerable debate and soulsearching, officially designated the two Democratic nominees for the Surrogate posts, Justices Joseph A. Cox and S. Samuel Di Falco. The cells were taught to "unmask" their debate was over endorsement of DiFalco, considered too closely identified with Tammany machine politics.

> Baum is challenging the Liberal Party leaders declare the Dem-ocratic-Liberal coalition behind Sen. Lehman and the national ticket in the state makes this endorsement necessary.

The Democratic nominees for surrogate were challenged in the primary by an opposition slate sponsored by anti-Tammany Democrat Robert Blaikie. This slate, however, which included candi-dates for General Sessions judgechoked a person morally and physically. A situation was created improve the situation at the front. Democratic national convention (But) the main role and the main the Appellate Court. If the State eredit for the victorious ending of Court of Appeals decides to hear When Stalin said that one or an- the war belongs to our Communist an appeal, it will invalidate the other should be arrested, it was Party, to the armed forces of the primary elections for these posinecessary to accept on faith that Soviet Union, and to the tens of tions, making necessary a special

Assemblyman Daniel We must state that after the war Blaikie's candidate in the 7th A.D. outdid itself in proving the guilt the situation became even more is fighting an uphill battle to keep of the arrested and the truth of complicated. Stalin became even his position against the official

confessions of the arrested, and the grew. His persecution mania reach-two Republican congressional priinvestigative judges accepted these ed unbelievable dimensions. Many maries in Westchester. In the 26th, "confessions," And how is it pos- workers were becoming enemies Rep. Ralph Gamble has given up sible that a person confesses to before his very eyes. After the war his seat. Three candidates are runcrimes which he has not commit-Stalin separated himself from the ning for the GOP nomination, one ted? Only in one way-because of collective even more. Everything of them associated with the Mcapplication of physical methods of was decided by him alone without Carthy wing of the GOP and the er men.

In the 27th, one of the nation's be blown up. Once, when I came challenged in the GOP primary by

led to serious consequences during to Tito, asked me, "Have you read the primaries for Democratic county committees in Onondaga (Syra-When we look at many of our Not waiting for my reply he an-counties, where labor is fighting novels, films and historical "scien-swered, "I will shake my little against o'd-line Democratic matific studies," the role of Stalin finger-and there will be no more chine bosses for control of the county organizations.

This Thursday in Community

Debate topic: Is the Smith Act Necessary?

Norman Thomas vs. Wm. F.

Moderator, Newbold Morris. The debate will take place dur-

We are absolutely certain that our Party, armed with the histori-Such a letter was sufficient for cal resolutions of the 20th Con-

Long live the victorious banner