# **Text of Khrushchev Speech on Stalin Crimes**

WEEKLY IN

# Despot's Aide Claims "Fear" **Kept Him Silent**

tention of publishing it.

at the twentieth congress, in a gress of the Communist party of number of speeches by delegates the Soviet Union. consequences.

After Stalin's death the Central Committee of the party began to implement a policy of explaining (concisely and consistently that it is impermissible and foreign to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism to elevate one person, to transform him into a superman possessing supernatural characteristics akin to those of a god. Such a man supposedly knows everything, sees everything, thinks for everyone, can do anything, is infallible in his behavior.

Such a belief about a man, and specifically about Stalin, was cultivated among us for many years.

The objective of the present report is not a thorough evaluation of Stalin's life and activity. Concerning Stalin's merits an entirely sufficient number of books, pamphlets and studies had already been written in his lifetime. The role of Stalin in the preparation and execution of the Socialist revolution, in the civil war, and in the fight for the construction of socialism in our country is universally known. Everyone knows this well.

At the present we are con-

Following is the text of the cult which became at a certain speech by Nikita S. Khrushchev, specific stage the source of a First Secretary of the Commu- whole series of exceedingly serinish Party, Soviet Union, deliv- ous and grave perversions of ered at a secret session of the panty principles, of party departy's 20th Congress in Moscow, mocracy, of revolutionary legal-

press and by the Stalinist Daily all as yet realize fully the prac-Worker. Previous reports indicate tical consequences resulting that the published version has from the cult of the individual, the Stalinists announce their in- power in the hands of one person, the Central Committee of the party considers it absolutely necessary to make the mate-

Comrades! In the report of the rial pertaining to this matter Comrades! In the report of the contral Committee of the party at the twentieth congress, in a gress of the Communist party of Soviet Article

to the congress, as also formerly Allow me first of all to reto the congress, as also formerly during the plenary CC/CPSU Allow me first of all to re-mind you how severely the clas-[Central Committee of the Com-] sics of Marxism-Leninism demunist Party of the Soviet Un- nounced every manifestation of munist Party of the Soviet Un-ion] sessions, quite a lot has letter to the Gamman political Role in 1917 been said about the cult of the letter to the German political individual and about its harmful worker, Wilhelm Bloss, Marx stated:

> national the numerous addresses from various countries and which annoyed me. I did not even reply to them, except sometimes to rebuke their authors. Engels and I first joined the

worship of authority would be

did quite the opposite." Sometime later Engels wrote: Both Marx and I have always been against any public

manifestation with regard to individuals, with the exception of cases when it had an important purpose; and we most strongly opposed such manifestations which during our lifetime concerned us personally.

The great modesty of the genius of the revolution, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, is known. Lenin had cerned with a question which always stressed the role of the under lock and key. has immense importance for the people as the creator of history,



THE

OF

WORKING

THE MULTANT

INTERESTS

THE

PUBLISHED

**By Daniel Roberts** 

On May 30, the Soviet maga-Because of my antipathy to zine. Questions of History, revealany cult of the individual, I ed that Stalin had stood in fundanever made public during the mental opposition to Lenin in existence of the [First] Inter- March-April 1917. The magazine revealed the long-suppressed account of how Stalin in the period which recognized my merits immediately following the Czar's overthrow supported the Provisional Government headed by Miliukov and other capitalist politicians. Lenin's course at that time — as set forth first in secret society of Communists letters to Pravda from Switzeron the condition that every- land, then presented at the Bolthing making for superstitious shevik conference in early April - was to give no support whatdeleted from its statute. Las- ever to the capitalist government salle [Ferdinand Lassalle, Ger- but to win the masses for the man Socialist] subsequently creation of a workers' government. From the time of Stalin's rise

to power, histories of the March 1917 period have been written and rewritten with the object of concealing Stalin's actual role and in order to make it appear that Stalin, on his own, was pursuing the same course as Lenin. On the way, historians were shot; memoirs suppressed, with their authors either jailed, shot or forced to rewrite their works; and the minutes of the Bolshevik con-

ference of Manch-April 1917 put The entire political biography of Stalin as published at his com-

TRUE PICTURE EMERGES

complexion of Stalin.

Lenin's program.

The revelation about Stalin's

ole in 1917, however, smashes

even the posthumous portrait of

others.



LEON TROTSKY

# **Trotskyism Vindicated!**

An Editorial



PEOPLE

## By George Lavan

The now-revealed text of Nikita S. Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union exposes Stalin's regime as the most brutal in all history and, O

at the same time, serves to under- | repudiating their confessions and mine the rule of Khrushchev and writing to Stalin describing how the other leaders of the Kremlin these confessions had been exbureaucracy who succeeded Stalin. tracted from them. All to no Well over half of the six-hour avail. They were shot.

speech deals with the terror and frame-up system Stalin used to destroy first the Trotskyists and then all other opposition in what had once been the democraticallyrun party of Lenin.

To those, who for the past 20 years have defended the Moscow Trials with the argument, "They confessed their guilt, didn't they ?" and to the puzzled, who wondered alloud, "Why did they confess?" gave the true answer. "Confessinister figure in the hissions of guilt," he admitted, tory of mankind." - Leon "were gained with the help of cruel and inhuman tortures."

TROTSKY VINDICATED

Thus the greatest frame-mp trials in all history stand repu-

diated as lies from beginning to Among the important revelaend. Khrushchev's speech vindicates completely Trotsky's tions contained in Khrushchev's denunciations of the Moscow speech are quotations from

telegrams to all sections of the Communist Party down to low echelon unit leaders justifying and urging the use of physical torture on those under arrest. Also cited is Stalin's threat to the head of the secret police during the preparation of the "Doctors' plot" frame-up: "If you

In 1939 when the purge began

to slacken somewhat, Stalin sent

do not obtain confessions from Khrushchev at last and officially the doctors we will shorten you by a head." Then, "Stalin personally called the investigative judge, gave him instructions. advised him on which investigative methods should be used; these methods were simple — beat, beat, and, once again, beat!"

LENIN'S TESTAMENT

party now and for the future - the directing and organizational [we are concerned] with how role of the party as a living and the cult of the person of Stalin creative organism, and also the has been gradually growing, the (Continued on page 3)

# PUBLIC MEETINGS

# "The Khrushchev Revelations"

LOS ANGELES

James P. Cannon FOUNDER, AMERICAN TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT

Friday, June 15 — 8:15 P. M.

**Channing Hall** 

2936 West 8th Street

# "The Khrushchev Revelations"

NEW YORK

# Murry Weiss

EDITOR, THE MILITANT

Friday, June 15 — 8:30 P. M.

Adelphi Hall

74 Fifth Ave. (near 14th St.)

Questions and Discussion

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

In his speech to the closed session of the mand is one giant flabrication. 20th Congress of the Communist Party of The most recent issue of Questhe Soviet Union (see full available text. tions of History contains another in this issue) Nikita S. Khrushchev admits article which debunks cherished nothing less than the following: claims made by Stalin to leader-

ship in heroic struggles conducted (1) The Stalin regime was guilty of by the Bolsheviks in the Caucasus he mass murder of the whole generation in 1905. Conscientious biographers of revolutionists who participated in the of Stalin - including Leon Trot-October 1917 revolution as comrades and sky - have already explained that Stalin simply appropriated co-workers of Lenin. credit for deeds performed by

(2) It systematically perpetrated frame-ups, tortures, the extraction of false confessions and summary executions against countless thousands of innocent victims.

Stalin as the peerless revolu-(3) It destroyed every vestige of tionary - who persevered as a workers' democracy; it destroyed all legal Leninist until he succumbed to the safeguards and replaced revolutionary law "cult of the individual." This with the uncontrolled rule of the Secret portrait is retained in the Khrushchev speech made at the closed Political Police under the direct supervisession of the 20th Congress. sion of Stalin. With the Questions of History

(4) The Moscow Trials of the Thirties, article, the world Stalinist movebeginning with the trials following the ment is being given for the first time by their leaders something assassination of Kirov in 1934, were staged approaching the true political by Stalin's police machine and were judicial frauds from beginning to end. Upon Stalin and Kamenev's

return from Siberian exile in late (5) The charge that the Trotskyists March 1917, they decisively rewere spies, wreckers and terrorists were jected any notion that the Worksheer fabrications. ers' and Soldiers' Councils (the

Soviets) created by the revolu-(6) In the test of World War II the tionary masses after the overregime of Stalin brought the Soviet Union throw of the Czar, should take to the brink of disaster and resulted in political power. A Soviet governthe needless slaughter of hundreds of ment was the program advanced thousands if not millions. by the worker sections of the

Bolshevik Party in the factory (7) Whole nations of minority peoples district of Vyborg. It was also within the Soviet Union, who had won their national freedom through the Stalin and Kamenev deemed too revolutionary even the policies of October revolution, were either uprooted Molotov, Shlyapnikov and Zalutand transported to remote regions or sky, who led the party up to the utterly destroyed. time of their return. And this trio

(8) It criminally ignored the severe was a long way from advocating power for the Soviets. Displacing crisis in agriculture and intervened only Molotov from the editorship of to lay new and unjust taxes on the workthe party paper, Pravda, Stalin ing people who were already suffering and Kamenev gave open support great hardships. to the capitalist government.

(9) It nurtured a Stalin cult, devoting STALIN'S EVALUATION enormous efforts to build the myth of his At the party conference April genius and infallibility. It established a 4-6. Stalin formulated the tasks system of compulsory flattery, adulation of the working class in the revoluand fantastic glorification. tion entirely along the line of

Menshevism. "The power has been (10) It systematically falsified history divided between two organs of to suit the needs of the omnipotent dictator which neither one possesses full in his struggle against his political oppower," he said. ". . . The Soviet is the revolutionary leader of the ponents and to further his own deifica-(continued on page 2) tion.

(11) It brought the relations of the Soviet Union with other workers' states to disaster by treating these states as inferiors and trying to impose Stalin's bruta. rule upon them.

Trotsky, Oct. 16, 1937.

To millions of revolutionary workers throughout the world, who have been cruelly deceived and misled by the Stalinist bureaucrats, one conclusion will insistently make its way: All these abomin able cnimes against the revolution, admitted by Khrushchev, each and every one of them, were exposed, analyzed and fought by Leon Trotsky and the work Trotskyist movement from the momenthey made their appearance.

The disoriented, shocked and bewildered revolutionary workers in the Communist parties, will no longer accept the word of the bureaucrats as to what Trotskyism means; they will discover the great Russian Revolution; It's Signifitreasure of Marxist theory and politics that is to be found in the historic record of the struggle of Trotskyism against Stalinist reaction.

Khrushchev says that Stalin was politically right as against Trotsky. He also says that Stalin was dedicated to the interests of the working class and the

revolution. But the Communist workers will hardly take Khrushchev's word for that. They will insist on probing the question of Stalinism to the very bottom.

The Communist workers in the factories will ask the question that Khrushchev studiously avoided in his entire six-hou. speech: what was the class essence, the social roots of the Stalin cult? What social force did it serve? They will ask the same question about Trotskyism: What class interests does Trotskyism represent, and how has it served these interests?

Despite all his prattle about Leninism, Khrushchev treats the question of the cult | terested in the Trotskylist analysis of the individual (the Stalinist murder machine) without applying the ABCs of Leninism, namely, that politics is the concentrated expression of the interests of economic classes and groups.

The secret of Khrushchev's inability to provide a plausible explanation, as well as the reason for his reiterated declaration that in the fight against Trotskyism Stalin was politically right, lies in the fact that Khrushchev defends the same social

(Continued on page 7)

testament, a Lenin's Trials. Also verified is the "Not suppressed Guilty" verdict returned by the letter of Lenin's wife to Kameney, and a letter of Lenin to Stalin flamous Commission of Inquiry, all showing Lenin's deathbed headed by philosopher John struggle against the ruthless bu-Dewey, which sat in Mexico City as a count to hear evidence reaucrat who was to usurp the leadership of the Communist produced by Trotsky disproving Party and turn it from a revoluthe monstrous accusations in tionary instrument of the working Moscow. Khrushchev cited numerous class into its opposite - a

specific cases of purge victims (Continued on page 2)

# Myra Weiss on Tour **Explains Soviet Events**

SAN FRANCISCO, May 29 - Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice-President, spoke to an overflow crowd of workers at party headquarters on "A New Stage in the D

cance for American Labor." Clomrade Weiss took as her theme talk the recent revellations made at the 20th congress of the Russian Communist Party. "When Bulganin and Khrushchev started to reveal the crimes of Stalin they in reality only revealed what the Russian workers already knew," she said.

"What they still have to reveal," she added, "are the worst crimes, the crimes they shared in partnership with Stalin and those which they will have to commit on the morrow if they are to retain their power - that crime is the beheading of revolutions that would rid the world of capitalism."

In addition to her speech at SWP headquarters she talked to many militant workers and vouth A large number of students

listened to her at Slather Gate on the University of California campus. They were very inof current events in the Sloviet Union. Many showed their appreciation by thanking Comrade Weiss after the meeting for "taking time out of a busy campaign schedule to come and talk

Workers Party vice-presidential to us.' On a radio interveiw at Station

economy.

candidate Myra Weiss, will speak KPFA Comrade Weiss dealt with at the Detroit Friday Night Sothe economic differences between cialist Forum. The meeting will the Soviet Union and the United be held at 3737 Woodward Ave., States and the future of U.S. 2nd floor, at 8 p.m. Her subject will be: The New Events in the

Comrade Weiss was given time Soviet Union and Their Signifto tell a Negro church gathering | icance for the American Workers,



MYRA TANNER WEISS

about the Montgomery, Alabiama situation and the SWP solution for the problems confronting the Negro people.

At a press conference Comrade Weiss scored the bi-partisan foreign policy of the two major parties and called for the formation of a labor party.

On Friday, June 15, Socialist

- Page Two

THE MILITANT

Monday, June 11, 1956

# **MOSCOW FRAME-UP TRIALS VII** The Whys and Wherefores of the Trials

quiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Mexico. The final installment consists of Section XXI, entitled: far as they were inevitably di-"Why and Wherefore These Trials?"

The full text is available in a Pioneer Publishers pamphlet Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials. The Com- into opposition to the bureaumission of Inquiry was an impartial body headed by Prof. John cracy, its courtier-theoreticians Dewey, the eminent philosopher and teacher of American liberal- began to call the revolutionary ism. It included Carlo Tresca, outstanding leader of the anarchist essence of Marxism - "Trotmovement in the U.S. Otto Ruehle, who stood side-by-side in the Reichstag with Karl Liebknecht in fighting German imperialism in official conception of Leninism World War I, was another member. The Commission selected as its legal adviser John Finerty, of world-wide fame in the defense of Tom Mooney and Sacco and Vanzetti. The verdict of the Commission after nine months of thorough investigation in several countries was that the defendants in the Moscow Trials were "Not to the October Revolution, or to Guilty." A complete transcript of the hearings and the report of the theory of Leninism, were re-Commission were published in two volumes: "The Case of Leon Trotsky and "Not Guilty."]

By Leon Trotsky

**Frame-Ups Not Produte of Individual** 

An American writer complain-| tum, greedy for power, greedy ed to me in a conversation: "It for material comforts, apprehenis difficult for me to believe," sive for its positions, fearing the he said, "that you entered into masses, and mortally hating all the whole historiography was an alliance with fascism; but it opposition. adjusted.

is equally difficult for me to be-The position of a privileged lieve that Stalin carried out such bureaucracy in a society which horrible frame-ups." I can only that bureaucracy itself calls Sopity the author of this remark. cialist is not only contradictory, It is, in fact, difficult to find a but also false. The more precisolution if one approaches the pitate the jump from the October question exclusively from an in- overturn - which laid bare all dividual psychological and not social falsehood - to the present situation, in which a caste political viewpoint.

I do not wish to deny by this of upstarts is forced to cover the importance of the individual up its social ulcers, the cruder element in history. Neither Sta- the Thermidorian lies.

lin nor I find ourselves in our It is, consequently, a question present positions by accident. not simply of the individual But we did not create these po- depravity of this or that person, sitions. Each of us is drawn but of the corruption lodged in into this drama as the repre- the position of a whole social sentative of definite ideas and group for whom lying has beprinciples.

In their turn, the ideas and principles do not fall from the gained positions, this caste has aims - people grew too accus- incredible, but already in 1929 entirely and exclusively on the also the projection of the latter workers' quarters of the provin- friend, Goldman! Allow me to sky, but have profound social reeducated itself and simulta- tomed to them. It was neces- we were confronted with accu- moral authority of the Soviet on the world arena. Tomorrow cial Russian town of Nikolaiev express to all of you my warm roots. That is why one must neously reeducated — or rather, sary to give to bureaucracy. In its turn, the au- we shall hear about new mis- — this faith I have preserved gratitude, which in this case take, not the psychological ab- demoralized. - its leaders. It straction of Stalin as a "man," raised upon its shoulders the tion. To bolster up the literary "preparation of railroad wrecks," as its support, is necessary for of their direct or indirect supbut his concrete, historical per- man who best, most resolutely sonality as leader of the Soviet and most ruthlessly expresses bureaucracy. One can understand its interests. Thus Stalin, who

the acts of Stalin only by start- was once a revolutionist, became My exile from the USSR was ing from the conditions of exist- the leader of the Thermidorian ence of the new privileged stra- caste.

rected against its interests. From the time that I entered skyism." At the same time, the changed from year to year, becoming more and more adapted to the needs of the ruling caste. Books devoted to Party history, vised annually. I have adduced an example

from the literary activity of Stalin himself. In 1918 he wrote that the victory of the October insurrection was "principally and above all" assured by Trotsky's leadership. In 1924 Stalin wrote that Trotsky could not have played any special role in the October Revolution. To this tune

GPU.

This signifies in practice that hundreds of young scholars and ed "Trotskyltes," but also all thousands of journalists were writers who honestly presented its introduction into the USSR bury beneath its debris the ausystematically trained in the historical facts or citations with death, it is not difficult thority of the Thermidorian spirit of falsification. Whoever which contradicted the latest of to understand what fright seizes chiefs. That is why it is for resisted was stifled. This applies ficial standardization. Novelists the bureaucracy at the possi- Stalin a life-and-death question in a still greater measure to the and artists were suject to the bility that news of the self-sac- to kill the Fourth International propagandists, functionar- same regime. The spiritual at- rificing work of the Fourth In- while it is still in embryo! ies, judges, not to speak of the mosphere of the country became ternational in the service of the Now, as we are here examinexamining magistrates of the completely impregnated with the working class many penetrate ing the Moscow trials, the Ex-

poison of conventionalities, lies into the USSR. The incessant Party purges and direct frame-ups.

LEON SEDOV

Began with Theoretical Falsifications leaders of the bureaucracy and, in the press, is sitting in Mos-above all, of Stalin, rests in cow. Its agenda is: The strug-clear, bright future of mankind, ary optimism which constitutes All the possibilities along this "armed insurrection." However, of Babel of slanders and falsi- The session of the Executive an industructible temper. This life. road were soon exhausted. The the accusation, launched against fications erected over a period Committee of the Comintern is faith in reason, in truth, in human come a vital political necessity. theoretical and historical falsi- me was not even published in of thirteen years. The moral au- not only a link in the long chain solidarity, which at the age of Commission! Mr. Attorney Fin-In the struggle for its newly fications no longer attained their the press. Today it may seem thority of the Comintern rests of the Moscow frame-ups, but eighteen I took with me into the erty! and you, my defender and pression a more massive founda- of "sabotage," "espionage," thority of the Comintern as well deeds of the Trotskyites in Spain, fully and completely. It has be- does not bear a personal charfalsifications, accusations of a etc., in the Soviet press. However Stalin before the Russian work- port of the fascists. Echoes of ardent.

[We publish herewith the concluding installment of Leon Trot-sky's speech at the hearing of the Preliminary Commission of In-pressing the interests of the the uprooting of "Trotskyism," future judicial frame-ups. To for him for international rea-the Panama Canal, in the inter-will be rapidly protected by the masses, more and more incon- and during these purges not only justify the repressions, it was sons. If the Soviet bureaucracy ests of Japan. We shall learn armor of the sympathy of broad, Trials. The hearings took place April 10 to 17, 1937, at Coyoacan, venienced the bureaucracy, in so discontented workers were call- necessary to have framed ac- does not want revolutions and the day after tomorrow how the popular masses.

cusations. To give weight to the fears them, it cannot, at the Trotskyites in Mexico are pre- Ladies and gentlemen of the false accusations, it was neces- same time, openly renounce the paring measures for the restora- Commission! Already for five sary to reinforce them with revolutionary traditions without tion of Porfirio Diaz. You say years - I repeat, five years! more brutal repressions. Thus definitely undermining its pres- Diaz died a long time ago? The the logic of the struggle drove Stalin along the road of gigan- Comintern opens the way for a They stop before nothing - I received the telegram about tic judicial amalgams. new International.

# Why the Kremlin Fears Trotskyism

Since 1933, the idea of new terrible repressions, and outside revolutionary parties under the the USSR with the aid of a gibanner of the Fourth Interna- gantic apparatus which, through tional has met with great suc- resources drawn from the labor cess in the Old and New Worlds. of the Soviet workers and peas-Only with difficulty can an out- ants, poisons world public opinside observer appreciate the real ion with the virus of lies, falsidimensions of this success. It fications and blackmail. Millions cannot be measured by member- of people throughout the world ship statistics alone. The gen- identify the October Revolution eral tendency of development is with the Thermidorian bureauof much greater importance. cracy, the Soviet Union with

Deep, internal fissures are Stalin's clique, the revolutionspreading throughout all the sec- ary workers with the utterly tions of the Comintern, which at demoralized Comintern apparathe first historic shock will re- tus.

sult in splits and debacles. If The first great breach in this Stalin fears the little Bulletin Tower of Babel will necessarily of the Opposition and punishes cause it to collapse entirely, and

ecutive Committee of the Com-The moral authority of the intern, according to information leaders of the bureaucracy and, in the press, is sitting in Moslarge measure upon the Tower gle against world Trotskyism.

- I have incessantly demanded tige within the USSR. However, Moscow creators of amalgams the creation of an international the obvious bankruptcy of the do not stop before such trifles. commission of inquiry. The day nothing at all. the creation of your sub-com-Politically and morally, it is mission was a great holiday in

a question of life and death for my life. Some friends anxiousthem. Emissaries of the GPU ly asked me: Will not the Stalinare prowling in all countries of ists penetrate into the Commisthe Old and the New World, sion, as they at first penetrated They, do not lack money. What into the Committee for the Dedoes it mean to the ruling clique fense of Trotsky? to spend twenty or fifty mil- I answered: Dragged into the

lions of dollars more or less, light of day, the Stalinists are to sustain its authority and its not fearsome. On the contrary, power? These gentlemen buy I will welcome the most venemhuman consciences like sacks of ous questions from the Stalinpotatoes. We shall see this in ists; to break them down I have only to tell what actually hap-Fortunately, not everybody pened. The world press will give can be bought. Otherwise hu- the necessary publicity to my manity would have rotted away replies. I knew in advance that a long time ago. Here, in the the GPU would bribe individual person of the Commission, we journalists and whole newspa-

have a precious cell of unmar- pers. But I did not doubt for one ketable public conscience. All moment that the conscience of those who thirst for purifica- the world cannot be bribed and tion of the social atmosphere that it will score, in this case will turn instinctively toward as well, one of its most splendid the Commission. In spite of in- victories.

# **Trotsky's Faith in Future Unshaken**

many instances.

Esteemed Commissioners! The | should have the right to remain experience of my life, in which cutside of the skirmishes in the there has been no lack either of political arena - in this fact I successes or of failures, has not see a new and truly magnificent only not destroyed my faith in the reinforcement of the revolutionbut, on the contrary, has given it the fundamental element of my

Ladies and gentlemen of the sion, to express my profound

criminal character were brought there was not a single trial in- ers. in. This Tower of Babel, which already been heard in this room. In the very fact of your Com- respect to the educator, puncos-insion's formation — in the pher and personification of gen-My exile from the USSR was The matter was limited to a frightens its own builders, is officially motivated by the al- literary calumny which repre- maintained inside the USSR the Trotskyites in the United of unshakable moral authority, scholar who heads the work of legation that I had prepared an sented, nevertheless, the first with the aid of more and more States are preparing railroad a man who by virtue of his age your Commission. (Applause)

Admits Moscow Trials Were Frame-Ups ... Hits Role of Stalin in 1917

It should be noted alloo that

while Khrushchev tries to portray

himself as having silently disa-

greed with Stalin's "excesses,"

his speech compromises most of

the other leading figures in the

ing the bloodshed, cultism and

For the indisputable flact is

successful, surviving favorites of

Some of them were cronies of

closest relations with Stalin.

Stalin.

lawis.

\$1.00

(Continued from page 1) tounter-revolutionary instrument of the bureaucracy against the the result (at Kharkov) of this?" bureaucracy they had to carry he and the others were at Stallin's cerpts from it on June 5 and has asks Khrushchev. "We lost hun-out with distinction Stallin's cerpts from it on June 5 and has insurrectionary people; an organ denied. At the very most Khrush-would publish it in full. It has the war, on the grounds that the the war, on the grounds that the the very bureau-the war, on the grounds that the the very bureau-the war, on the grounds that the the very bureau-the war, on the grounds that the the very bureau-the very most Khrush-the very most Khrushworking class. These documents have long part of the evidence that, far from representing Lenin's pro-the best case for himself and his working class. These documents have long part of the evidence that, far the may, stretch the truth as he the best case for himself and his working class. These documents have long part of the evidence that, far the may, stretch the truth as he the best case for himself and his working class. These documents have long part of the evidence that, far the best case for himself and his working class. These documents have long part of the evidence that, far the best case for himself and his working class. The best case for himself and his working class. The best case for himself and his working class. The best case for himself and his working class. The best case for himself and his working class. The best case for himself and his working class. The best case for himself and his working class. The best case for himself and his working class. The best case for himself and his working class. The best case for himself and his working class. The best case for himself and his working class. The best case for himself and his working class. The best case for himself and his the best case for himself and himse

(Continued from page 1)

the war, on the grounds that the Stalin. Indeed, the very bureau-

from representing Lenin's pro- the best case for himself and his grain and continuing his work, partners, Khrushchev cannot ad-Stallin was under bitter political duce a single instance of opposiand personal attack from Lenin, tion to one of Stalin's acts. The who was prevented only by death most he produces are a few from waging an all-out campaign alleged cases where he now says for his removal. For decades these he urged - but gingerly - a documents have been called Trotmodification of Stalin's plans. He skyist fabrications by Stalinists cannot adduce a single instance in all countries. Now the First where he tried to build an opposi Secretary of the Communist tion to Stallin's regime of bloody Party of the Soviet Unlion quotes tyranny, economic and military them in his speech. disasters.

Khrushchev gives almost incredible examples of the brutality, cowardice, thirst for adulation, ignorance and stupidity of Stalin. He tells how Stalin caused military and agricultural catastrophes. He tries to give the impression bureaucracy as being in the to the audience that he and his present partners opposed Stalin's bloody and disastrous policies For example, he recounts how Stalin's meddling in the battle of Kharkov cost the Red Army hundreds of thousands of casualties.

### "WE" AND "I"

disastrous program. "We," he says, had decided on a correct plan, "we" commuthat the present "collective leadernicated to Stalin, Stalin rejected it, "I" telephoned and ship" is (minus Beria, who was begged the highest military comshot by them as "an agent of r foreign intelligence service") no mander in Moscow to get Stalin less than a coalition of the most to look at a map. No success. Then "I" telephoned Stalin but he would not speak to me but put Stalin. Malenkov on the phone. "I" again asked to speak to Stalin. Stalin Stalin from the first days when refused. "I" explained the disaster he started intriguing and building facing the army at Kharkov a personal machine in the postthrough Malenkov to Stalin. Revolution party of Lenin and Trotsky. Most of them earned Stalin insisted on the disastrous

plan. campaign against the ideals and is a development noticeable in But the outcome of such "opposition" is the same as all the program of the Revolution which most unions. other hinted-at opposition of culminated with the expulsion of Khrushchev. "We" and "I" follow Trotsky and the Left Opposition. Stalin's orders. "And what was To rise to the very top of the



### By Leon Trotsky

The full text of Trotsky's masterful analysis of the Moscow Trials in his summation speech before the John Dewey Commission of Inquiry which investigated Stalin's frame-up charges. With an introduction by Joseph Hansen.

168 pages

PIONEER PUBLISHERS New York 3, N. Y. 116 University Place

Men of this caliber are no op- Soviet workers, who hate them word text released by the State positionists. They bear no re- and the bureaucracy which they Department. semiblance to the Bolisheviks who represent.

opposed tyrannical regimes, went It took Khrushchev two days to prison for their opposition

(Feb. 24-25) to deliver the speech. and offten gave their lives. While rumors and a few details Khrushchev and the others unfrom it were allowed to circulate doubtedly feared for their skins in the Soviet Union and the and their privileges because of satellite countries, it was kept Stalin's habit of purging even his secret. An edited version was sent most faithful tools. But fearful to a limited section of the buand hoping, they tried to assure reauteracy and to foreign Comtheir safety and position by outmunist Parties. Copies were sent

doing themselves in serving to Tito and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. This is believed WHERE WAS KHRUSHCHEV? to be the source from which the This is why the Khrushchev U.S. State Department obtained

it. The latter released an English speech, compelled by the new regime's need to disassociate translation of it on June 4. The New York Times printed it in full itself in the eyes of the masses. the next day. from Stalin, at the very same

Were these others to make Its authenticity may be youched time undermines the rule of the new regime. The answer to the for not only by its internal similar speeches, it could well be oft-asked question, "Where was evidence but by the fact that no turnabout. They could paint them-Kihrushchev when Stalin was Soviet official or Communist selves up as secretly deploring doing these monstrous things?" | Party spokesman has challenged Stalin's misrule and show Khrushchev and his coterie in the closest is known to all Soviet citizens. It. The Daily Worker printed exrelations with Stalin, implement-

Poison from the Skies The Japanese Welfare Ministry eported, May 24, that due to

recent heavy rainfall fruit and Japan were radioactive. The agency warned the Japanese people against eating any. The

amount of radioactivity was found to be five times the amount considered safe for human consumption. Poisonous rain continues to fall on the country.

> **NEXT WEEK** In The Militant

is not to our advantage at present | outbreak of the February Revolu to force events, hastening the tion, Trotsky - at the time a process of repelling the bourgeois political refugee in New York --layers, who will in the future outlined the same revolutionary nevitably withdraw from us." course for the Russian workers

"The idea that it is disad- soldiers and peasants as Lenin. antageous to hasten the with- On his return to Russia in May. drawal of the bourgeoisie from he immediately began collaborathe revolution, has always been tion with the Bolsheviks on the vegetables in central districts of the guiding principle of the basis of Lenin's line which had whole policy of the Mensheviks," won out in the Bolshevik party wrote Leon Trotsky in The His- over Stalin's and Kamenev's. tory of the Russian Revolution **RECORD OF HISTORY** 

commenting on Stalin's line. "In The records show, however action this means blunting and weakening the movement of the that never throughout 1917 did masses in order not to frighten Stalin correct his March position fundamentally. He simply wen! away the liberal allies."

That is how Lenin appraised along with the decision. Stalin's policy, for he stated he After 1923 Stakin again set would rather split with anyone policy for the Bolshevik Party in the party than support the The politics of Stalinism were capitalist government and its not developments of Lenin's line. prosecution of imperialist war. They represented a return to At the same time that they were Stalin's own March policy. The backing the Provisional Govern- politics of class-collaboration with ment, Stalin and Kamenev dropthe capitalist liberals and reformped revolutionary opposition to ist "socialists" was organic to

up was alien to working class revolution.

Stalin was no longer applying his Menshevik course merely to Russia. His March line was enthroned by the Communist Parties in every country. Reviewing the March 1917 policy pursued by Stalin. Trotsky stated in his biography of Stalin, "Here readymade for us is the formula of future Stalinist policy in China (1924-1927), in Spain (1934-1939) as well as generally in all his ill-starred 'popular fronts.'"

In the Chinese Revolution of 1924-1927, the Stalinist course was to merge the Communist' Party in the Kuomintang - the party headed by Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese capitalist class. The formula was the Menshevik one of not alienating the capitalists from the revolution. The result was to leave the Chinese workers unprepared for wholesale slaughter by Chiang Kai-shek, when he came to terms with imperialism.

In Spain, subordination of the ndependent struggle of the masses to the policy of retaining a bourgeois-democratic republic The Militant pointed this out in instead of building a workers' and peasants' government led to the

victory of Franco. The March line on a world scale is the policy still pursued by the pointed out at the time that the Communist Parties - under Communist Party was betraying Khrushchev as under Stalin. The the working class because, while policy of peaceful coexistence in resolutions it was on record features the same subordination against the Smith Act, in deeds of the struggle of the working it was sabotaging the defense class to meager reforms within of the Minneapolis victims the capitalist status quo as Recently the Communist Party Stalin proposed in March 1917. has admitted that its conduct Then as now the policies of Leninism and Stalinism are diametrically opposed.

Today the labor bureaucracy is doing almost the same thing the CP did then. It is on record in resolutions against the Smith Act. yet it abstains or opposes active defense of the victims. This too is a betrayal of labor's fight

The Smith Act and all the witch-hunt laws and procedures are a threat to labor itself. Failure of the unions to fight them to the utmost - and that means defending the victims can result in the same disaster that befell the Communist Party, which paid the price for not

fighting the first prosecution by ending up the victim of subsequent prosecutions.

The Road to Peace

By James P. Cannon

More timely than ever is Cannon's analysis of the Stalinist peace program and why it cannot stop World War III. He outlines Lenin's real views on this life and death question.

25c. **Order** from PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

"Stalinism and Bolshevism" By Leon Trotsky

Defense of Victims is Smith Act Test

By George Lavan tions passed resolutions stigmatiz in the eating! The ACW's resolu- | Act and all the other barbarisms In, the closing hours of the ing it as anti-labor and anti-civil tion against the Smith Act of the witch hunt should not be 1941 when 18 Socialist Workers recent convention in Washington, liberties. These condemnations were pe-D. C., of the Amalgamated

Those on civil liberties and for- succeeding conventions. So it has eign policy reflected the some- been with all the other features what freer atmosphere that pre- of the witch hunt: the McCarran vails in this country since the Internal Security Act, the Humdecline of McCarthy and the phrey-Bultler Communist Control their spurs and privileges in the easing-off of the cold war. This Act, the "subversive" list, the

"loyality" purge, etc., etc. -Sometimes these resolutions were a little stronger or a little On civil liberties the ACW con-

weaker. For example, in the vention went on record as opposand jailed under it. early 1940's they were more ing or criticizing most of the

VICTIMS NOT UNKNOWN witch hunt. It called for repeal strongly worded. At the height of The victims are not unknown to of the Smith Act, the Internal the McCarthy "red" hysteria Security Act of 1950 and the they reflected, in their more Communist Control Act; it also timlid language, the intimidation declared against the current of the union bureaucracy by Mcmoves in Congress by the South- Carthyism.

While it is perfectly legitimate ern Democrats and Northern witch hunters to invalidate by to examine such resolutions and legislation the Supreme Court's note an improved tone, it is incorrect to gloss over their shortnulling against state "sedition' comings and pretend that the test

Such resolutions are all to the of a union bureaucracy's attitude good and are expected of the toward civil liberties is in what labor movement. Both the AFL the resolutions say in general. and the CIO, and practically al | This is precisely what the Staltheir internationals, went on inist newspaper, the Daily record against the Smith Act Worker, (June 3) does in its when it was introduced in Coneulogistic account of the recent gress. After it was passed and ACW convention. igned by Roosevelt, their conven-

the first, second and even third with the labor tops and the echelon leaders of the Communist | Democratic politicians, as in the Party. While the convention was days before the cold war. Ir on, professional anti-Communist informers were testifying at the are abandoning all real opposi-

leaders in Foley Square. A few unions and all real political opdays later the FBI arrested sever men and women in Massachusetts

for another such Smith Act trial.

subversive laws. Workers in the Amalgamated labor leaders. The Smith Act is a and other unions who want their threat to labor and the civi organizations to fight the Smith liberties of all. No, the proof of the pudding is

to defend those being persecuted of the ACW and other union bureaucrats in the fight to defend witch-hunt victims. They are

their campaigning to do this they for civil liberties. thought-control trial of seven CP | tion to the bureaucrats within the

position in their press. It is short-sighted to say that

since the current victims of the Three of these had just been freed Smith Act are CP members it is from indictments by the Supreme the privilege of the Daily Worker Court's rulling against the state to settle for mere lip servic against the Smith Act by the

remains, a generality and an lulled by stories praising their Party and Minneapolis Teamsters abstraction, basically no different union leaders to the skies for leaders were being railroaded Clothing Workers a series of fiodically renewed in the civil from the many previous civil mere words when these same under the same law. It also prepared resolutions were passed. Herties resolutions passed at liberties resolutions passed by this leaders act as a roadblock to those same union in the past. endeavoring to rally unionists and The proof is that while it liberals to defend the Communist

resolves against the Smith Act Party victims of the Smith Act. n words, the ACW lifts not one However, the Communist Party inger, nor utters one word, to leadership and the Daily Worker defend the victims of the Smith writers, are not acting from Act. The key test of true opposi- | ignorance. They are fully aware tion to the Smith Act is a fight of the facts and of the delinquency

during that first Smith Act prosecution was an "error." acting from policy - the policy they call coexistence. This means the ACW leadership. They are all trying to get back into alliance

Monday, June 11, 1956

## THE MILITANT

— Page Three

# **Confirms Trotsky's Accusation That Stalin Organized Kirov Murder**

### (Continued from page 1)

and organizers of the masses, rades, a less capricious temper, Lenin at the same time merci- etc." pose a "hero" to the masses and to the people.

Lenin taught that the party's strength depends on its indissoluble unity with the masses, on the fact that behind the party come the defects which caused follow the people - workers, peasants and intelligentsia. "Only he will win and retain the power," said Lenin, "who believes the people, who submerges in himself in the fountain of the should become acquainted with living creativeness of the peo-

ple. Lenin spoke with pride about the opinion of their party; he litical Bureau, and a personal said: in it the wisdom, the honor, and

the conscience of our epoch." Lenin resolutely stood against ments:

every attempt aimed at belit-Lev Borisovich! tling or weakening the directing Because of a short letter which role of the party in the structure I had written in words dictated of the Soviet state. He worked to me by Vladimir Ilyich by perout Bolshevik principles of party mission of the doctors, Stalin direction and norms of party allowed himself yesterday an unlife, stressing that the guiding usually rude outburst directed principle of party leadership is at me. This is not my first duty its collegiality. Already during to the party. During all these the pre-revolutionary years Lenin thirty years I have never heard called the Central Committee of from any comrade one word of the party a collective of leaders rudeness. The business of the and the guardian and interpreter party and of Ilyich are not less of party principles. "During the dear to me than to Stalin. I between congresses," period need at present the maximum of pointed out Lenin, "the Central self-control. What one can and Committee guards and interprets what one cannot discuss with the principles of the party." Ilyich, I know better than any Underlining the role of the doctor, because I know what Central Committee of the party makes him nervous and what and its authority, Vladimir Ilyich does not; in any case, I know [Lenin] pointed out: "Our Cen- better than Stalin. I am turning tral Committee constituted itself to you and to Gregory [S. Zinoas a closely centralized and high- viev] as to much closer comly authoritative group." rades of V. I. and I beg of you

During Lenin's life the Central to protect me from rude inter-Committee of the party was a ference with my private life and real expression of collective drom file invectives and threats. I leadership of the party and of I have no doubt as to what will capitulation to the world bourthe nation. Being a militant be the unanimous decision of the Marxist revolutionist, always Control Commission, with which 1928-1929 the political line of unyielding in matters of princi- Stalin sees fit to threaten me; right deviation had prevailed ple, Lenin never imposed by however, I have neither the among us, or orientation toward force his views upon his co- strength nor the time to waste "cottondress industrialization," workers. He tried to convince; on this foolish quarrel. And I or toward the kulak [rich peashe patiently explained his opin- am a living person and my ant] etc. We would not now ions to others. Lenin always dili- nerves are strained to the ut-

Nadezhda

role of the Central Committee. which another man would be justified. The negative charac- term made possible the usage of tance to the role of the leaders ate attitude toward the com- untold harm to our party.

festation of the cult of the in- made known to the delegates clude any possibility of a repeti-

Lenin serious anxiety.

READ

ready outlined by Vladimir Ilyich viewpoint, and the correctness

"We believe in it, we see letter from Vladimir Ilyich Lenin to Stalin. I will now read these docu-

and analyze correctly this matlessly stigmatized every mani- This document of Lenin's was ter in order that we may pre-

his concepts. TWO NEW DOCUMENTS

Comrades! The party congress

two new documents, which confirm Stalin's character as al-

party congress, when many cifically introduced for the pur- preparations for an uprising and ture of brutal willfulness con- a normal situation when thirteen prominent party leaders and pose of annihilating such inrank-and-file party workers, dividuals. honest and dedicated to the

to Stalin's despotism. We must affirm that the party people had worked with Lenin that the uprising had been or- trai Committee, not asking for events? These events demanded had fought a serious fight during his life. Some of these against the Trotskyites, right- persons had made errors during very near future. ists and bourgeois nationalists. and that it disarmed ideological- Lenin benefited by their work, ly all the enemies of Leninism. he corrected them and he did This ideological fight was car- everything possible to retain ried on successfully as a result them in the ranks of the party; Zinoviev revealed the decision of important party and government of which the party became he induced them to follow him. strengthened and tempered. Here

Stalin played a positive role. QUOTED The party led a great political

ideological struggle against those in its own ranks who proposed anti-Leninist theses, who represented a political line hoswith an unpublished note by V.I. party. tile to the party and to the cause Lenin directed to the Central of socialism. This was a stub-Committee's Political Bureau in cialist October Revolution, as is born and a difficult fight but a necessary one, because the political line of both the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc and of the Bukharinites [followers of Nikolai I. Bukharin] led actually toward letarian conscience.' the restoration of capitalism and

geoisie. 18 18 Let us consider for a moment what would have happened if in have a nowerful heavy industry

moved from this position and by vinced that Lenin's fears were in a controversy be proven; this but inconvenient to Stalin. Our party fought for the im- a civil war. Marxism does not negate the selected for it; a man who, above teristics of Stalin, which, in the most cruel repression, vio- plementation of Lenin's plans Stalin, on the other hand, used role of the leaders of the work- all, would differ from Stalin in Lenin's time, were only incipient, lating all norms of revolutionary for the construction of social- extreme methods and mass re- Lenin considered it absolutely pants of the seventeenth coning class in directing the revolu- only one quality, namely, greater transformed themselves during legality, against anyone who in ism. This was an ideological pressions at a time when the tionary liberation movement. | tolerance, greater loyalty, great- the last years into a grave abuse any way disagreed with Stalin, fight. Had Leninist principles revolution was already victori-While ascribing great impor- er kindness and more consider- of power by Stalin, which caused against those who were only sus- been observed during the course ous, when the Soviet state was pertaining to internal and for- revolution and during the civil 4 pected of hostile intent, against of this fight, had the party's strengthened, when the exploit-

We have to consider seriously those who had bad reputations. devotion to principles been skill- ing classes were already liqui-This concept "enemy of the fully combined with a keen and dated and Socialist relations people" actually eliminated the solicitous concern for people, were rooted solidly in all phases possibility of any kind of ideo- had they not been repelled and of national economy, when our dividual, inexorably combated at the thirteenth party congress, tion in any form whatever of logical fight or the making of wasted, but rather drawn to our party was politically consolithe foreign-to-Marxism views who discussed the question of what took place during the life one's views known on this or side, we certainly would not dated and had strengthened itself about a "hero" and a "crowd" | transferring Stalin from the po- of Stalin, who absolutely did not that issue, even those of a prac- have had such a brutal violation both numerically and ideologicaland countered all efforts to op- sition of Secretary General. The tolerate collegiality in leadership tical character. In the main, of revolutionary legality and ly. It is clear that here Stalin delegates declared themselves in and in work, and who practiced and in actuality, the only proof many thousands of people would showed in a whole series of cases favor of retaining Stalin in this brutal violence, not only toward of guilt used, against all norms not have fallen victim of the his intolerance, his brutality and as the most authoritative leading of the party. The only reason post, hoping that he would heed everything which opposed him, of current legal science, was the method of terror. Extraordinary his abuse of power. Instead of the critical remarks of Vladimir but also toward that which "confession" of the accused him- methods would then have been proving his political correctness Ilyich and would be able to over- seemed to his capricious and self; and, as subsequent probing resorted to only against those and mobilizing the masses, he despotic character, contrary to proved, "confessions" were ac- people who had in fact commit- often chose the path of represquired through physical prested criminal acts against the sion and physical annihilation, Soviet system. not only against actual enemies,

Stalin acted not through per- sures against the accused. suasion, explanation, and patient This led to glaring violations cooperation with people, but by of revolutionary legality, and to facts.

imposing his concepts and de- the fact that many entirely in-In the days before the Octo- against the party and the Soviet manding absolute submission to nocent persons, who in the past ber Revolution two members of Government. Here we see no wishis opinion. Whoever opposed had defended the party line, be- the Central Committee of the dom but only a demonstration of this concept or tried to prove his came victims.

Bolshevik party, Kamenev and the brutal force which had once We must assert that, in regard Zinoviev, declared themselves so alarmed V. I. Lenin. the Bolshevik Communist party Lenin in his "testament." These of his position was doomed to to those persons who in their against Lenin's plan for an Lately, especially after the as the leader and teacher of the documents are a letter from Na- removal from the leading collec- time had opposed the party line, armed uprising. In addition, on unmasking of the [Lavrenti P.] began increasingly to abuse his people; he called for the presen- dezhda Konstantinovna Krup- tive and to subsequent moral there were often no sufficiently Oct. 18 they published in the Beria gang, the Central Comtation of all the most important skaya [Lenin's wife] to [Lev and physical annihilation. This serious reasons for their psysi- Menshevik newspaper Novaya mittee looked into a series of brutally violated. This was espequestions before the opinion of Borisovich] Kamenev, who was was especially true during the cal annihilation. The formula Zhizn a statement declaring that matters fabricated by this gang. cially evident during the last knowledgeable workers, before at that time head of the Po- period following the seventeenth "enemy of the people" was spe-

> It is a fact that many percause of communism, fell victim sons who were later annihilated decision of the Central Commit- allowed himself many abuses, party and our country had expeas enemies of the party and the tee to stage the uprising, and acting in the name of the Cen- rienced so many important

Lenin's life, but despite this,

the Central Committee of their matters. LENIN DIRECTIVE

party on the armed uprising to CULT OF THE INDIVIDUAL. [M.] Rodzyanko and [Alexander F.] Kerensky. \* \* \* " He put Considering the question of the

In this connection the dele- before the Central Committee cult of an individual we must gates to the party congress the question of Zinoviev's and first of all show everyone what during all the years of the pashould familiarize themselves Kamenev's expulsion from the harm this caused to the interests of our party.

Let us recall some historical but also against individuals who

that they considered it adven- nected with the incorrect be-

turistic. Kamenev and Zinoviev havior of Stalin. As facts prove,

This was treason against the bers of the Central Committee's

party and against the revolu- Political Bureau; often he did

tion. In this connection V. I. not inform them about his per-

Lenin wrote: "Kamenev and sonal decisions concerning very

had not committed any crimes

members nor even of the mem-

Committee plenum took place. However, after the Great So-It is true that there was an at-Vladimir Ilyich Lenin had altempt to call a Central Commitways stressed the party's role October, 1920. Outlining the du- known, Zinoviev and Kamenev and significance in the directee plenum in October 1941, ties of the Control Commission, were given leading positions, tion of the Socialist governwhen Central Committee mem-Lenin wrote that the commission Lenin put them in positions in ment of workers and peasants; bers from the whole country should be transformed into a which they carried out most re- he saw in this the chief preconwere called to Moscow. They real "organ of party and pro- sponsible party tasks and par- dition for a successful building ticipated actively in the work of of socialism in our country. Pointof the plenum, but in vain. Sta-As a special duty of the the leading party and Soviet or- ing to the great responsibility lin did not even want to meet Control Commission there is gans. It is known that Zinoviev of the Bolshevik party, as a rul-recommended a deep, individ and Kamenev committed a num-ing party in the Soviet state, mittee members. This fact shows ualized relationship with, and ber of other serious errors dur- Lenin called for the most meticsometimes even a type of ing Lenin's life. In his "testa- ulous observance of all norms therapy for, the representa- ment" Lenin warned that "Zino- of party life; he called for the

how haughtily and disdainfully tives of the so-called opposi- viev's and Kamenev's October realization of the principles of he treated the Central Committion, those who have experi- episode was, of course, not an collegiality in the direction of tee members. enced a psychological crisis accident." But Lenin did not the party and the state.

because of failure in their So- pose the question of their arrest Collegiality of leadership flows viet or party career. An ef- and certainly not their shooting. from the very nature of our

sharpest forms, even including always, when a radical turn in the delegates to the seventeenth the development of the party congress? It is known that 80 and the country took place, per cent of the voting particieign policy and to questions war; this means before 1921. By bearing on the development of social origin the basic mass of the delegates to the congress? It is very characteristic that were workers (60 per cent of the Lenin addressed to the party voting members).

For this reason, it was inconorgan his last articles, letters ceivable that a congress so comand remarks. During the period posed would have elected a Cenbetween congresses the Central tral Committee, a majority of Committee of the party, acting whom would prove to be enemies. collective, meticulously observed why 70 per cent of Central Comthe principles of the party and mittee members and candidates elected at the seventeenth con-. So it was during Lenin's life. gress were branded as enemies of the party and of the people r was because honest Communists were slandered, accusations against them were fabricated, principles observed after the and revolutionary legality was gravely undermined.

Whereas during the first few The same fate met not only years after Lenin's death party the Central Committee members congresses and Central Commitbut also the majority of the tee plenums took place more or delegates to the seventeenth less regularly, later, when Stalin party congress. Of 1,966 delegates with either voting or adpower, these principles were visory rights, 1,108 persons were arrested on charges of antirevolutionary crimes, i.e., decidedly more than a majority. This very fact shows how abyears elapsed between the eighsurd, wild and contrary to comteenth and nineteenth party conmon sense were the charges of ? thus disclosed to the enemy the Stalin, using his unlimited power, gresses, years during which our counter - revolutionary crimes made, as we now see, against a 4 ma ority of participants at the sev steenth party congress: (Inganized to take place within the the opinion of the Committee categorically that the party dignation in the hall.) should have passed resolutions

We should recall that the seventeenth party congress is hisfense during the Patriotic War torically known as the Congress of Victors. Delegates to the time construction after the war. congress were active partici-Even after the end of the war pants in the building of our Socialist state; many of them suffered and fought for party in-Central Committee plenums terests during the pre-revoluwere hardly ever called. It should tionary years in the conspiracy. be sufficient to mention that and at the civil war fronts; they fought their enemies valtriotic war not a single Central iantly and often nervelessly looked into the face of death. How then can we believe that " such people could prove to be "two-faced" and had joined the camps of the enemies of socialism during the era after the political liquidation of Zinovievwaited two days for the opening ites, Trotskyites and rightists and after the great accomplishments of Socialist construction? This was the result of the abuse of power by Stalin, who how demoralized Stalin was in began to use mass terror against

the first months of the war and the party cadres. What is the reason that mass repressions against activists increased more and more after the

In practice Stalin ignored the seventeenth party congress? It norms of party life and trampled was because at that time Stalin on the Leninist principle of col- had so elevated himself above the party and above the nation

liquidation of the Trotskyites,

Zinovievites and Bukharinites,

when as a result of that fight

and Socialist victories the party

achieved unity, Stalin ceased to

sider the members of the party's

gently observed that the norms most. of party life were realized, that the party statute was enforced, that the party congresses and the plenary sessions of the Cen- 1922. After two and a half tral Committee took place at the proper intervals.

In addition to the great accomplishments of V. I. Lenin for the victory of the working class and of the working peasants, for the victory of our party and for the application of the ideas of scientific communism to life, his acute mind expressed itself also in this that he detected in Stalin in time those negative characteristics which resulted later in grave consequences.

### STALIN CHARACTERIZED BY LENIN

Fearing the future fate of the party and of the Soviet nation, V. I. Lenin made a completely correct characterization of Stalin, pointing out that it was necessary to consider the question of transferring Stalin from the position of the Secretary General because of the fact that Stalin is excessively rude, that he does not have a proper attitude toward his comrades, that he is capricious and abuses his power.

In December, 1922, in a letter to the party congress Vladimir

ment of tremendous importance, of Lenin and as an active fightknown in the party history as er for the cause of the party Lenin's "testament," was dis- since its creation, we can easily tributed among the delegates to imagine, how Stalin treated oththe twentieth party congress. er people. These negative char-You have read it, and will un- acteristics of his developed doubtedly read it again more steadily and during the last than once. You might reflect on years acquired an absolutely Lenin's plain words, in which ex- insufferable character.

party, the people, the state, and As later events have proven, policy.

Vladimir Ilyich said: "Stalin is death Stalin still paid attention of the Civil War and the first cution without trial and without who err, and whom it was posexcessively rude, and this de- to his [Lenin's] advice, but later and most difficult years of in- normal investigation created sible to lead through ideological fect, which can be freely toler- he began to disregard the seri- dustrialization and collectiviza- conditions of insecurity, fear influence, and even retain in the ated in our midst and in con- ous admonitions of Vladimir tacts among us Communists, be- Ilyich.

comes a defect which cannot be When we analyze the practice for the Leninist party line. tolerated in one holding the po- of Stalin in regard to the direcsition of the Secretary General. tion of the party and of the Because of this, I propose that country, when we pause to con- automatically rendered it unnec- trary, brought about annihila- ously opposing the revolution, ty." the comrades consider the meth- sider everything which Stalin essary that the ideological er- tion and the expulsion from the when the struggle for survival During Lenin's life party con- hall.) od by which Stalin would be re- perpetrated, we must be con- rors of a man or men engaged party of workers who were loyal was decidedly assuming the gresses were convened regularly; What was the composition of

we would not have the collective N. Krupskava farms, we would find ourselves disarmed and weak in a capi-Konstantinovna wrote this letter on Dec. 23, talist encirclement. It was for this reason that the

months, in March, 1923, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin sent Stalin the following letter: To Comrade Stalin: Copies for: Kamenev and Zinoviev.

Dear Comrade Stalin! Your permitted yourself a rude summons of my wife to the telephone and a rude reprimand of her. Despite the

she agreed to forget what was Kamenev heard about it from her. I have no intention to

forget so easily that which is being done against me, and and to build socialism. I need not stress here that I consider as directed against against my wife. I ask you, therefore, that you weigh care- the Bukharinites and others, cated without the application of fully whether you are agreeable to retracting your words were not used against them. The and apologizing or whether you prefer the severance of relations between us. (Commotion in the hall) Sincerely, Lenin

March 5 1923

Comrades! I will not comment Ilvich wrote: "After taking over on these documents. They speak for political movements and follow him without using comthe position of Secretary General eloquently for themselves. Since groups hostile to the party had pulsion, but rather through the enemies of the revolution when Comrade Stalin accumulated in Stalin could behave in this manhis hands immeasurable power ner during Lenin's life, could ideological opponents of the the whole collective - were en- no one can say this. Vladimir and I am not certain whether he thus behave toward Nadezhda will be always able to use this Konstantinovna Krupskaya, whom power with the required care." the party knows well and

This letter, a political docu- values highly as a loyal friend REPRESSIVE POLICY STARTS

pression is given to Vladimir Ilyich's anxiety concerning the STALIN'S ABUSE OF POWER

the Trotskyites and the rightists

fort should be made to quiet them, to explain the matter to

them in a way used among

among the workers.

comrades, to find for them (avoiding the method of issuing orders), a task for which party led an inexorable ideologithey are psychologically fitted. cal fight and explained to all Advice and rules relating to party members and to the nonthis matter are to be formuparty masses the harm and the lated by the Central Commitdanger of the anti-Leninist protee's Organizational Bureau, posals of the Trotskyite opposietc.

tion and the rightist opportu-Everyone knows how irrecon nists. And this great work of cilable Lenin was with the ideoexplaining the party line bore logical enemies of Marxism, with fruit; both the Trotskyites and those who deviated from the corthe rightist opportunists were rect party line. At the same fact that she told you that politically isolated; the over- time, however, Lenin, as is eviwhelming party majority sup- dent from the given document, said, nevertheless Zinoviev and ported the Leninist line and the in his practice of directing the

party was able to awaken and party demanded the most intiorganize the working masses to mate party contact with people apply the Leninist party line who had shown indecision or temporary nonconformity with

even during the progress of the possible to return to the party me that which is being done furious ideological fight against path. Lenin advised that such the Trotskyites, the Zinovievites, people should be patiently edu-

extreme repressive measures extreme methods. Lenin's wisdom in dealing with

fight was on ideological grounds. people was evident in his work But some years later when so- with cadres. cialism in our country was An entirely different relationfundamentally constructed, when ship with people characterized method would not have been

the exploiting classes were gen-| Stalin. Lenin's traits - patient erally liquidated, when the So- work with people; stubborn and viet social structure had radical- painstaking education of them; ly changed, when the social basis the ability to induce people to violently contracted, when the ideological influence on them of this was actually necessary? No, party were long since defeated tirely foreign to Stalin. He [Sta- Ilyich demanded uncompromising politically, then the repression lin] discarded the Leninist meth- dealings with the enemies of the directed against them began.

od of convincing and educating: revolution and of the working he abandoned the method of class and when necessary reideological struggle for that of sorted ruthlessly to such methadministrative violence, mass re- ods.

through the Government appara- punitive organs, at the same anti-Soviet uprising, with the

ites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites, laws. long since politically defeated by Arbitrary behavior by one the most extreme methods party in the work of the Soviets, the party, and subsequently also person encouraged and permit- against the enemies. Lenin used the future direction of party Lenin's anxiety was justified: in nists, against those party cadres arrests and deportations of against actual class enemies and the first period after Lenin's who had borne the heavy load many thousands of people, exe- not against those who blunder, tion, who actively fought against and even desperation.

This, of course, did not contribute toward unity of the only in the most necessary cases, Stalin originated the concept party ranks and of all strata of when the exploiting classes were

ciples of democratic centralism. THE TROTSKYITE ISSUE Or let us take the example all party matters are accomof the Trotskyites. At present, plished by all party members,

after a sufficiently long histor- directly or through representaical period, we can speak about tives, who without any excepthe fight with the Trotskyites tions, are subject to the same with complete calm and can ana- rules; in addition, all adminislyze this matter with sufficient trative members, all directing objectivity. After all, around collegia, all holders of party po-Trotsky were people whose ori- sitions are elective, they must gin cannot by any means be account for their activities and

traced to bourgeois society. are recallable." Part of them belonged to the It is known that Lenin himparty intelligentsia and a cer- self offered an example of the tain part were recruited from most careful observance of these

principles. There was no matter We can name many individuals so important that Lenin himself tral Committee members and all he needed were statisticians; who in their time joined the decided it without asking for candidates elected at the seventeenth congress of the All-Un- way that they could only listen Trotskyites; however, these same advice and approval of the maindividuals took an active part jority of the Central Committee ion Communist party (Bolshe-

in the workers' movement before members or of the members of viks). Worth noting is the fact that the party line, but whom it was the revolution, during the Social- the Central Committee's Politi-The commission has become ist October Revolution itself, and cal Bureau. acquainted with a large quantity also in the consolidation of the In the most difficult period of materials in the N. K. V. D. victory of this greatest of revo- for our party and our country,

[secret police] archives and with lutions. Many of them broke Lenin considered it necessary other documents and has estabwith Trotskyism and returned to regularly to convoke congresses, lished many facts pertaining to Leninist positions. Was it necesthe fabrication of cases against party conferences, and plenary sary to annihilate such people? sessions of the Central Commit- Communists, to false accusa-We are deeply convinced that tee at which all the most im<sup>4</sup> tions, to glaring abuses of Sohad Lenin lived such an extreme portant questions were discussed cialist legality which resulted in and where resolutions, carefully the death of innocent people. It

used against many of them. worked out by the collective became apparent that many par-Such are only a few historical leaders, were approved. facts. But can it be said that

### YEAR OF INTERVENTION Lenin did not decide to use even

ally never enemies, spies, wreck-We can recall, for an example, ers, etc., but were always honest the year 1918 when the country Communists. was threatened by the attack of

They were only so stigmatized the imperialistic interventionists. In this situation the seventh and often, no longer able to bear party congress was convened in barbaric tortures, they charged themselves (at the order of the order to discuss a vitally important matter which could not be investigative judges-falsifiers) postponed, the matter of peace. with all kinds of grave and un-In 1919, while the Civil War was likely crimes. The commission It was precisely during this pressions, and terror. He acted You need only recall V. I. raging, the eighth party con- has presented to the Central period (1935-1937-1938) that the on an increasingly larger scale Lenin's fight with the Socialist gress convened, adopted a new Committee Presidium lengthy practice of mass repression and more stubbornly through Revolutionary organizers of the party program and decided such and documented materials per-

important matters as the rela- taining to mass repressions tus was born, first against the time often violating all existing counter-revolutionary kulaks in tionship with the peasant mass- against the delegates to the sevenemies of Leninism - Trotsky- norms of morality and of Soviet 1918 and with others, when es, the organization of the Red enteenth party congress and Army, the leading role of the against members of the Central Committee elected at that conthe correction of the social com- gress. These materials have been against many honest Commu- ted arbitrariness in others. Mass such methods, however, only position of the party, and other studied by the Presidium of the Central Committee.

98 OF 139 EXECUTED

It was determined that of the

accepted Lenin's New Economic teenth congress, ninety-eight with "the preparation" of ter-Policy and the historical resolu- persons, i.e., 70 per cent, were roristic acts; this deprived them "enemy of the people." This term working people, but, on the con- still in existence and were vigor- tion called, "About Party Uni- arrested and shot (mostly in of any possibility that their

party, a party built on the prinlective party leadership. Stalin's willfulness vis-a-vis that he ceased to consider either 'This means," said Lenin, "that the party and its Central Com- the Central Committee or the mittee became fully evident after party. While he still reckoned the seventeenth party congress, with the opinion of the collective before the seventeenth congress, which took place in 1934. after the complete political

party and government.

carried out its policy.

congress as the highest party

LENIN'S RECORD IS NOTED

Were our party's holy Leninist

death of Vladimir Ilyich?

pertaining to the country's de-

[World War II] and to peace-

a congress was not convened for

more than seven years.

INJUSTICES INVESTIGATED

Having at its disposal numerous data showing brutal willfulness toward party cadres, the Central Committee had created a party commission under the an ever greater degree to concontrol of the Central Commit-

Central Committee and even the tee's Presidium; it was charged members of the Political Bureau. with investigating what made possible the mass repressions Stalin thought that now he against the majority of the Cen- could decide all things alone and he treated all others in such a

ty, Government and economic

activists who were branded in

1937-38 as "enemies," were actu-

to and praise him. THE KIROV PURGES After the criminal murder of

Sergei M. Kirov, mass repressions and brutal acts of violation of Socialist legality began. On the evening of Dec. 1, 1934, on Stalin's initiative (without the approval of the Political Bureau, which was passed two 45 days later, casually) the secretary of the Presidium of the" Central Executive Committee, Abel S. Yenukidze, signed the following directive:

1. Investigative agencies are directed to speed up the cases d of those accused of the prepa-M ration or execution of acts of terror.

2. Judicial organs are directed not to hold up the execution of death sentences? pertaining to crimes of this a category in order to consider the possibility of pardon, because the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R. does not consider as possible the receiving of petitions of this" sort.

3. The organs of the Commissariat of Internal Affairs are directed to execute the death sentences against criminals of the above-mentioned category immediately after the passage of sentences.

This directive became the basis for mass acts of abuse 1937-38). (Indignation in the cases might be re-examined,

(Continued on page 4)

ing to the party's work in the 139 members and candidates of against Socialist legality. Dursphere of economic construction. the party's Central Committee ing many of the fabricated court

Lenin used severe methods In 1921, the tenth party congress who were elected at the seven- cases the accused were charged

matters.

Lenin without hesitation used

leadership.

gress was convened, which laid down guiding principles pertain-

In 1920 the ninth party con-

the most severe means against

- Page Four

# ... Text of Khrushchev's Speech

ods of the Entente.

# (Continued from page 3)

tions against them.

It must be asserted that to rounding Kirov's murder hide plicable and mysterious and sky to stop mass terror and demand a most careful examin- abolish the death penalty. Lenin ation. There are reasons for justified this important report the suspicion that the killer of at the session of the All-Union Kirov, [Leonid V.] Nikolayev, Feb. 2, 1920. was assisted by someone from among the people whose duty it was to protect the person of Kirov. A month and a half before the killing, Nikolayev was arrested on the ground of suspicious behavior, but he was released and not even searched. It is an unusually suspicious circumstance that when the Chekist [secret police member] assigned to protect Kirov was being brought for an interrogation, on Dec. 2, 1934; he was killed in a car "accident" in which no other occupants of the car were harmed. After the murder of Kirov, top functionaries of the Leningrad N.K.V.D. were given very light sentences, but in 1937 they were shot. We can assume that they were shot in order to cover the traces of the organizers of Kirov's killing. Mass repressions grew tremendously from the end of 1936 after a telegram from Stalin and [Andrei A.] Zhdanov, dated from Sochi Sept. 25, 1936, was addressed to [Lazar M.] Kaganovich. [Vyacheslav M.] Molotov and other members of the Political Bureau. The content of the telegram was as follows:

"We deem it absolutely necessary and urgent that Comrade [Nikolai I.] Yezhov be mass terror when the exploiting nominated to the post of Peo- classes had been liquidated in ple's Commissar for Internal our country and when there Affairs. [Henryk G.] Yagoda were no serious reasons for the has definitely proved himself use of extraordinary mass ter-to be incapable of unmasking ror. the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc. The O. G. P. U. is four years behind in this matter. This is noted by all party workers and but against the honest workers by the majority of the repre- of the party and of the Soviet sentatives of the N. K. V. D." Strictly speaking we should stress that Stalin did not meet castions concerning 'two-facedwith and therefore could not ness," "espionage," "sabotage," know the opinion of party work- preparation of fictitious "plots,"

who fabricated the provoca va [Chudov's wife] and others, sult of the baseless and false munist party (Bolsheviks) the attacking the Soviet Union. It . etc. This Stalinist, formulation that slanderous materials, without together with two or three mass repressions in 1937-1938. most brutal violation of Socialist is self-evident that Churchill did the "N. K. V. D. [term used in-| STALIN'S COURSE the sanction of the prosecutor It would appear that such an members from the branches of terchangeably with O. G. P. U.] QUESTIONED of the U. S. S. R., which was We are justly accusing Ye- legality, torture and oppression, not do this at all because of his terchangeably with U. G. F. U.J is four years behind" in apply-ing mass repression and that there is a necessity for "catch-ing up" with the neglected work directly pushed the N. K. V. D. wowlears on the path of mass important declaration was worth this center. . . . an examination by the Central "The case of the Leningrad finally received fifteen months zhov for the degenerate practices which led as we have seen to committee. This, however, was center has to be built solidly these questions: Could Yezhov tion of innocent people. after the arrest. viet nation. most brutally violated Soviet terrible maltreatment of the course, in the past) and the Stain? Was there an exchange we called to the Central Compressions under the pretext of legality and was accompanied Political Bureau candidate, Com- party standing of the witness willfulness and falsification. rade Eikhe, continued. arrests and executions. of opinions or a Political Bureau mittee Presidium session and strengthen the position of the combatting "two-facedness." will play more than a small decision concerning this? No, interrogated the investigative British Empire. Just the same, We should state that this Eikhe was forced under tor-On Feb. 2, 1940, Eikhe was role. Comrade [Pavel P.] Postyshev formulation was also forced on most ably expressed the se ture to sign ahead of time a brought before the court. Here there was not, as there was none judge Rodos, who in his time Churchill affirmed in his writprotocol of his confession pre- he did not confess any guilt and the February-March plenary ses- doubts. He said: regarding other cases of this investigated and interrogated ings that he sought to "warning N.K.V.D. INSTRUCTIONS type. Could Yezhov have decided Kosior, Chubar and Kosaryev. Stalin and call his attention to ar pared by the investigative QUOTED sion of the Central Committee said as follows: "I have philosophized that the such important matters as the He is a vile person, with the the danger which threatened judges, in which he and several of the All-Union Communist severe years of fighting have "You, yourself," said Zakov- fate of such eminent party fig- brain of a bird, and morally com- him." "In all the so-called confesparty (Bolsheviks) in 1937. The other eminent party workers sions of mine there is not one sky, "will not need to invent ures? passed, party members who were accused of anti-Soviet acplenary resolution approved it on pletely degenerate. And it was Churchill stressed this reletter written by me with the anything. The N. K. V. D. will have lost their backbones have the basis of Yezhov's report, tivity. this man who was deciding the peatedly in his dispatches of exception of my signatures prepare for you a ready outline broken down or have joined BLAME PLACED On Oct. 1, 1939. Eikhe sent "Lessons flowing from the harmunder the protocols which were for every branch of the center; fate of prominent party workers; April 18 and in the following<sup>913</sup> the camp of the enemy; ON. STALIN ful activity, diversion and espiohe was making judgments also days. However, Stalin took no healthy elements have fought his declaration to Stalin in which forced from me. I have made you will have to study it care-No, it would be a display of concerning the politics in these heed of these warnings. What is nage of the Japanese-Germanhe categorically denied his guilt my confession under pressure fully and to remember well all for the party. These were the Trotskvite agents," stating: and asked for an examination naivete to consider this the work matters, because having established more, Stalin ordered that no vears of industrialization and from the investigative judge questions and answers which collectivization. I never thought of his case. In the declaration of Yezhov alone. It is clear that lished their "crime," he provided credence be given to information" "The Plenum of the Central who from the time of my ar- the court might ask. This case he wrote: rest tormented me. After that will be ready in four-five Stalin, and that without his or important political implications voke the initiation of military "? these matters were decided by therewith materials from which of this sort, in order not to pro-13 Committee of the All-Union it possible that after this se-"There is no more bitter mis-I began to write all this non- months, or perhaps a half year. Communist party (Bolsheviks) vere era had passed Karnov erv than to sit in the jail of a sense. The most important During all this time you will be ders and his sanction Yezhov considers that all facts recould be drawn. and people like him would find operations. government for which I have thing for me is to tell the preparing yourself so that you could not have done this. vealed during the investigathemselves in the camp of the The question arises whether a We must assert that informacourt, the party and Stalin will not compromise the inves-We have examined the cases tion into the matter of an man with such an intellect could tion of this sort concerning the always fought.' enemy, [Karpoy was a worker and have rehabilitated Kosior, alone make the investigation in threat of German armed invasion that I am not guilty. I have tigation and yourself. Your anti-Soviet Trotskyite center in the Ukrainian Central Com-SECOND DECLARATION Rudzutak, Postvshev, Kosarvev and of its followers in the never been guilty of any future will depend on how the mittee whom Postyshev a manner to prove the guilt of of Soviet territory was coming." CITED and others. For what causes provinces show that the Peoconspiracy. I will die believing trial goes and on its results. If people such as Kosior and others. in also from our own military knew well.] And now, accord were they arrested and senple's Commissariat of Internal in the truth of party policy you begin to lie and to testify No, he could not have done it and diplomatic sources; however, 13 A second declaration of Eikhe ing to the testimony, it appears tenced? The review of evidence Affairs has fallen behind at as I have believed in it during falsely, blame yourself. If you that Karpov was recruited in has been preserved which he without proper directives. At because the leadership was conshows that there was no reason least four years in the attemnt the Central Committee Presid- ditioned against such informa-319 1934 by the Trotskyites. I persent to Stalin Oct. 27, 1939. In my whole life." manage to endure it, you will for this. They, like many others, to unmask these most inexorasonally do not believe that in it he cited facts very convincingium session he told us: "I was tion, such data were dispatched" On Feb. 4 Eikhe was shot. It save your head and we will feed were arrested without the prose-1934 an honest party member | ly and countered the slanderous ble enemies of the people." has been definitely established and clothe you at the governtold that Kosior and Chubar with fear and assessed with re-The mass repressions at this who had trod the long road of accusations made against him now that Eikhe's case was fab- ment's cost until your death." cutor's knowledge. were people's enemies and for servation. time were made under the slo-In such a situation there is no unrelenting fight against ene- arguing that this provocatory this reason, I, as an investigaricated; he has been posthu-This is the kind of vile things Thus, for instance, information<sup>1,2</sup> need for any sanction, for what tive judge, had to make them gan of a fight against the Trotmies for the party and for so- accusation was on the one hand mously rehabilitated. which were then practiced. sort of a sanction could there be confess that they are enemies." sent from Berlin May 6, 1941 by skyites. Did the Trotskyites at cialism, would now be in the the work of real Trotskyites Comrade [Yan E.] Rudzutak, (Movement in the hall.) the Soviet military attaché, this time actually constitute when Stalin decided everything? camp of the enemies. I do not whose arrests he had sanctioned Even more widely was the He was the chief prosecutor in (Indignation in the hall.) Capt. Vorontsov, stated: candidate member of the Politisuch a danger to our party and believe it. . . I cannot imagine as First Secretary of the West cal Bureau, member of the party falsification of cases practiced these cases. Stalin not only He could do this only through "Soviet citizen Bozer . . . to the Soviet state? We should how it would be possible to Siberian Krai Party Committee since 1905, who spent ten years in the provinces. The N.K.V.D. agreed to, but on his own initiacommunicated to the deputy long tortures, which he did, retravel with the party during and who conspired to take re-in a Czarist hard-labor camp; headquarters of the Sverdlovsk tive, issued arrest orders. We ceiving detailed instructions recall that in 1927 on the eve naval attache that according of the fifteenth party congress to a statement of a certain completely retracted in court Oblast "discovered" the so-called must say this so that the dele- from Beria. We must say that only about 4,000 votes were cast 1934, join the Trotskyites. It hand, the result of the base falthe confession which was forced "Ural uprising staff" - an or- gates to the congress can clearly at the Central Committee Pre-German officer from Hitler's for the Trotskyite-Zinovievite opis an odd thing." (Movement sification of materials by the infrom him. The protocol of the gan of the bloc of rightists, undertake and themselves assess Headquarters, Germany is presidium session he cynically deposition, while there were 724,vestigative judges. Eikhe wrote in the hall). Trotskyites, Socialist Revolu- this and draw the proper conclu- clared: "I thought that I was session of the Collegium of the paring to invade the U.S.S.R. 000 for the party line. During in his declaration: Using Stalin's formulation, tionaries, church leaders-whose sions. Supreme Military Court contains May 14 through Finland, the the ten years that passed be- namely that the closer we are to executing the orders of the "On Oct. 25 of this year I the following statement by Rudchief supposedly was the Sec-Baltic countries and Latvia. was informed that the investi-Facts prove that many abuses party." In this manner Stalin's tween the fifteenth party con- socialism the more enemies we retary of the Sverdlovsk Oblast were made on Stalin's orders orders concerning the use of At the same time Moscow and gress and the February-March will have, and using the resolugation in my case has been Party Committee and member without reckoning with any methods of physical pressure Leningrad will be heavily Central Committee Plenum, Trot- tion of the February-March Cen-"The only plea which he concluded and I was given acplaces before the court is that of the Central Committee, All- norms of party and Soviet legal- against the arrested were in raided and paratroopers skyism was completely disarm- tral Committee Plenum passed cess to the materials of this Union Communist party (Bol- ity. Stalin was a very distrust- practice executed. landed in border cities." ed; many former Trotskyites on the basis of Yezhov's report the Central Committee of the investigation. Had I been sheviks), Kabakov, who had ful man, sickly suspicious; we These and many other facts In his report of May 22, 1941, had changed their former views \_\_\_\_\_the provocateurs who had in-All-Union Communist party guilty of only one-hundredth been a party member since 1914. knew this from our work with show that all norms of correct and worked in the various sec- filtrated the state security orthe deputy military attaché in (Bolsheviks) be informed that of the crimes with which I am The investigative materials of him. He could look at a man party solution of problems were tors building socialism. It is gans together with consciencethere is in the N.K.V.D. an Berlin, Khlopov, communicated charged, I would not have that time show that in almost and say: "Why are your eyes invalidated and everything was clear that in the situation of less careerists began to protect as yet not liquidated center that " ... the attack of the Gerdared to send you this preall krais, oblasts and republics so shifty today," or "Why are dependent upon the willfulness Socialist victory there was no with the party name the mass man army is reportedly schedwhich is craftily manufacturexecution declaration; howthere supposedly existed "right- you turning so much today and of one man. basis for mass terror in the terror against party cadres, cauled for June 15. but it is posing cases, which forces innoever. I have not been guilty ist Trotskyite, espionage-terror avoiding to look me directly in cent persons to confess; there sible that it may begin in the country. dres of the Soviet state and the of even one of the things with and diversionary-sabotage or- the eyes?" The sickly suspicion STALIN'S ROLE IN WAR is not opportunity to prove which I am charged and my first days of June." ordinary Soviet citizens. It ganizations and centers" and created in him a general dis-JUSTIFICATION one's nonparticipation in crimes should suffice to say that the heart is clean of even the that the heads of such organ- trust even toward eminent party The power accumulated in WARNING FROM LONDON FOR TERROR to which the confessions of number of arrests based on shadow of baseness. I have the hands of one person, Stalin, workers whom he had known lied to serious consequences durizations as a rule-for no known RECALLED various persons testify. The in-Stalin's report at the Februcharges of counter-revolutionary never in my life told you a reason — were first secretaries for years. Everywhere and in vestigative methods are such ary-March Central Committee crimes had grown ten times beword of falsehood and now, ing the Great Patriotic War. A cable from our London Emof oblast or republic Commuthat they force people to lie everything he saw "enemies," Plenum in 1937, "Deficiencies of tween 1936 and 1937. finding my two feet in the bassy dated June 18, 1941, When we look at many of our nist party committee or Central "two-facers" and "spies." It is known that brutal willand to slander entirely innoparty work and methods for the grave, I am also not lying. My novels, films and historical stated: Committees. (Movement in the liquidation of the Trotskyites fulness was practiced against cent persons in addition to Possessing unlimited power, whole case is a typical exam-"scientific studies," the role of "As of now Cripps is deeply so hall.) he indulged in great willfulness and other two-facers," contained leading party workers. The parthose who already stand acple of provocation, slander and Stalin in the Patriotic War apconvinced of the inevitability or Many thousands of honest and and choked a person morally an attempt at theoretical jus- ty statute, approved at the sevcused. violation of the elementary innocent Communists have died and physically. A situation was pears to be entirely improbable. of armed conflict between ny He asks the court that he be tification of the mass terror pol- enteenth party congress, was basis of revolutionary legal-Stalin had foreseen everything. Germany and the U.S.S.R. allowed to inform the Central as a result of this monstrous created were one could not exity. "The confessions which were icy under the pretext that as we based on Leninist principles exwhich will begin not later than The Soviet Army, on the basis Committee of the All-Union falsification of such "cases," as press one's own will. march forward toward socialism pressed at the tenth party con-Communist party (Bolshe- a result of the fact that all When Stalin said that one or of a strategic plan prepared by the middle of June. Accordclass war must allegedly sharpen. gress. It stated that to apply made part of my file are not viks) about all this in writing. kinds of slanderous "confes- another should be arrested, it Stalin long before, used the tacing to Cripps, the Germans in extreme method such as ex-Stalin asserted that both hisonly absurd but contain some He assures the court that he sions" were accepted, and as a was necessary to accept on tics of so-called "active defense," have presently concentrated tory and Lenin taught him this. clusion from the party against slander toward the Central personally had never any evil result of the practice of forc- faith that he was an "enemy of i. e., tactics which, as we know, 147 divisions (including air in Actually, Lenin taught that a Central Committee member. Committee of the All-Union designs in regard to the policy ing accusations against oneself the people." Meanwhile, Beria's allowed the Germans to come up of our party because he had and others. In the same manthe application of revolutionary against a Central Committee Communist party (Bolsheviks) and toward the Council (Bolshe-(Continued on page 5) violence is necessitated by the candidate, and against a mem-

resistance of the exploiting ber of the Party Control Comeven when they stated before classes, and this referred to the mission, "it is necessary to call the court that their "confes- era when the exploiting classes a Central Committee Plenum and sions" were secured by force, existed and were powerful. As to invite to the Plenum all Cenand when, in a convincing man- soon as the nation's political tral Committee candidate memref; they disproved the accusa- situation had improved, when in bers and all members of the January, 1920, the Red Army Party Control Commission"; only took Rostov and thus won a if two-thirds of the members of this day the circumstances sure most important victory over such a general assembly of re-[Anton I.] Denikin, Lenin in- sponsible party leaders find it many things which are inex- structed [Felix E.] Dzherzhin- necessary, only then can a Central Committee member or can-

> ILLEGAL OUSTERS CHARGED Central Executive Committee

The majority of the Central Committee members and candi-"We were forced to use terdates elected at the seventeenth ror because of the terror congress and arrested in 1937practiced by the Entente, when 1938 were expelled from the strong world powers threw party illegally through the their hordes against us, not brutal abuse of the party statavoiding any type of conduct. ute, because the question of We would not have lasted two their expulsion was never studdays had we not answered ied at the Central Committee these attempts of officers and Plenum. White Guardists in a merciless

didate be expelled.

Now when the cases of some fashion; this meant the use of of these so-called "spies" and terror, but this was forced "saboteurs" were examined it upon us by the terrorist methwas found that all their cases were fabricated. Confessions of "But as soon as we attained guilt of many arrested and a decisive victory, even before charged with enemy activity the end of the war, immediatewere gained with the help of ly after taking Rostov, we

cruel and inhuman tortures. gave up the use of the death At the same time Stalin, as penalty and thus proved that we have been informed by memwe intend to execute our own bers of the Political Bureau of program in the manner that that time, did not show them we promised. We say that the the statements of many accused application of violence flows political activists when they reout of the decision to smother tracted their confessions before the exploiters, the big landthe military tribunal and asked owners and the capitalists; as for an objective examination of soon as this was accomplished their cases. There were many we gave up the use of all exsuch declarations, and Stalin traordinary methods. We have doubtlessly knew of them. proved this in practice."

The Central Committee con-Stalin deviated from these siders it absolutely necessary to clear and plain precepts of Lenin. inform the congress of many Stalin put the party and the such fabricated "cases" against N. K. V. D. up to the use of the members of the party's Central Committee elected at the seventeenth party congress.

An example of vile provocation, of odious falsification and of criminal violation of revolutionary legality is the case of This terror was actually dithe former candidate for the rected not at the remnants of Central Committee Political Buthe defeated exploiting classes reau, one of the most eminent workers of the party and of the Soviet Government, Comrade state; against them were made Robert I. Eikhe, who was a parlying, slanderous and absurd acty member since 1905, (Commotion in the hall.)

Comrade Eikhe was arrested April 29, 1938 on the basis of

of People's Commissars bethe Central Committee of the Commission, which was called cadre losses to the party. All-Union Communist party into being in accordance with The vicious practice was con-(Bolsheviks) and of the Coun- Lenin's concept for the purpose doned of having the N. K. V. D. cil of People's Commissars of fighting for party unity. In prepare lists of persons whose which were not made on my this manner fell the chief of this cases were under the jurisdicinitiative and without my par- highly authoritative party organ, tion of the Military Collegium ticipation are presented as hos- a victim of brutal willfulness: he and whose sentences were pre- bringing him to a state of untile acts of counter-revolution- was not even called before the pared in advance. Yezhov would consciousness, deprivation of his ary organizations made at my Central Committee's Political send these lists to Stalin per- judgment, taking away of his suggestion.

most disgraceful part of my was pronounced on him in twen- 1938, 383 such lists containing life and to my really grave ty minutes and he was shot. the names of many thousands of guilt against the party and (Indignation in the hall.) After careful examination of and economic workers were sent against you. This is my confession of counter-revolution- the case in 1955 it was estab- to Stalin. He approved these

ary activity. . . The case is lished that the accusation against lists. as follows: not being able to Rudzutak was false and that it CASES NOW BEING suffer the tortures to which I was based on slanderous mate- REVIEWED was submitted by Ushakov and rials. Rudzutak has been re-Nikolayev — and especially habilitated posthumously.

by the first one — who utiliz-ed the knowledge that my N. K. V. D. workers manufac-great part of them are being Jan. 20, 1939, to the committee broken ribs have not properly tured various fictitious "antimended and have caused me Soviet centers" and "blocs" with less and falsified. Suffice it to the Central Committees of selves. But these positive stategreat pain - I have been forc- the help of provocatory methods say that from 1954 to the pres- republic Communist parties, to ments were not based in all ed to accuse myself and others. is seen from the confession of ent time the Military Collegium the Peoples Commissars of In-

sion has been suggested or ber since 1906, who was arrested habilitated 7,679 persons, many of N. K. V. D. organizations. dictated by Ushakov, and the in 1937 by the Leningrad of whom were rehabilitated post- This telegram stated: remainder is my reconstruc- N. K. V. D. humously.

tion of NKVD materials from During the examination in Mass arrests of party, Soviet, Western Siberia for which I 1955 of the Komarov case, Roeconomic and military workers assumed all responsibility. If zenblum revealed the following caused tremendous harm to our some part of the story which fact: When Rozenblum was ar- country and to the cause of So-Ushakov fabricated and which rested in 1937 he was subjectcialist advancement.

I signed did not properly hang ed to terrible torture, during Mass repressions had a negatogether, I was forced to sign which he was ordered to confess tive influence on the moral-poanother variation. The same false information concerning litical condition of the party, thing was done to Rukhimo- himself and other persons. He created a situation of uncervich, who was at first desig- was then brought to the office tainty, contributed to the nated as a member of the re- of Leonid Zakovsky, who offered spreading of unhealthy suspiserve net and whose name him freedom on condition that cion, and sowed distrust among was removed without he make before the court a false Communists. All sorts of slanlater telling me anything about it; confession fabricated in 1937 by derers and careerists were acthe same was also done with the N.K.V.D. concerning "sabotive.

the leader of the reserve net, tage, espionage, and diversion supposedly created by Buk-harin in 1935. At first I wrote grad." (Movement in the hall.) my name in, and then I was With unbelievable cynicism Zainstructed to insert Mezhlauk. kovsky told about the vile "me-There were other similar in- dianism" for the crafty creation of fabricated "anti-Soviet plots." cidents.

"I am asking and begging "In order to illustrate it to you that you again examine me," stated Rozenblum, "Zamy case and this not for the kovsky gave me several possible purpose of sparing me but in variants of the organization of order to unmask the vile prov- this center and of its branches. ocation which like a snake After he detailed the organizawound itself around many pertion, Zakovsky told me that the sons in a great degree due to N. K. V. D. would prepare the my meanness and criminal case of this center, remarking forward toward socialism and slander. I have never betrayed that the trial would be public. "Before the court were to be country's defense would have you or the party. I know that I perish because of vile and brought four or five members been much more successful were mean work of the enemies of of this center: Chudov, Ugarov, it not for the tremendous loss the name of the Central Comthe party and of the people, Smorodin, Pozern, Shaposhniko- in the cadres suffered as a re- mittee of the All-Union Com- armed units with the intent of

always agreed with the party ner were fabricated the "cases" state security, outdid itself in Using such tactics the Soviet policy pertaining to all spheres against eminent party and state proving the guilt of the arrested Army, supposedly, thanks only of economic and cultural ac- workers - Kosior, Chubar, and the truth of materials which to Stalin's genius, turned to the Postyshev, Kosaryev, and others. it falsified. And what proofs were offer- emy. The epic victory gained

This declaration of Rudzutak In those years repressions on was ignored, despite the fact a mass scale were applied which ed? The confessions of the ar- through the armed might of the that Rudzutak was in his time were based on nothing tangible rested, and the investigative Land of the Soviets, through our cause correct resolutions of the chief of the Central Control and which resulted in heavy judges accepted these "confes- heroic people, is ascribed in this

sions." And how is it possible type of novel, film and "scienthat a person confesses to crimes tific study" as being completely. Bureau because Stalin did not sonally for his approval of the human dignity. In this manner I am now alluding to the want to talk to him. Sentence proposed punishment. In 1937- were "confessions" acquired.

party, Soviet, Komsomol. Army When the wave of mass ar-

rests began to recede in 1939,

voided because they were base- secretaries of oblasts and krais, win without much harm to our-"The majority of my confes- Comrade Rozenblum, party mem- of the Supreme Court has re- ternal Affairs and to the heads would actually guarantee the im-

Resolutions of the January

Plenum of the Central Commit-

tee. All-Union Communist party

brought some measure of im-

provement to the party organi-

zations. However, widespread

repression also existed in 1938.

at its disposal such great moral-

political strength was it possible

for it to survive the difficult

events in 1937-1938 and to edu-

cate new cadres. There is, how-

toward the preparation of the

Only because our party has

had

(Bolsheviks), in 1938

the All-Union Communist

which he has not committed? due to the strategic genius of, Only in one way — because of Stalin. application of physical methods We have to analyze this matof pressuring him, tortures, ter carefully because it has a ... tremendous significance not only from the historical, but especially from the political, educational and practical point of a view.

What are the facts of this matter?

Before the war our press and all our political - educational work was characterized by its and the leaders of territorial bragging tone: when an enemy party organizations began to violates the holy Soviet soil, accuse the N. K. V. D. workers then for every blow of the en-A large part of these cases pressure on the arrested, Stalin them will answer with three blows and we will battle the areas on concrete facts, which munity of our borders.

> STALIN'S EXCUSE "The Central Committee of DISPUTED

party (Bolsheviks) explains During the war and after the that the application of meth- war Stalin put forward the thesis's' ods of physical pressure in that the tragedy which our na-id N. K. V. D. practice is per- tion experienced in the first part missible from 1937 on in ac- of the war was the result of he cordance with permission of "unexpected" attack of theme the Central Committee of the Germans against the Sovieton All-Union Communist party Union. But, Comrades, this isid (Bolsheviks). It is known that completely untrue.

As soon as Hitler came toob all bourgeois intelligence servpower in Germany he assigned ices use methods of physical influence against the represento himself the task of liquidation tatives of the Socialist prole- ing communism. The Fascistsia tariat and that they use them were saying this openly; they in their most scandalous forms. did not hide their plans. To at-"The question arises as to tain this aggressive end all sorts" why the Socialist intelligence of pacts and blocs were created, service should be more hu- such as the famous Berlin-Rome-lin manitarian against the mad Tokyo Axis. Many facts from a agents of the bourgeoisie, the pre-war period clearly against the deadly enemies of showed that Hitler was going the working class and of the all out to begin a war against collective farm workers. The the Soviet state and that he had Central Committee of the All- concentrated larged armed units, Union Communist party (Bol- together with armored units, sheviks) considers that physi- near the Soviet borders.

cal pressure should still be Documents which have now been published show that by used obligatorily, as an exception applicable to known April 3, 1941 [Sir Winston] and obstinate enemies of the Churchill, through his Ambaspeople, as a method both justi- sador to the U.S.S.R. [Sir fiable and appropriate." Stafford] Cripps, personally Thus, Stalin had sanctioned in warned Stalin that the Germansad had begun regrouping theirub

friendly feeling toward the So-to

# THE MILITANT

tivity.'

offensive and subdued the en-

TORTURE DEFENDED BY STALIN

# Monday, June 11, 1956

# THE MILITANT

# .. Text of Khrushchev's Speech

# (Continued from page 4)

the Soviet borders." Despite these particularly fensive against the Soviet Union personnel losses. grave warnings, the necessary on the night of June 22 at 3 and to prevent it from being this warning was ignored. caught unawares.

Did we have time and the capabilities for such prepara- army commanders, declarations tions? Yes, we had the time of deserters from the enemy and capabilities. Our industry aimy, and even the open hostilwas already so developed that ity of the enemy. Is this an corroborate what I will tell it was capable of fully supplying | example of the alertness of the you. the Soviet Army with every chief of the party and of the KHARKOV USED AS thing that it needed. This is state at this particularly signiproven by the fact that although | ficant historical moment? during the war we lost almost half of our industry and important industrial and food production areas as the result of enemy occupation of the Ukraine, hours and days the enemy had Northern Caucasus and other destroyed in our border regions because the real situation at western parts of the country, a large part of our air force, that time would have threatened to organize the production of he annihilated large numbers of miliary equipment in the east- our military cadres and disern parts of the country, install organized our military leaderthere equipment taken from the ship; consequently we could not Stalih, stating that the situasupply our armed forces with ing deep into the country. everything which was necessary to destroy the enemy.

Had our industry been mobilized properly and in time to sup- Stalin's annihilation of many materiel, our wartime losses ical workers during 1937-41 besmaller. Such mobilization had through slanderous accusations. not been, however, started in During these years repressions time. And already in the first were instituted against certain enough artillery, tanks and and extending to the higher mili- begged him: planes to throw the enemy back. tary centers. During this time produced excellent models of tanks and artillery pieces before Spain and in the Far East was the situation which has develthe war. But mass production of almost completely liquidated. all this was not organized and as a matter of fact we started to modernize our military equipment only on the eve of the war. As a result, at the time of the enemy's invasion of the Soviet land we did not have sufficient ranks and even soldiers in the on it. quantities either of old machinery which was no longer used for machinery which we had planned to introduce into armament production.

The situation with anti-aircraft artillery was especially had: we did not organize the production of anti-tank ammunition. Many fortified regions had proven to be indefensible as soon as they were attacked, because the old arms had been withdrawn and new ones were not to survive despite severe tor- this operation. yet available there.

RIFLES FOR ARMY LACKING

force and service units) along that the German armies had section of the front and which demanded incessant frontal at- the Soviet soldiers, of our com- not have happened. received orders to start the of- could not help but result in huge tacks and the capture of one vil- manders and political workers We must state that after the

the Southwestern front and who

state at this particularly signi- ILLUSTRATION

When there developed an ex- who contributed so much to the West during the fight against And what were the results of eptional serious situation for victory over the enemy, because the threat of Fascist subjuga- by the abject provocateur and this carefree attitude, this dis-our army in 1942 in the Kharkov Stalin excluded every possibility tion which loomed before us will vile enemy, Beria, who had mur-regard of clear facts? The result region, we had correctly decided that services rendered at the that services rendered at the live centuries and millenia in the dered thousands of Communists and loval Soviet people. The elewas that already in the first to drop an operation, whose ob- front should be credited to anyjective was to encircle Kharkov, one but himself.

artillery and other equipment; our army with fatal consequences if this operation were continued.

prevent the enemy from march- Starm, starting one of operational plans so that the enemy Very grievous consequences; would be prevented from liquiespecially in reference to the dating a sizable concentration

beginning of the war, followed of our army. ply the army with the necessary military commanders and poli- Stalin rejected our suggestion would have been decidedly cause of his suspiciousness and the operation aimed at the enand issued the order to continue circlement of Kharkov, despite the fact that at this time many days of the war it became evi-dent that our army was badly armed, that we did not have armed, that we did not have Soviet science and technology the cadre of leaders who had a map (Vasilevsky is present

> oped." The policy of large-scale re-We should note that Stalin pressions against the military planned operations on a globe. cadres led also to undermined (Animation in the hall.) Yes military discipline, because for comrades, he used to take the several years officers of all globe and trace the frontline

party and Komsomol cells were I said to Comrade Vasilevsky: taught to "unmask" their su- "Show him the situation on a armament production or of new periors as hidden enemies. map; in the present situation we (Movement in the hall.) It is cannot continue the operation natural that this caused a nega- which was planned. The old detive influence on the state of cision must be changed for the military discipline in the first good of the cause."

war period. Vasilevsky replied saying that And, as you know, we had be- Stalin had already studied this fore the war excellent military problem and that he, Vasilevsky, in the hall.) cadres, which were unquestion- would not see Stalin further conably loyal to the party and to cerning this matter because the HISTORICAL FILMS the fatherland. Suffice it to say latter did not want to hear any DISCREDITED that those of them who managed arguments on the subject of

crossed our border and stated tion the real situation at a given trating behind his back, Stalin Immortal are the services of an affair as well as others would in Georgia under Soviet rule.

I will allow myself in this con- this we paid with great losses considerable part of the army more complicated. Stalin became steps were not taken to prepare o'clock. Stalin was informed nection to bring out one charac- until our generals, on whose in the first war months they did even more capricious, irritable grows, the source from which the country properly for defense about this immediately, but even teristic fact that illustrates how shoulders rested the whole weight not lose their heads and were and brutel; in particular his Stalin directed operations at the of conducting the war, succeed- able to reorganize during the suspicion grew. His persecution As you see, everything was fronts. There is present at this ed in changing the situation and progress of combat; they cre- mania reached unbelievable diignored; warnings of certain congress Marshal Bagramyan, shifting to flexible maneuver ated and toughened during the mensions. Many workers were who was once the Chief of Oper- operations, which immediately progress of the war a strong becoming enemies before his very ations in the Headquarters of brought serious changes at the and heroic army and not only eyes. After the war Stalin sepafront favorable to us.

fact that after our great victory smashed him. over the enemy which cost us so

much, Stalin began to down-

Stalin was very much interested in the assessment of Comrade Zhukov as a military leader. He asked me often for my opin-

time; he is a good general and a good military leader." After the war Stalin began to plause.)

tell all kinds of nonsense about MINORITIES WERE EXILED Zhukov, among others the following, "You praised Zhukov, but he does not deserve it. It is said that before each operation at the front Zhukov used to behave as follows: he used to take a handful of earth, smell it and say, 'We can begin the attack.' or the opposite, 'the planned op-

eration cannot be carried out',' I stated at that time, "Comrade Stalin. I do pot know who invented this, but it is not true."

and military talents of Marshal Zhukov.

self as a great leader. In various ways he tried to inculcate in the people the version that all victories gained by the Soviet na-

tion during the great patriotic daring and genius of Stalin and of no one else. Exactly like Kuzma Kryuchkov [a famous]

In the same vein, let us take, chen and Ingush peoples were

for instance, our historical and deported and the Chechentures to which they were sub- After my talk with Vasilevsky military films and some literary Ingush Autonomous Republic party of the Soviet Union, were jected in the prisons, have from I telephoned to Stalin at his creations; they make us feel was liquidated. In April, 1944, the first war days shown them- villa. But Stalin did not answer sick. Their true objective is the all Balkars were deported to vember 1951 and in March 1952. selves real patriots and heroical- the telephone and Malenkov was propagation of the theme of faraway places from the terri- These resolutions were made disappear." This pertained, alas, not only ly fought for the glory of the at the receiver. I told Comrade praising Stalin as a military tory of the Kabardino-Balkar without prior discussion with the

brave youth contributed im- tee Political Bureau, affairs of about 39,000 students, this is will shorten you by a head. measurably at the front and at this nature would have been ex- eight times more than in Tur- (Tumult in the hall.) home to the defense of the So- amined there in accordance with key (for each 1,000 inhabitants). viet fatherland and to the an- party practice, and all pertinent The prosperity of the working nihilation of the enemy. facts assessed; as a result such people has grown tremendously

It is clear that as the economy and culture develop, and as the

lage after another. Because of of all ranks; after the loss of a war the situation became even stood off pressure of the strong rated himself from the collective

and lawlessness. All of this hap-All the more shameful was the and cunning enemy but also even more. Everything was depened under the "genial" leadership of Stalin, "the great son of cided by him alone without any the Georgian nation," as Geor-The magnificent and heroic consideration for anyone or anygians liked to refer to Stalin. deeds of hundreds of millions of thing.

grade many of the commanders people of the East and of the This unbelievable suspicion (Animation in the hall.) showed itself not only in decisions concerning the internal the international relations of the memory of thankful humanity. and loyal Soviet people. The ele-Soviet Union. viction of Voznesensky and Kuz-The main role and the main netsov allarmed Berla. As we credit for the victorious ending have now proven, it had been of the war belongs to our Com- precisely Beria who had "sugmunist party, to the armed gested" to Stalin the fabrication ion of Zhukov. I told him then, forces of the Soviet Union, and by him and by his confidants of lin played here. The "Yugoslav "I have known Zhukov for a long to the tens of millions of Soviet materials in the form of declarapeople raised by the party. tions and anonymous letters, and

(Thunderous and prolonged ap\_ in the form of various rumors and talks. comrades. The party's Central Committee has examined this so-called Comrades. let us reach for "Leningrad Affair"; persons who some other facts. The Soviet innocently suffered are now re-Union is justly considered as a habilitated and honor has been model of a multi-national state restored to the glorious Leninbecause we have in practice asgrad party organization. Abakusured the equality and friendmov and others who had fabriship of all nations which live cated this affair were brought before a court; their trial took All the more monstrous are place in Leningrad and they received what they deserved. The question arises: Why is it that we see the truth of this affair only now, and why did we not do something earlier, during Stalin's life, in order to prevent the loss of innocent lives? It was because Stalin personally supervised the "Leningrad Affair," and the majority of the Political cow, I was invited to visit Stalin portation action was not dic- Bureau members did not, at that time, know all of the circumstances in these matters, and

> MINGRELIAN 'PLOT' CITED When Stalin received certain materials from Beria and Abakunov, without examining these slanderous materials, he ordered an investigation of the "affair" With this their fate was sealed. the case of the Mingrelian nationalist organization, which supposedly existed in Georgia. As is known, resolutions by the Central Committee, Communist

made concerning this case in No-

- Page Five

triotic war at the fronts: our tee and in the Central Commit higher learning, which have confessions from the doctors we

Stalin personally called the investigative judge, gave him instructions, advised him on which investigative methods hould be used; these methods vere simple-beat, beat and, once again, beat.

Socialist consciousness of the working masses in Georgia Shortly after the doctors were arrested we members of the Political Bureau received protools from the doctors; confesions of guilt. After distributing hese protocols Stalin told us, You are blind like young kitens; what will happen without ne? The country will perish because you do not know how to 'ecognize enemies."

The case was so presented hat no one could verify the "acts on which the investigation was based. There was no possi-The willfulness of Stalin ility of trying to verify facts by contacting those who had life of the country but also in made the confessions of guilt. We felt, however, that the

ase of the arrested doctors was The July Plenum of the Cenquestionable. We knew some of tral Committee studied in detail these people personally because the reasons for the development | they had once treated us. When of conflict with Yugoslavia. It we examined this "case" after was a shameful role which Sta- Stalin's death, we found it to be fabricated from beginning to Affair" contained no problems end.

This ignominous "case" was that could not have been solved through party discussions among set up by Stalin: he did not, however, have the time in which to There was no significant basis bring it to an end (as he confor the development of this "afceived that end), and for this fair," it was completely possible reason-the doctors are still alive. to have prevented the rupture Now all have been rehabilitated. of relations with that country. They are working in the same This does not mean, however, places they were working before: that the Yugoslav leaders did they treat top individuals, not not make mistakes or did not excluding members of the Govhave shortcomings. But these ernment; they have our full conmistakes and shortcomings were fidence; and they execute their magnified in a monstrous manduties honestly, as they did be-

ner by Stalin, which resulted in fore. a break of relations with a In organizing the various dirty friendly country. and shameful cases, a very base I recall the first days when role was played by the rabid

the conflict between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia began artifically to be blown up. Once, when I came from Kiev to Mos-

bourgeois nationalism draws its

As it developed, there was no

nationalistic organization , ir

Georgia. Thousands of innocent

persons fell victim of willfulness

strength evaporates.

'FALL' OF TITO PLEDGED BY STALIN

answered: "I will shake my little finger-and there will be no more Tito. He will fall."

"shaking of the little finger." This statement reflected Stalin's Instructive in the same way is mania for greatness, but he acted just that way: "I will shake

little finger once more and Postyshev and Chubar will be no more"; "I will shake my little finger again-and Voznesensky. Kuznetsov and many others will

who, pointing to the copy of a letter lately sent to Tito, asked me, "Have you read this?"

Not waiting for my reply he

We have dearly paid for this

my little finger-and there will KAMINSKY SLAYING be no Kosior"; "I will shake my IS NOTED

service. But the Central Committee Plenum had barely con-

enemy of our party, an agent of a foreign intelligence service -Beria, who had stolen into Stalin's confidence. In what way could this provocateur gain such a position in the party and in the state, so as to become the First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union and a member of the Central Committee Political Bureau? It has now been estab-

lished that this villain had climbed up the Government ladder over an untold number of corpses. Were there any signs that

Beria was an enemy of the party? Yes, there were.

Already in 1937, at a Central Committee Plenum, former People's Commissar of Health, Kaminsky, said that Beria worked for the Mussavat intelligence

But this did not happen to

the acts whose initiator was Stalin and which are rude violations of the basic Leninist from their native place of whole nations, together with all Communists and Komsomols In this connection Stalin very Communists and Komsomols energetically popularized himtions.

It is possible that Stalin him- principles of the nationality self invented these things for the policy of the Soviet State. We purpose of minimizing the role refer to the mass deportations

in our great fatherland.

tated by any military consideracould not therefore intervene.

Thus, already at the end of 1943, when there occurred a war were due to the courage, permanent break-through at the fronts of the great patriotic war benefiting the Soviet Union, a decision was taken and executed Cossack who performed heroic concerning the deportation of feats against the Germans], he all the Karachai from the lands put one dress on seven persons on which they lived. In the same of Voznesensky and Kuznetsov. at the same time. (Animation period, at the end of December, 1943, the same lot befell the whole population of the Kalmyk

Autonomous Republic. In March, 1944, all the Che-

(Thunderous applause)

tanks, artillery and planes. fatherland.

I have here in mind such com- from the front and that I wanted At the outbreak of the war we did not even have sufficient rades as Rokossovsky (who, as to 'speak personally to Stalin. numbers of rifles to arm the you know, had been jailed), Gor- Stallin informed me through mobilized manpower. I recall batov, Meretskov (who is a dele- Malenkov that I should speak that in those days I telephoned gate at the present congress), with Malenkov. to Comrade Malenkov from Kiev Podlas (he was an excellent com- I stated for the second time and told him: "People have vol- mander who perished at the that I wished to inform Stalin unteered for the new army and front), and many, many others. personally about the grave situdemand arms. You must send However, many such command- ation which had arisen for us at us arms."

"We Malenkov answered me: cannot send you arms. We are sending all our rifles to Leningrad and you have to arm yourselves." (Movement in the hall.) Such was the armament situ- fatherland. ation.

In this connection we cannot forget, for instance, the following fact. Shortly before the invasion of the Soviet Union by the Hitlerite army, Kirponos, who was Chief of the Kiev Special Military District (he was later killed at the front) wrote to Stalin that the German Lenin created we have lost for-Armies were at the Bug River, ever." were preparing for an attack and in the very near future would probably start their ofponos proposed that a strong defense be organized, that 300,000 when some members of the Politpersons be evacuated from the ical Bureau visited him and told strong points be organized there: certain steps immediately to imthe soldiers, etc.

Moscow answered this propo- ger which hung over our fathersition with the assertion, that land in the first period of the this would be a provocation, that war was largely due to the faulty borders, that the Germans were repel the enemy.

When the Fascist armies had ousness and hysteria which anyone that he made any misactually invaded Soviet territory Stalin demonstrated, interfering take, large or small, despite the and military operations began, Stalin, despite evident facts, thought that the war had not understanding of the real situa- After the Party Congress we yet started, that this was only a tion that was developing at the shall probably have to re-evaluate provocative action on the part front. That was natural because many wartime military operaof several undisciplined sections during the whole Patriotic War tions and to present them in of the German army, and that he never visited any section of their true light. our reaction might serve as a the front or any liberated city reason for the Germans to begin the war.

### GERMAN'S INFORMATION IGNORED

The following fact is also of fantasies of all sorts and so the offensive. known. On the eve of the inva- many paintings. Simultaneous-

ers perished in camps and jails the front. But Stalin did not and the army saw then no more. consider it convenient to raise All this brought about the the phone and again stated that situation that existed at the be- I should speak to him through ginning of the war and which Malenkov, although he was only was the great threat to our a few steps from the telephone.

STALIN'S DESPAIR RECOUNTED

It would be incorrect to forget that after the first severe dis this? The worst that we had exaster and the defeats at the front pected. The Germans surrounded

Stalin thought that this was the our army concentrations and end. In one of his speeches in those days he said: "All that thousands of our soldiers. This

After this Stalin for a long ment in the hall.)

time actually did not direct the military operations and ceased during a meeting of Stalin with fensive. In this connection Kir- to do anything whatever. He re- members of the Political Bureau, turned to active leadership only Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan mentioned that Khruschev must have been right when he teleborder areas and that several him that it was necessary to take phoned concerning the Kharkov operation and that it was unanti-tank ditches, trenches for prove the situation at the front. fortunate that this suggestion

Therefore the threatening dan- had not been accepted.

FURY OF STALIN IS CITED You should have seen Stalin's However, we speak not only right! He is after all a "genius," not to be given any pretext for about the moment when the war and a genius cannot help but be after the war began the nerv-

> with actual military operations, fact that he made not a few mis-Stalin was very far from an and in his practical activity.

The tactics on which Stalin inexcept for one short ride on the sisted without knowing the es-Mozhaisk Highway during a sence of the conduct of battle

The military know that al- on the collective farms, and in sion of the territory of the ly, Stalin was interfering, with ready by the end of 1941 instead various economic and cultural against party cadres. Soviet Union by the Hitlerite operations and issuing orders of great operational maneuvers sectors; many women partici-

genius. Let us recall the film, Autonomous Republic and the Malenkov that I was calling "The Fall of Berlin." Here only republic itself was renamed the Stalin acts; he issues orders in Kabardinian Autonomous Rethe hall in which there are many public. empty chairs and only one man

> approached him and reports something to him-that is Poskrebyshev, his loyal shieldbearer. (Laughter in the hall.) And where is the military command? Where is the Political Bureau? Where is the Governhall.)

ment? What are they doing and with what are they engaged? There is nothing about them in the film. Stalin acts for everybody; he does not reckon with After "listening" in this mananyone; he asks no one for ad-

ner to our plea Stalin said, "Let vice. Everything is shown to everything remain as it is!" the nation in this false light. And what was the result of the facts and contrary to his-

consequently we lost hundreds of torical truth. The question arises: And is Stalin's military "genius;"

shoulders rested the burden of stressed with pride the magnithis is what it cost us. (Move-

film; with Stalin in, no room was great sacrifices and tremendous On one occasion after the war, left for them. Not Stalin, but the party as a a period of political enthusiasm. whole, the Soviet Government, The party came out of the war our heroic army, its talented even more united: in the fire of leaders and brave soldiers, the the war party cadres were tem-

in the great patriotic war. even thought of the possibility of how Georgia has developed eco-(Tempestuous and prolonged ap. some plot in the party.

plause.)

'The Central Committee members, ministers, our economic no preparatory defensive work methods of directing the nation fury! How could it be admitted leaders, leaders of Soviet culshould be undertaken at the and the party by Stalin himself. tht he, Stalin, had not been ture, directors of territorial party and Soviet organizations, fabricated. Those who innocentengineers, and techniciansthe initiation of military action began, which led to serious dis- right! Everyone can err, but everyone of them in his own against us. Thus, our borders organization of our army and Stalin considered that he never place of work generously gave were insufficiently prepared to brought us severe losses. Even erred, that he was always right. of his strength and knowledge He never acknowledged to toward ensuring victory over the

enemy.

our collective farm peasantry, deputy to the Chairman of the tion. the Soviet intelligentsia, who un- Council of Ministers and Kuznet.

fense of the fatherland.

Great and brave deeds during stabilized situation at the front. operations cost us much blood the war were accomplished by persons were branded as enemies times as much electrical energy To this incident were dedi- until we succeeded in stopping our Soviet women who bore on of the people and liquidated? cated many literary works full the opponent and going over to their backs the heavy load of

Stalin had personally dictated how little Stalin shook, not only them. They made serious accu- his little finger but everything The Ukrainians avoided meeting this fate only because there fied documents it was proven was that, in this case of dis- when Stalin believed in anyone were too many of them and that there existed in Georgia a lagreement with the Yugoslay there was no place to which to supposedly nationalistic organi- comrades, Tito had behind him say anything that was contrary deport them. Otherwise, he zation whose objective was the a state and a people who had

Not only a Marxist-Leninist

people, Communists and Komso-

persons or groups of persons.

efforts. The country experienced

the trust he enjoyed.

Facts prove that the "Lenin-

After the conclusion of the

Political Bureau.

(Laughter and animation in the in that republic with the help of fighting for liberty and inde- have met the same fate as Kaimperialist powers. In this connection, a number

support to its leaders. but also no man of common of responsible party and Soviet You see to what Stalin's masense can grasp how it is pos- workers were arrested in Georsible to make whole nations re- gia. As was later proven, this completely lost consciousness of tral Committee is interesting sponsible for inimical activity. was a slander directed against reality; he demonstrated his sus- (parenthetically speaking, he including women, children, old the Georgian party organization. picion and haughtiness not only was also rehabilitated not long We know that there have been in relation to individuals in the ago, after seventeen years in mols, to use mass repression at times manifestations of local U. S. S. R., but in relation to prison camps). In his declara-Why? In order to surround against them, and to expose bourgeois nationalism in Georgia whole parties and nations. We have carefully examined Stalin with glory, contrary to them to misery and suffering for as in several other republics. the hostile acts of individual The question arises: Could it be the case of Yugoslavia and have possible that in the period dur- found a proper solution which is approved by the peoples of the ing which the resolutions rewhere are the military on whose patriotic war the Soviet Nation ferred to above were made, na-Soviet Union and of Yugoslavia

tionalist tendencies grew so as well as by the working the war? They are not in the ficent victories gained through much that there was a danger of masses of all the people's de-Georgia's leaving the Soviet mocracies and by all progressive Union and joining Turkey? humanity The liquidation of (Animation in the hall, laughthe abnormal relationship with Yugoslavia was done in the inter.)

This is, of course, nonsense. It terest of the whole camp of sois impossible to imagine how cialism, in the interest of whole Soviet nation-these are pered and hardened. Under such such assumptions could enter strengthening peace in the whole the ones who assured the victory conditions nobody could have anyone's mind. Everyone knows world. Let us also recall the "Affain

nomically and culturally under of the Doctor Plotters." (Animation in the hall.) Actually there Soviet rule.

THE LENINGRAD AFFAIR PROGRESS IN GEORGIA And it was precisely at this NOTED

time that the so-called "Lenin-Industrial production of the grad Affair" was born. As we have now proven, this case was Georgian Republic is twentyseven times greater than it was ly lost their lives included Combefore the revolution. Many new industries have arisen in Georgia rades Voznesensky, Kuznetsov, Rodionov. Popkov, and others. that did not exist there before As is known, Voznesensky and the revolution: iron smelting, an Kuznetsov were talented and oil industry, a machine construceminent leaders. Once they tion industry, etc. Illiteracy has

Exceptional heroism was shown stood very close to Stalin. It long since been liquidated, which, by our hard core-surrounded by is sufficient to mention that in pre-revolutionary Georgia, in-Moscow issued the order that caused our army serious damage. takes in the matter of theory glory is our whole working class, Stalin made Voznesensky first cluded 78 per cent of the popula-

Could the Georgians, comparder the leadership of party or sov was elected Secretary of the ing the situation in their repubganizations overcame untold Central Committee. The very lic with the hard situation of hardships and, bearing the hard- fact that Stalin entrusted Kuz- the working masses in Turkey, the investigation and the meth- Trans-Caucasian Krai Commitships of war, devoted all their netsov with the supervision of be aspiring to join Turkey? In strength to the cause of the de- the state security organs shows 1955 Georgia produced eighteen rested persons. times as much steel a person as

STALIN THREAT RECALLED How did it happen that these Turkey. Georgia produces nine a person as Turkey.

According to the available chains, another one should be didate for a party position). production work in the factories, grad Affair" also is the result 1950 census, 65 per cent of beaten. Present at this congress of willfulness Stalin exercised Turkey's total population are as a delegate is the Former he knew Berla well and for that illiterate, and of the women, 80 Minister of State Security, Com- reason refused categorically to Had a normal situation existed per cent are illiterate. Georgia rade Ignatiev. Stalin told him

army a certain German citizen that did not take into considera- flanking the opponent and pene- pated directly in the great pa- in the party's Central Commit- has nineteen institutions of curtly, "If you do not obtain

ods of medical treatment.

Tito. No matter how much or cluded when Kaminsky rested and then shot.

Had Stalin examined Kamin sations against many loyal Com- else that he could shake, Tito sv's statement? No. because munist. On the basis of falsi- did not fall. Why? The reason Stalin believed in Beria. and or anything, then no one could to his opinion; anyone who would would have deported them also. liquidation of the Soviet power gone through a severe school of dare to express opposition would pendence, a people which gave minsky.

There were other signs also. The declaration which Comrade nia for greatness led. He had Snegov made at the party's Cention Snegov writes:

"In connection with the proposed rehabilitation of the former Central Committee member, Kartvelishvili-Lavrentiev. I have entrusted to the hands of the representative of the Committee of State Security a detailed deposition concerning Beria's role in the disposition of the Kartvelishvili case and concerning the criminal motives by which Beria was guided.

ANOTHER CASE RECALLED

"In my opinion it is indispensable to recall an important fact was no "affair" outside of the pertaining to this case and to declaration of the woman doctor communicate it to the Central Timashuk, who was probably Committee, because I did not influenced or ordered by someconsider it as proper to include one (after all, she was an unin the investigation documents. "On Oct. 30. 1931, at the session official collaborator of the organs of state security) to write of the Organizational Bureau of Stalin a letter in which she de- the Central Committee. Allclared that doctors were apply- Union Communist party (Bolsheing supposedly improper meth- viks), Kartvelishvili, Secretary of the Trans-Caucasian Krai Such a letter was sufficient Committee, made a report. All for, Stalin to reach an immedi- members of the Executive of the ate conclusion that there are Krai Committee were present; doctor-plotters in the Soviet Un- of them I alone am alive.

ion. He issued orders to arrest "During this session J. V. Stalin. a group of eminent Soviet medi- made a motion at the end of his cal specialists. He personally speech concerning the organizaissued advice on the conduct of tion of the Secretariat of the od of interrogation of the ar- tee composed of the following: First Secretary Kartvelishvili; Second Secretary Beria (it was then for the first time in the He said the academician, party's history that Beria's Vinogradov, should be put in name was mentioned as a can-

"Kartvelishvili answered that

(Continued on page 6)

### - Page Six

# ... Text of Khrushchev's Speech

## (Continued from page 5)

ful plans. Beria had cleared work together with him. Stalin from his way all persons who proposed then that this matter be left open and that it be solved could possibly interfere with him. in the process of the work itself.

Two days later a decision was arrived at that Beria would receive the party post and that Kartvelishyili would be deported from the Trans-Caucasus." This fact can be confirmed by

Comrades Mikoyan and Kaganovich, who were present at that session. The long unfriendly relations

between Kartvelshvili and Beria

were widely known. They date back to the time when Comrade | party's Central Committee short-Sergo [Ordzhonikidze] was ac- ly after Stalin's death. As a retive in the Trans-Caucasus; sult of the particularly detailed Kartvelishvili was the closest assistant of Sergo. The unfriendly relationship impelled Beria ted monstrous crimes and Beria to fabricate a "case" against was shot.

Kartvelishvili. The question arises why Beria, It is a characteristic thing who had liquidated tens of thouthat in this "case" Kartvelishvili sands of party and Soviet workwas charged with a terroristic ers, was not unmasked during Stalin's life? He was not unact against Beria.

The indictment in the Beria masked earlier because he had case contains a discussion of utilized very skillfully Stalin's his crimes. Some things should, weaknesses; feeding him with however, be recalled, especially suspicions, he assisted Stalin in since it is possible that not all everything and acted with his delegates to the congress have support.

Comrades: The cult of the inread this document. I wish to recall Beria's bestial disposition dividual acquired such monstrous his role as a strategist but in of the cases of Kedrov, Golubiev, size chiefly because Stalin him- the role of an author-editor, one and Golubiev's adopted mother, self, using all conceivable meth- of the main creators of his self-Baturina, persons who wished to ods, supported the glorification adulatory biography. inform the Central Committee of his own person. This is supconcerning Beria's treacherous ported by numerous facts. One We should rather say shameful of the most characteristic ex- facts. activity. They were shot without any trial and the sentence amples of Stalin's self-glorifica- And one additional fact from was passed ex-post facto, after tion and of his lack of even the execution.

### 'OLD COMMUNIST' **IS QUOTED**

Here is what the old Comexample of making a man into a tral Committee. munist, Comrade Kedrov, wrote Central Committee godhead, of transforming him to the Comrade Andreyev into an infallible saint, "the greatthrough (Comrade Andreyev was then est leader," "sublime strategist a Central Committee Secretary): of all times and nations." Finally

"I am calling to you for help no other words could be found from a gloomy cell of the Le- with which to lift Stalin up to of the individual and was written fortovsky prison. Let my cry the heavens. of horror reach your ears; do BOOK EDITED BY STALIN not remain deaf: take me un-We need not give here examder your protection; please help remove the nightmare of ples of the loathsome adulation phy of Stalin": interrogations and show that filling this book. All we need to

add is that they all were apthis is all a mistake. proved and edited by Stalin per-"I suffer innocently. Please believe me. Time will testify sonally and some of them were added in his own handwriting to to the truth. I am not an the draft text of the book. agent - provocateur of the Tsarist Okhrana: I am not a spy; I am not a member of an sential to write into this book? anti-Soviet organization of Did he want to cool the ardor which I am being accused on of his flatterers who were comthe basis of denunciations. I posing his "Short Biography." am also not guilty of any other crimes against the party and the Government. I am an pld Bolshevik, free of any for almost forty years in the ed in Stalin's own hand: stain; I have honestly fought

"In this fight against the ranks of the party for the

hands. Comrade Stalin elabo- of the Central Committee has al-Ordzhonikidze was always an manently operating factors cerning the composition of a opponent of Beria, which he told Stalin. Instead of examining of counter-offensive and offen- people, and the role of the party, paratus. this affair and taking appropriate steps, Stalin allowed the lisive, of the co-operation of all (Loud, prolonged applause.) quidation of Ordzhonikedze's services and arms in modern brother and brought Ordzhoniwarfare, of the role of big tank masses and air forces in modern war, and of the artil-

kidze himself to such a state he was forced to shoot himself. (Indignation in the hall.) Such was lery as the most formidable of the armed services. At the Stalin monuments were erected Beria. various stages of the war Beria was unmasked by the Stalin's genius found the cor-

rect solution that took account of all the circumstance of the situation." (Movement in legal proceedings it was estabthe hall.) lished that Beria had commit-And further, writes Stalin: "Stalin's military master-

ship was displayed both in defense and offense. Comrade Stalin's genius enabled him to divine the enemy's plans and defeat them. The battles in which Comrade Stalin directed the Soviet armies are brilliant examples of operational mili-

tary skill." In this manner was Stalin praised as a strategist. Who

did this? Stalin himself, not in quent. Huge sums were spent to of turkeys and geese. Evidently build it at a time when people Stalin thought that it was actuof this area had lived since the ally so. war in huts. Consider yourself, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin looked was Stalin right when he wrote at life differently. He was al-Such, comrades, are the facts.

or self-adoration?" the same "Short Biography" of elementary modesty is the edi- Stalin, As it is known, "The Short tion of his "Short Biography," Course of the History of the Allwhich was published in 1948. Union Communist Party (Bol-This book is an expression of sheviks)" was written by a the most dissolute flattery, an Commission of the Party Cen-

> CULT OF THE INDIVIDUAL USED

This book, parenthetically, ways postponed, and the project allowed to lapse. was also permeated with the cult by a designated group of authors. This fact was reflected in the following ' formulation on the proof copy of the "Short Biogra-

tion was published in the press, a commission was formed which A commission of the Central but until this day there are no was charged with the prepara-Lenin prizes. This, too, should be tion of a resolution called. Committee, all-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), under corrected. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause). the direction of Comrade Stalin During Stalin's life, thanks to and with his most active perknown methods which I have sonal participation, has prepared a "Short Course of the mentioned, and quoting facts,

What did Stalin consider es-History of the All-Union Communist party (Bolsheviks)." But even this phrase did not satisfy Stalin: the following sen-No! He marked the very places tence replaced it in the final where he thought that the praise of his services was insufficient. phy": Here are some examples char-

acterizing Stalin's activity, add-Communist Party (Bolshe- preciated. viks), Short Course," written KHRUSHCHEV CALL

tion in the hall.)

metamorphosis took place.

THE MILITANT

without his knowledge that his direction of agriculture.

"memorials to the living?"

monument.

shadows and began to show less if we speak about the many negative phenomena generated less suspicions and charges re- at the helm for another several initiative in their work. Take, for instance, party and by this cult which is so alien to sulted in the opponent falling months, Comrades Molotov and Soviet resolutions. They were the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, victim of the repression. This Mikoyan would probably have prepared in a routine manner, various persons may ask: How characterized the fall of Com- not delivered any speeches at often without considering the could it be? Stalin headed the rade Postyshev.

of war received further de- ty. We should add for your concrete situation. This went so party and the country for rated the theory of the per- ready passed a resolution con- read their speeches. All this pro- Can we deny this? In my opin- are you actually?" duced the danger of formalizing ion, the question can be asked that decide the issue of wars, new text of the anthem, which the party and Soviet work and in this manner only by those of active defense and the laws will reflect the role of the of bureaucratizing the whole ap- who are blinded and hopelessly Stalin, a Bolshevik." nynotized by the cult of the

individual, only by those who sidered to show a lack of respect selection of twenty-five persons Stalin's reluctance to con-And was it without Stalin's sider life's realities and the fact do not understand the essence for Stalin; later it was consid- to the Central Committee Preknowledge that many of the that he was not aware of the of the revolution and of the So- ered a harmful act and conse- sidium, was aimed at the relargest enterprises and towns real state of affairs in the viet state, only by those who quently resulted in Postyshev's moval of the old Political Buwere named after him? Was it provinces can be illustrated by do not understand, in a Leninist annihilation and branding with reau members and the bringing manner, the role of the party out any reason as a "people's in of less experienced persons so All those who interested themand of the nation in the developin the whole country - these selves even a little in the nament of the Soviet society.

tional situation saw the difficult It is a fact that Stalin himself situation in agriculture, but and by the poor peasantry with Bulganin. Once when we two nihilation of the old Political had signed on July 2, 1951, a Stalin never even noted it. Did the partial support of middleresolution of the U. S. S. R. we tell Stalin about this? Yes, class peasants. It was attained "It has happened sometimes that a cover for all shameful acts of Council of Ministers concerning we told him, but he did not supthe erection on the Volga-Don port us. Why? Because Stalin by the people under the leader a man goes to Stalin on his invi- Stalin, acts which we are now ship of the Bolshevik party. tation as a friend. And when he considering. Canal of an impressive monur never traveled anywhere, did not Lenin's great service consisted sits with Stalin, he does not Comrades! In order not to rement to Stalin. On Sept. 4 of meet city and collective farm of the fact that he created a know where he will be sent next, peat errors of the past, the Centhe same year he issued an order workers; he did not know the militant party of the working home or to jail." making thirty-three tons of actual situation in the provinces. class, but he was armed with copper available for the con- He knew the country and agri-Marxist understanding of the put every member of the Politi- of the individual. We consider struction of this impressive culture only from films and these films had dressed up laws of social development and cal Bureau in a very difficult that Stalin was excessively exwith the science of proletarian situation. And when we also con- tolled. However, in the past Anyone who has visited the and beautified the existing Stalingrad area must have seen situation in agriculture. And victory in the fight with capi- sider the fact that in the last Stalin doubtlessly performed he huge statue which is being many films so pictured collectalism, and he steeled this party years of the Central Committee great services to the party, to built there, and that on a site tive farm life that the tables in the crucible of revolutionary plenary session were not con- the working class and to the inwhich hardly any people fred were bending from the weight struggle of the masses of the vened and that the sessions of ternational workers' movement. people. During this fight the the Political Bureau occurred This question is complicated party consistently defended the only occasionally, from time to by the fact that all this that we its experienced leader, and led how difficult it was for any during Stalin's life under his the working masses to power, to member of the Political Bureau leadership and with his concurthe creation of the first Socialist to take a stand against one or rence; here Stalin was convinced in his biography that "\* \* \* he ways close to the people; he

even a shadow of conceit, pride, gates, and often spoke at factory gatherings; he used to visit vil-At the same time Stalin gave lages and talk with the peasants, state is strong because of the tices of leadership. Lenin's memory. It is not a co- the people and never went any- history is created by the millions many decisions were taken Stalin separated himself from incidence that, despite the deci- where. This lasted tens of and tens of millions of people. either by one person or in a sion taken, more than thirty years. The last time he visited years ago to build a Palace of a village was in January, 1928, Soviets as a monument to Vladi. when he visited Siberia in conmir Ilyich, this palace was not nection with grain deliveries. built, its construction was al- How then could he have known and to the self-sacrificing work tim to Stalin's repressions, is the situation in the provinces? And when he was once told tories are the result of the great tic thing that the decision to reduring a discussion that our Soviet Government resolution of situation on the land was a dif-Aug. 14, 1925 concerning "the ficult one and that the situation founding of Lenin prizes for of cattle breeding and meat educational work." This resolu- production was especially bad. individual.

"Means toward further development of animal breeding in We Of course, our proposals of that time did not contain all possibilities, but we did charter ment.

were explained as if Lenin played ways in which animal breeding only a secondary role, even dur on the Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes ing the October Socialist Revo. would be raised. We had proversion of the "Short Biogra- lution. In many films and in posed then to raise the prices hy": In 1938 appeared the book, "History of the All-Union sented and inadmissably de-M. T. S. and Sovkhoz workers breeding. But our project was nations were often threatened,

Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes."

worked out this project.

In one of his speeches Stalin velopment at Comrade Stalin's information that the Presidium far that party workers, even thirty years and many victories expressed his dissatisfaction with finish off the old members of during the smallest sessions, were gained during his lifetime. Postyshev and asked him, "What

Postyshev answered clearly, "I am a Bolshevik, Comrade new ones. This assertion was at first con-

enemy."

The Socialist revolution was prevailed I have talked often attained by the working class with Nikolai Aleksandrovich also a design for the future annterests of the people, became time, then we will understand have just discussed was done another injust or improper pro-

did not allow in himself \* \* \* used to receive peasant dele. state. words of Lenin that the Soviet and shortcomings in the pracawareness of the masses that As we have already shown, Our historical victories were roundabout way, without collectional work of the party, to the Political Bureau member, Com- boring people, of the interest of many provincial organizations, rade Voznesensky, who fell vicof our great nation. These vic- known to all. It is a characterisdrive and activity of the nation move him from the Political Buand of the party as a whole; reau was never discussed but the party; of the working massthey are not at all the fruit of was reached in a devious fash- es, in the name of the defense of the leadership of Stalin, as the | ion. In the same way came the situation was pictured during decision concerning the removal the period of the cult of the of Kuznetsov and Rodionov from

If we are to consider this matter of Marxists and as Leninists, then we have to state unequivocally that the leadership prac- disorganized by the creation tice which came into being during the last years of Stalin's life became a serious obstacle in the path of Soviet social develop-

Stalin often failed for months to take up some unusually important problems concerning the life of the party and of the state whose solution could not be postponed. During Stalin's leadership our peaceful relations with other because one-man decisions could February,

### Monday, June 11, 1956

Attempts to oppose ground- cluded that had Stalin remained this congress.

Stalin evidently had plans to the Political Bureau. He often stated that Political Bureau members should be replaced by

His proposal, after the Nineteenth Congress concerning the that these would extol him in all In the situation which then sorts of ways.

We can assume that this was were traveling in a car, he said: Bureau members and in this way

tral Committee has declared It is clear that such conditions itself resolutely against the cult that this was necessary for the You remember well the wise cedure, against serious errors defense of the interests of the working classes against the plotting of the enemies and against the attack of the imperialist camp.

He saw this from the position of the interest of the working attained thanks to the organiza- live discussions. The sad fate of class, of the interest of the lathe victory of socialism and communism. We cannot say that these were the deeds of a giddy despot. He considered that this should be done in the interest of the revolution's gains. In this lies the whole tragedy!

THE NAMING OF TOWNS

Comrades! Lenin had often The importance of the Central stressed that modesty is an ab-Committee's Political Bureau was reduced and its work was solutely integnal part of a real Bolshevik. Lenin himself was the within the Political Bureau of living personification of the various commissions-the so- greatest modesty. We cannot say "quintets," "sextets," that we have been following this "septets" and "novenaries." Here Leninist example in all respects. is, for instance, a resolution of It is enough to point out that many towns, factories and inthe Political Bureau of Oct. 3, dustrial enterprises, Kolkozes and Sovkhozes. Soviet institutions and cultural institutions "1. The Political Bureau have been referred to by us with Commission for Foreign Affairs ("Sextet") is to concern a title-if I may express it soitself in the future, in addition of private property of the names to foreign affairs, also with of these or those government of

good and the prosperity the nation.

"Today I, a 62-year-old man, am being threatened by the investigative judges with more severe, cruel and degrading methods of physical pressure. They [the judges] are no longer capable of becoming aware of their error and of recognizing that their handling of my case is illegal and inpermissible. They try to justify their actions by picturing me as a hardened and raving enemy and are demanding increased repressions. But let the party know that I am innocent and that there is nothing which can turn a loyal son of the party into an enemy, even right up to his last dving breath.

"But 1 have no way out. I cannot divert from myself the hastily approaching new and powerful blows.

"Everything, however, has its limits. My torture has reached the extreme. My health is broken, my strength and my vile traitor to the fatherland what can be more monstrous by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. for an honest man. And how monstrous all this is! Unsur- appeared the following sentence: passed bitterness and pain grips my heart.

'No! No! This will not happen; this cannot be-I cry. Neither the party, nor the read: Soviet Government, nor the People's Commissar, L. P. Beria, will permit this cruel irreparable injustice. I am firmly certain that given a quiet, objective examination. without any foul rantings, without any anger and without the fearful tortures, it would be easy to prove the baselessness of the charges. I believe deeply that truth and justice will triumph. I believe. I believe."

The old Bolshevik, Comrade Kedrov, was found innocent by the Military Collegium. But despite this, he was shot at Beria's order. (Indignation in the hall.) SUICIDE OF

### ORDZHONIKIDZE

family of Comrade Ordzhoni-"kidze. Why? Because Ordzho-"Beria from realizing his shame- ers."

skeptics and capitulators, the Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites and Kamenevites, there was definitely welded together, after Lenin's death, that leading core of the party

. . .\* that upheld the great banner of Lenin, rallied the party behind Lenin's behests, and brought the Soviet people into the broad road of industrializing the country and collectivising the rural economy. The leader of this core and the guiding force of the party the state was Comrade and Stalin."

Thus writes Stalin himself! Then he adds: of "the Stalin genius?"

"Although he performed his task of leader of the party and the people with consummate the efforts of the party in the skill and enjoyed the unreserved support of the entire Soviet people, Stalin never allowed his work to be marred

conceit or self-adulation."

of a leader of the Marxist-Leninist type? No. Precisely against about his speeches, about his redrawing near. To die in a this did Marx and Engels take ports. Everything without the Soviet prison, branded as a such a strong position. This also smallest exception is tied to his was always sharply condemned name. In the draft text of his book

> "Stalin is the Lenin of today." This sentence appeared to Stalin to be too weak, so in his own for amazement. Can a Marxist-

handwriting he changed it to Leninist thus write about himself, praising his own person to "Stalin is the worthy continuer the heavens? of Lenin's work, or, as it is said Or let us take the matter of in our party, Stalin is the Lenin the Stalin prizes. (Movement in of today." You see how well it the hall.) Not even the Czars

is said, not by the nation but created prizes which they named after themselves. by Stalin himself. It is possible to give many STALIN PRAISED IN such self-praising appraisals ANTHEM

written into the draft text of that book in Stalin's hand. Especially generously does he endow himself with praises pertaining to his military genius, to his talent for strategy. I will cite one more insertion of Stalin:

made by Stalin concerning the theme of the Stalinist military genius. He writes: "The advanced Soviet science

Ommited portion of list as found in "A the whole educational direction-

by Comrade Stalin and ap-FOR TRUTH proved by a commission of the

Stalin loved to see the film Central Committee, All-Union The Unforgettable Year of this project Stalin proposed that SOVIET PROGRESS Communist party (Bolsheviks). 1919," in which he was shown the taxes paid by the Kolkhozes HAILED Add anything more? (Animaon the steps of an armored train and by the Kolkhoz workers and where he was practically should be raised by 40,000,000.-As you see, a surprising metavanquishing the foe with his own 000 rubles. According to him the

We cannot forget to recall the

for instance, from the "Short

Biography" of Stalin-all events.

morphosis changed the work sabre. Let Kliment Yefremovich peasants are well-off and the the individual and took several created by a group into a book [Voroshilov], our dear friend, Kolkhoz worker would need to proper steps in the sphere of inwritten by Stalin. It is not necfind the necessary courage and sell only one more chicken to ternal and external policies. essary to state how and why this write the truth about Stalin; pay his tax in full. after all, he knows how Stalin A pertinent question comes to had fought. It will be difficult Certainly 40,000,000 rubles creative activity of the broad our mind: If Stalin is the author for Comrade Voroshilov to un- is a sum which the Kolkhoz of this book, why did he need dertake this, but it would be workers did not realize for all good if he did it. Everyone will the products which they sold to developments of the economy and to praise the person of historical approve of it, both the people the Government. In 1952, for in- of culture. (Applause.) period of our glorious Communist party solely into an action and the party. Even his grand- stance, the Kolhozes and the sons will thank him. (Prolonged Kolkhoz workers received 26.-

Did this book properly reflect applause.) In speaking about the events of the October Revolution and the Government. Socialist transformation of the country, in the construction of about the Civil War, the impres-Socialist society, in the indus- sion was created that Stalin trialization and collectivization always played the main role, as Of course not. by the slightest hint of vanity, of the country, and also other if everywhere and always Stalin steps taken by the party which had suggested to Lenin what to figures did not interest him. If Where and when could a leader undeviatingly traveled the path do and how to do it. However, Stalin said anything, it meant it so praise himself? Is this worthy outlined by Lenin? This book this is slander of Lenin. (Prowas so-after all, he was a speaks principally about Stalin, longed applause.)

I will probably not sin against need to count, he only needs to the truth when I say that 99 per- look and can immediately tell cent of the persons present here how it should be. When he exheard and knew very little about presses his opinion, everyone And when Stalin himself as- Stalin before the year 1924, has to repeat it and to admire serts that he himself wrote the while Lenin was known to all; his wisdom. "Short Course of the History of he was known to the whole WISDOM OF TAX the All-Union Communist Party. party, to whole nation, from the QUESTIONED

(Bolsheviks)," this calls at least children up to the graybeards. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause.).

All this has to be thoroughly raise the agricultural tax by 40,revised, so that history, litera 300,000,000 rubles? None, abso- the party, with its Central Comture, and the fine arts properly lutely none, because the pro- mittee at the head, started on picion, Stalin toyed also with the reflect V. I. Lenin's role and posal was not based on an ac- a great scale the work of Social- absurd and ridiculous suspicion the great deeds of our Commu- tual assessment of the situation ist industrialization of the coun- that Voroshilov was an English nist party and of the Soviet but on the fantastic ideas of a try, agricultural collectivization agent. (Laughter in the hall.) people-the creative people. (Ap- person divorced from reality. and the cultural revolution.

plause.) Comrades! The cult of the in- slowly to work our way out of

Stalin recognized as the best ployment of faulty principles tion. The speeches of the delea text of the national anthem of in party work and in economic gates to the Twentieth Congress the Soviet Union which contains not a word about the Communist iolation of internal party and many delegates deliver speeches, party; it contains, however, the Soviet democracy, sterile ad- that there are conditions for the following unprecedented praise ministration, deviations of all fulfillment of the Sixth Fivesorts, covering up of shortcom- Year Plan for animal hus- dispensable.

"Stalin brought us up in loyalty to the people. He inspired us to great toil and acts."

In these lines of the anthem is false optimism and deceit. "Ommited portion of list as found in "A Short Biography," by Joseph Stalin, Most amily of Comrade Ordzhoni-cidze. Why? Because Ordzhor We should also not forget Five-Year Plan will be accomnikidze had tried to prevent she and our party were guilty of some draw the proper conclusions conbelittling of the role of the Par- which was new, feared their own spread during Stalin's life and many others.

1953 was laid aside entirely. cause, and often did cause, great complications. What is more, while reviewing

In the last years, when we managed to free ourselves of the harmful practice of the cult of everyone saw how activity grew before their very eyes, how the working masses developed, how favorably all this acted upon the

Some comrades may ask us: Where were the members of the 280,000.000 rubles for all their Political Bureau of the Central Committee? Why did they not assert themselves against the Did Stalin's position then rest cult of the individual in time? And why is this being done only now?

> First of all we have to consider the fact that the members of the Political Bureau viewed these matters in a different way at different times. Initially, many of them backed Stalin as one of the strongest Marxists and his logic, his strength and his will greatly influenced

It is known that Stalin, after Lenin's death, especially during attend. Sometimes Stalin perthe first years, actively fought mitted it, but always showed his for Leninism against the ene-But how much wisdom was mies of Leninist theory and contained in the proposal to against those who deviated. VOROSHILOV UNDER Beginning with Leninist theory, SUSPICION It's true, an English agent. A We are currently beginning At that time Stalin gained special tapping device was individual has caused the em a difficult agricultural situa- support. The party had to fight what was said there. Indignathose who attempted to lead the tion in the hall.) country away from the correct By unilaterial decision Stalin activity. It brought about rude pleased us all. We are glad that Leninist path; it had to fight had also separated one other Tratskyites, Zinovievites and man from the work of the Politrightists, and the bourgeois ical Bureau-Andrei Andreye-

ings and varnishing of reality. bandry, not during the period Later, however, Stalin, abus- fulness. Our nation gave birth to many of five years, but within two to ing his power more and more, flatterers and specialists in three years. We are certain that began to fight eminent party tral Committee Plenum after the the commitments of the new and Government leaders and to Nineteenth Party Congress when use terroristic methods against Stalin, in his talk at the plenum,

tion and domestic policy. tive and in good health. Many of us participated in the action of "2. The Sextet is to add to assigning our names to various its roster the Chairman of the towns, districts, factories and State Commission of Economic kolkhozes. We must correct this. Planning of the U. S. S. R., (Applause.) Comrade Voznesensky, and is to be known as a Septet.

our party, Kliment Yefremovich

Voroshilov, found himself in an

almost impossible situation. For

several years he was actually

deprived of the right of partic-

ipation in Political Bureau ses-

sions. Stalin forbade him to at-

tend the Political Bureau ses-

sions and to receive documents.

When the Political Bureau was

in session and Comrade Voro-

shilov heard about it, he tele-

phoned each time and asked

dissatisfaction.

whether he would be allowed to

Because of his extreme sus-

the most unbridled acts of will-

Let us consider the first Cen-

baseless charges. It is not ex-

their posts.

called

1946:

Stalin's Proposal:

But this should be done calmly and slowly. The Central "Signed: Secretary of the Committee will discuss this Central Committee, J. Stalin." matter and consider it carefully What a terminology of a card to prevent errors and excesses. player! (Laughter in the hall.) I can remember how the Ukraine It is clear that the creation within the Political Bureau of this learned about Kosior's arrest. The Kiev radio used to start its type of commissions-"quintets," 'sextets," "septets," and "novenprograms thus: "This is Radio (in the name of) Kosior." When aries,"-was against the prinone day the programs began ciple of collective leadership. without naming Kosior, every-The result of this was that some one was quite certain that somemembers of the Political Bureau thing had happened to Kosior, were in this way kept away from that he probably had been arparticipation in reaching the rested. most important state matters. Thus, if today we begin to re-One of the oldest members of

matters of internal construc- party leaders who were still ac

move the signs everywhere and to change names, people will think, that these comrades in whose honor the given enterprises, kolkhozes or cities are named, also met some bad fate and that they have also been arrested. (Animation in the hall.)

How is the authority and the importance of this or that leader judged? On the basis of how many towns, industrial enterprises and factories, kholkozes and sovkhozes carry his name. Is it not about time that we eliminate this "private property" and "nationalize" the factories, the industrial enterprises, the kolkhozes and the Sovkhozes? (Laughter, applause, voices: "That is right.") This will benefit our cause. After all the cult of the individual is manifested also in this way.

We should in all seriousness consider the question of the cul: great popularity, sympathy and stalled in his home to listen to of the individual. We cannot let this matter get out of the party, especially not to the press. It is for this reason that we are considering it here at a closed Congress session. We should know the limits: we should not nationalists. This fight was in- vich Andreyev. This was one of give ammunition to the enemy; we should not wash our dirty linen before their eyes. I think that the delegates to the Congress will understand and assess properly all these proposals.

PARTY POLICY PROPOSED

Comrades: We must abolish the cult of the individual decigovernment leaders as Kosior, gested that these old workers of sively, once and for all; we must

(Continued on page 8)

Imagine what this meant. products delivered and sold to on data of any sort whatever? In such cases facts and

"genius" and a genius does not the cadres and party work.



# ... Trotskyism Vindicated

(Continued from page 1)

interests that Stalin did: the interests of the bureaucratic caste that rules the Soviet Union.

In tracing the struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism, from its point of origin in the Soviet Union to its worldwide development, Communist workers. seeking the truth will find that the rise of a privileged bureaucracy in the Soviet Union was the social foundation for the formation of the Stalinist faction in the Communist Party of the USSR.

Lenin was keenly aware of this rising bureaucracy in the Soviet government and in the party. A study of the available documents will show that in the last period of his life he proposed a collaboration with Trotsky to open fire against the bureaucratic menace: in particular, at its main representative — Joseph Stalin.

Thus, already in 1922-23 Stalin was, in Lenin's eyes, the personification of the growing bureaucratic caste. To Lenin it was a question of life or death for the Soviet Republic whether the proletarian base of the party would succeed in controlling and eventually destroying the bureaucratic tendencies, or, whether the bureaucracy would become uncontrolled and destroy the party and place the revolution itself in jeopardy.

## **Issue of Party Democracy**

In his last Testament, Lenin, worried about the rapid growth of Stalin's bureaucratic clique power, called for the removal of Stalin from his post as General Secretary of the party. At the same time he was preparing to come out at the 12th party congress in open struggle against Stalin's bureaucratic and chauvinist conduct in relation to the national question.

With Lemin's death Trotsky continued the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucratic formation. A deep factional struggle developed and the first issue of the faction struggle was party democracy.

Khrushchev continues to falsify history when he claims that the Trotskyist left opposition was defeated by "ideological means." The facts show otherwise. From the beginning the Stalinist faction employed the method of economic pressure, including the expulsion and firing of Communist workers adhering to the opposition, frame-ups and amalgams, including the

tion and collectivization was conducted. A' the great progress that took place wa despite Stalin and Stalinism and attests t the enormous social power unleashed b the socialist revolution in October 1917.

The central struggle between Stalinisr. and Trotskyism was over the question o "socialism in one country." In this newly discovered theory the bureaucratic cast found the expression of its hatred for the traditions of the October revolution. This tradition oppressed them. It cast a crue light on their petty scramble for materia privilege and power. "Socialism in one country" meant the abandonment of the perspective of international socialist revolution which to the bureaucracy was a diversion from the main issue - the present leadership. This "offistrengthening of their own power, prestige and revenues.

The practical consequences of the new national, conservative, bureaucratic regime in the Soviet Union for the fate of the world revolution was incalculable. Stalinism strangled the independence and innerdemocratic life of the Communist parties in all countries. Stalin used his powerful apparatus to destroy these parties as viable revolutionary instruments of the proletariat in the capitalist countries. Pliant functionaries, ready to carry out the orders of the Stalinist power in the Kremlin, replaced genuine revolutionary leaders.

Moreover, Stalin used the Communist panties as pawns in his diplomatic maneuvers with imperialism. Khrushchev told only part of the story when he described Stalin's self-evaluation as a genius military strategist and the terrible consequences in terms of workers' lives. Stalin played with revolutions in the same way, sacrificing the proletariat of Spain for example to the completely illusory advantages of diplomatic arrangements with the capital ist "democracies," who were also content to watch the Spanish proletariat drown in a fascist bloodbath.

## Who Fought for Leninism

The bitter consequences of the theory "of" socialism in one country are spelled out in the terrible defeats of the working class in one revolutionary situation after anexposing the blunders and betrayals of Stalinism. In this way and in this way

symbol of the great uprising of the industrial workers during the depression-ridden Thirties. On June 3, the UAW opened an eight-day period of official cele-bration of the "founding convention of the UAW which was held April 27, 1936 at South Bend, Indiana. "This is a proper occasion to review the origin and development of a union that continues to play a key role in the American labor movement.

Although the UAW leaders now date the founding of the union to the April 1936 convention, the UAW was chartered by the AFL as an international union at a founding convention in August, 1935, before the CIO existed.

The June, 1956, issue of the United Automobile Worker, the UAW's paper, describes the historic milestones of the rise of the UAW as interpreted by its cial" history misrepresents certain important phases of the union's development and omits others.

CORRECTION IN DATE

progressive on this issue.

formation Local 600

into the leadership.

eadership.

Jastland

from moving in.

han they have to.

The struggles that shaped the basic character of the UAW and distinguished it for many years' date back not to 1936 but to only incidentally, and then in distorted fashion, in this official version of the union's history.

Reuther and his lieutenants defiance of his ban. Both unemthe infant union's internal dem- the first great victory in the forced to beat a temporary re- tremendous strike. ocracy helped assure its victory auto industry. auto industry Most of the present-day UAW the Toledo Chevrolet plant. The the craft union despots with the

with these early battles. They rank-and-file strike did not come on to the national sought to extend the strike, but want to give credit for the Reuther displayed real talent scene until after the UAW was established as an international spread. Francis Dillon, William subsequent victories, at least in work in internal union fights. Two outstanding strikes, both by threatening to yank the un- hero, Franklin D. Roosevelt. But the so-called Unity Caucus along

centered in Toledo, laid the fount ion's charter, finally forced the it was the moral and material with the Stalinists. Homer Mardation stones of the UAW. First strikers to accept a settlement aid extended by the CIO, headed tin, then UAW president, tried began and prices shot up. By was the epic Toledo Auto-Lite without an actual signed con- by John L. Lewis, which gave to maintain dictatorial power strike of May 1934, which dul- tract.



A scene during one of the historic UAW sitdown strikes in 1937. During this turbulent period workers in the auto and other basic industries won recognition for their new industrial unions by the militant new strategy of occupying the plants until their demands were met.

minated in a six-day pitched battle between the Toledo workers and the National Guard. AUTO-LITE STRIKE The Auto-Life strike was be-

employed League, Sam Pollock great GM strike of 1936-37. and Ted Selander, advised the judge in writing that they in- FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY tended to picket the plant in bership the fact that the UAW with the American Workers Parcals, including the Trotskyists, what was to become the Socialist for union democracy took place,

leaders, including President Wal- workers, led by Trotskyists, ter Reuther, were not associated struck on April 1, 1935. The of the CIO. leaders

with the CIO.

single event at the April 1936 place Martin as president. convention was the political acdelegates. This resolution called duced an amendment to the unfor the formation of a labor ion constitution that for the first party and exposed the anticonservative leadership of the the delegates to support Roosevelt. The labor party resolution period curiously omits Roose-was finally adopted, but with velt's breaking of the North amendment to support Roosevelt in 1936.

THE SITDOWN

When the GM strike broke out lines. month after the Nov. 1936 elections, Roosevelt not only did nothing to aid the strikers, he actually tried to stab them in the back. The GM strike was a rank

and file uprising. During this strike the sitdown tactic reach-Nevertheless, for the first ed its most effective peak. The time in its history, GM was stronghold of the strikers was forced to recognize a union. It in Flint. CIO President John made a public stipulation, an- L. Lewis backed the sitnouncing that the corporation downers publicly and when would meet with a union com-Roosevelt proposed that the ing strangled by a no-picketing mittee, rehire all strikers and Flint strikers leave the plant 1934. These two vital years of injunction when the leaders of raise wages. This union victory in return for a one month con-1934 and 1935 are referred to the Lucas County (Toledo) Un- helped pave the way for the tract, Lewis coldly rejected this outrageous proposition.

The first reference to Walter Reuther in Edward Levinson's In 1935, the auto workers also book, Labor on the March, debegan the fight to establish the scribing the rise of the CIO, try to conceal from today's mem- ployed leaders were associated kind of internal union structure tells about him leading a connecessary to advance the cause tingent of 500 from his amalwaged its founding battles large- ty, which was soon to merge of industrial unionism. At the gamated West Side local in Dely under the leadership of radi- with the Trotskyists to form 1935 convention, a great battle troit to aid the Flint strikers. Following the GM victory, Stalinists and Socialists. The Workers Party. Their defiance in which the delegates sought the UAW consolidated its forces union was built in fierce strug- of the injunction rallied tens of to oust Francis Dillon who had in other leading companies, gle against the class-collabora- thousands to a titanic battle been appointed their president such as Chrysler. In April 1941 tionist AFL bureaucracy and that won a signed contract and by William Green. They were the union toppled Ford with a

INTERNAL UNION FIGHT

This period also was marked by growth of an unprincipled factional struggle for power The present UAW leaders among the top UAW leaders. the AFL officials blocked its founding of the union and its for the slipperiest kind of foot-Green's personal representative, part, to their Democratic Party In 1937, he was lined up with the impetus for the expansion by red-baiting attacks on union

officers. Several months later The overwhelming majority of the UAW formally affiliated the auto workers renewed their, pledge of loyalty to the CIO Perhaps the most significant and elected R. J. Thomas to re-

At the UAW's 1941 convention resolution adopted by the tion, it was Reuther who introtime deprived members of their labor actions of the Roosevelt union rights on the grounds of, administration. The politically political belief. The Reuther amendment denied "communists' CIO intervened with a plea to the right to hold union office. The official account of this inclusion of a hotly-debated American Aviation strike in June 1941. The UAW leaders, including Reuther, covered up for Roosevelt when he sent fedd eral troops to smash the picket-

> With U. S. entry into World War II, the entire top UAW<sup>6</sup> leadership, from Reuther through the Stalinists, combined to im-3 pose the no-strike pledge the wage freeze and the speedup on the workers. By the time of the union's 1944 convention the autob workers were in open revolt? against the no-strike pledge. It's took the combined leadership five days to hammer down, then ranks and narrowly defeat all resolution calling for the scrapping of the no-strike pledge. Reuther's tricky maneuvers help-a ed defeat the resolution by a slim margin.

**REUTHER ELECTED** 

Reuther moved to rehabilitate) his damaged reputation by tak-1 ing leadership of the post-war GM strike, which his factional a opponents and the Stalinists op-; posed. As a result of the "oneat-a-time" policy the strike ; stretched out for 113 days but H ended in victory. The UAW convention in March 1946, while the GM strike was still on, elected Reuther to the union presidenc'y.

From this point on, Reuther moved ruthlessly to consolidate his machine control, weaken the constitutional provisions for union democracy and stifle the militancy of the rank and file. In 1950, Reuther signed his notorious five-year GM pact. Hardly was the ink dry, when Truman's "police action" in Korea 1953, the UAW had to invoke the principle of the "living agreement" in order to break the chains of the five-year contract.

When the 1955 spring contract talks began automation and un+ employment had become pressng issues. Many union mem-

bers, including Ford Local 600,

advocated the program of the 30-

hour week at 40 hours pay. Reu-

ther had attacked this program

at the 1953 convention as "com-

munist" and put over his so-call-

ed Guaranteed Annual Wage

plan. The new three-year GM

contract contained a GAW plan

only "in principle," providing

for a maximum of six months

unemployment insurance supple-

ments, averaging between seven

With the contract less than a

year old, the auto corporations

But those fired before May 2

of those now laid off are not

and eight dollars a week.

in one revolutionary situation after an-other. In all these events the Trotskyists fought for a revolutionary Leninist policy. Ford Local Debates Civil Rights DETROIT - The Negro strug | thorize its leadership to prepare | of democracy and freedom to help | tried to turn it into, like many

'uncovering" of "secret plots" with agents of the White Guards and the class enemy. The first steps were minor when compared to the wholesale murder and terror later employed but they were unmistakable as a symptom of bureaucratic degeneration.

Who was politically right in the early struggle over the issue of party democracy? The Trotskyist Left Opposition, which warned that the party was being strangled in the grip of a bureaucratic parasitic growth on the body of the first workers' state in history? Or Stalin, who was busy advancing the faction on which the bureaucratic caste had fixed its hopes? Who was politically right in that fight? Let the Communist workers judge in the light of history.

# **Trotsky and Industrialization**

Khrushchev also lies when he credits Stalin with leadership in the struggle to industrialize the Soviet Union and declares the Trotskyist political line would have prevented the economic successes of the workers state. Everything is exactly in reverse as far as the facts are concerned. It was Trotsky and the Left-Opposition that proposed the first five-year plan and + a campaign for collectivization of agricul-

ture. The faction of Stalin, which at that time leaned for social support on the wealthy peasantry (Kulaks) and the pettybusinessmen (Nepmen), opposed Trotsky's concept of industrialization as "utopian." The Stalinists ridiculed in particular Trotsky's proposal for the Dniepestroy dam. The opposition was derided as "superindustrializers" and were accused of "underestimating the peasantry."

# The Central Struggle

But events bore out the correctness of the Left Opposition's viewpoint. Even after Stalin succeeded in expelling the proletarian wing of the party headed by Trotsky, he was forced to adopt the industrialization program of the opposition. However, in the hands of the bureaucracy industrialization was now to be carried out at the cost of terrible sacrifices of the working class. Untold waste resulted from the caprice, ignorance, preoccupation with feathering their own nests, sloth and mismanagement of the bureaucratic regime. Read Khrushchev's description of how

Stalin directed the war and you get an inkling of how the drive for industrializa-

only could the future reconstitution of the political repercussions all over world vanguard revolutionary party be prepared.

Communist workers and youth seeking to prepare themselves for revolutionary events will find no other arsenal of Marxist strategy and tactics than the works of is uncovering a number of Adlai The statement spoke of Trotsky during the epoch of Stalinist reaction.

The struggle continues in every country. to this very day. The basic policies of the Communist parties were shaped by the rule of Stalinism. Under Stalinism the class struggle doctrine of Marx and Lenin has been perverted and distorted into its opposite. Here in the U.S. we witness the debasement of Leninism in the spectacle of the Communist Party leaders trying t pass off their support of the Democrativ Party — in the name of Lenin.

## **Politics of Stalinism**

The politics of the Stalinist bureaucrac in the Soviet union is the politics of class collaboration. The bureaucracy, like every petty-bourgeois formation, wishes to mediate between the basic class forces and maintain its position at the summit of Soviet society. As long as it can maintain its parasitic position it will declare the "irrevocable triumph of socialism" has been achieved in the Soviet Union and it will call for peaceful coexistence with capitalism in the rest of the world.

But the march of world revolutionary forces are stronger than these aspiration of the bureaucracy. The power of social revolution and colonial revolt has been mounting since World War II. The new world situation has already put capitalisn at an enormous disadvantage. The reverb erations of this process within the Sovie' Union are to be found precisely in the frantic moves of the bureaucracy to destroy the Stalin cult and yield concession as "extremist," Hubbard has beafter concession to the Soviet workers.

The Soviet workers emerged from the war feeling a new confidence and power. They are aware of the world upsurge against capitalism. They are showing in has been hailed by segregationmany ways that they will not tolerate the | ists everywhere? bureaucracy in the Soviet union for long They are opening a new stage in the Russian revolution. This new stage must culminate in a political revolution against the Stalinist regime which will provide a new and irresistible impetus to the world socialist revolution.

denouncing Hub the South is producing band. A statement was prepared the country. It has exposed the by one of President Carl Stelliberal Democrats like Adlai lato's aides and adopted by the

Stevenson as fakers who give executive board in April. The Militant has called the lip-service to civil rights but refuse to fight the segregationist statement "shockingly mild," and forces in their own party. And it that's a mild way of putting it. Stevensons right inside the labor alleged anti-American statement purportedly" made by Hubbard movement, even among labor and reaffirmed its traditional supleaders who have been counted as port of traditional civil rights Take Ford Local 600 of the proposals regardless of who may oppose them, "whether it be Sen-United Auto Workers, for example. In his new book, "Neator Eastland, Mayor Hubbard or

groes on the March," Daniel ex-Governor Talmadge." Guenin writes that since its As weak as dishwater, the "has ocstatement even added: "However. cupied a high place among we will not get into the luxury American trade unions for it. of personal arguments with those record of harmonious race rela who, as is their right, differ with tions and of bringing Negroe us on this matter, since personal inguments will not establish civi! nights. Civil rights can only be Relatively speaking, that's true. lthough if Negroes share in the established firmly by the enactment and enforcement of the

local leadership it's not because proper laws and the education of anyone "brought" them there but because they represent about e the people of this nation to accept and conform to such laws," etc. quarter of the membership and ought for and won positions of NOT PERSONAL DISPUTE

But Negro and white militants But even in Local 600 the new the local don't think their diftage in the Negro struggle ha ferences with Hubbard are p produced tensions, confilicts and 'personal argument," and they 'ivisions between those who mean mow the local has adopted ) isiness on civil rights and those hundred statements m ch stronge tho, don't want to do any mor than this one on civil rights developments in the South. Pres-2.1 sure began to grow for a stronge

A RABID RACIST The big Ford Rouge plant and stand, and the local's Flair Emocal 600 are both situated in ployment Practices Committee Delarborn, and the mayor o drew up a stronger report of Dearborn is Orville Hubbard. The Hubbard and presented it to the word "vicious" is often overused Council meeting or General in radical papers, but there really May 13.

"It is our firm belief," said the s no other word to describe Hub and. He is the most victous racis! FEP report, "that an issue can olding any public office in the never be resolved by runnin North, a genuine countempart of away from it, or by taking ? 'hands off' policy." It proposed

Like other northern racists who that Hubbard "should be answered are emboldened by the growing bluntly and straightforwardly by attacks on the Negro movement | Local 600. . . The issue is clear as stated by Walter Reuther when come more outspoken lately. The he said, There is no room in the Montgomery Advertiser; as pair Democratic Party for Eastland of its campaign to "justify" Jim and labor'; we in Local 600 say Crow in the South, got Hubbard 'There is no room in Dearborr to grant it an interview which for both Hubbard and Local 606 . Hubbard must go.

The committee added a "solemn Hubbard not only declared that warning" to the leaders and memhe is "for complete segregation bens of the local: "There is no one million per cent on all levels," onger a middle ground; you are but he also boasted gleefully that either for the Constitution of the Dearborn is lily-white, thanks to Untited States or for Jim Crow Now is the time for Local 600 his policy of preventing Negroes as in the past, to take a clear. The General Council of Local concise, clean-cut position and to 600 voted unanimously to au- throw its full weight on the side

bardism."

# SHY OF FIGHT

The same kind of report, if it was directed against Eastland, would surely pass unanimously in "an

Local 600, despite its reaffirme not at all eager to engage in fight with Hubbard.

This became plain when Stelato urged the Council to reject the FEP Committee's report. But it took a lot of doing, and he had to bring considerable pressure to bear to get a slight majority. The vote was 67 against the report to 57 for it; even two of the officers disregarded Stellato's

plea Non-'Red' Oath The breach in the General Coun cil was so wide that Stellato fel compelled in the next issue of Auto Workers in Buffalo, recently Ford Facts to defend himself defeated a resolution that would His administration, he said have required officers, committeedoesn't have to apologize for its men and convention delegates to stand on civil rights; its original sign that they did not belong to statement he claimed, was "forth groups on the Attorney-General's right"; he said he had opposed the FEP report as an "unneces May 19 Labor's Daily, the local sary and unwarranted attack or was smeared as CP infiltrated in the officers and membership" by the John F. Noto Smith Act trial allegedly inferring that they were and officers capitulated to the running away" from the issue witch-hunt pressure.

NO MIDDLE GROUND

"This was not a vote for or administration and its policy," he

declared. Anyhow, that's what he 116 University Pl. N. Y. 3, N. Y

another union bureaucrat who attempts to befog issues when members stand up to vote against him. But even as a vote of confidence in the Stellato leadership it was not impressive because his majority was the smallest he has received on any major issue in Local 600 for several years. Stellato got his majority, and Hubbard must be breathing easier, But that doesn't end the issue. The FEP Committee was comtions of civil rights in general, is pletely correct when it said this is an issue you can't evade. Adla Stevenson is learning that. And

the labor leaders are going to this spring started mass layoffs. learn it too. Either you fight Jim Crow or you lend it assistance, will receive no supplemental passively or actively. There is no benefits at all. About 90 percent middle ground, and those who try to stand on it will be swept aside with the contempt they merit.

covered and funds are available for about a months payment for those covered. **UAW Local Rejects** Reuther's demagogy and fine

sounding "plans" enabled him to rise to the top of the UAW. Members of Local 424, United But his radicalism is in the long, dead past. He now whoops it up for capitalism and is working with might and main to corral votes for the Democrats. He red-baits more fiercely than Homer Martin red-baited him subversive list. According to the in the Thirties.

But the facts of life are teaching the auto workers many vital lessons! Their great founding tradition of union democracy and militancy will be recalled and inspire them anew. As they showed the way during the heroic rise of CIO industrial unionism, they have the opportunity to lead in the next great forward step of American labor by carrying through the project posed at their convention 20 years ago - the building of labor's own political party.



### A One-Year Subscription against civil rights — it was a to THE MILITANT vote of confidence in the local

Only \$3



# The Negro Struggle By Jean Blake

# **Defend the NAACP**

An important item in the highly organized white supremacist campaign to maintain and extend Jim Crow in the United States is the plan to outlaw the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The action of Alabama's Attorney General John Patterson on June 1st in obtaining a court injunction to stop "further activity" by the NAACP in that state was only one in a whole series of legislative, judicial and administrative steps by southern states to ban the organization.

In some states the NAACP has already been labeled subversive, and its members barred from holding public office. In others, legislation is either being enacted or proposed to require registration of members with state police agencies, or to legalize other forms of persecution and penalization of those who support its program.

These measures aim to destroy the most authoritative national organization through which colored people in this country attempt to utilize the so-called democratic processes in order to win equal rights. The NAACP should have the support of every defender of civil liberties in its struggle to maintain its legality.

The charge against the NAACP by the southern reactionaries is that the organization is subversive, that it aims to overthrow their "way of life," that it advocates illegal actions (opposition to segregation laws), that it "foments racial strife."

In the past, when the NAACP has been called subversive, some of the leaders of the organization have grabbed at an unprincipled defense formula: They have accepted the witch hunters premise that unorthodox or anti-capitalist political views are subversive. They held it permissible to restrict the civil liberties of persons and organizations that hold such views; but protested with righteous indignation that the NAACP is completely loyal to the American way of life — the capitalist system - and therefore should not be attacked as subversive.

That was wrong on many counts, bu there are three that are particularly pertinent to the present situation. First, civi liberties, as many of us in the NAACI have said repeatedly, are indivisible. By granting the government the right to restrict civil rights for those with unpopular economic or political views NAACP leaders have weakened their case against the "right" of state governments to restrict the civil rights of those with unpopular social views.

Second, by accepting the validity of the arbitrary federal and state subversive lists instead of fighting them, NAACP leaders failed to teach their members how to fight the present attack.

Third, by accepting the limitation on freedom of political opinions, associations and aims imposed by the subversive lists, NAACP leaders sold out the right of Negroes, as well as others, to hold radical THREE DEMANDS views.

In the South, today, opposition to segregation is subversive, radical, and, from the viewpoint of the ruling class, foments racial strife. The right to hold radical ing arrangement is economically views on integration, to support associations to foster them, the attempt to abolish (or change) existing institutions by political action — these are precisely the rights the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People must defend.

The NAACP must take a forthright stand on these issues, saying "if this be subversion, make the most of it!"

# VOLUME XX NUMBER 24 MONDAY, JUNE 11, 1956 **Bus Boycott Solid in Florida;** 6-Month Alabama Fight Firm

THE MILITANT

### By Henry Gitano

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., June 6 — A disciplined boycott all, singing, got up by sections, "Injunctions against our strug- press, negotiates, and takes care walked past the front, made their gle can't stop us. They can't of whatever else has to be done. by this city's 14,400 Negroes has halted the buses and dontations and returned. \$690 was unified the Negro people her in a powerful struggle for collected while hymns were sung. their nights.

The protest was touched off gro drivers and a policy of when two Negro co-eds of Florida countesy. A & M University were arrested

MEETING'S REPLY May 26 after demanding a refund

Last Sunday night at an Interof their fare rather than bow to segregation by vacating their seats. The following night a cross more than a thousand Rev. C. K. Steele, Council president, anwas burnt in front of their home. nounced that the council had Thus, Tallahassee is reinforcing received no copy of the city comthe 6-month bus battle of Montmission's statement. He added gomery, Ala., where I attended that "we know what we want and an inspiring mass meeting two they know what we want." This nights ago. A local cab driver was greeted with wild applause. said: "It's remarkable. It looks A motion was made from the like my people grew up overfloor that this demand means:

When you pay your fare, you can sit anywhere you want. A vote was taken. "All those in favor, Tallahassee's Inter-Civic Counaye" - the walls fairly shook. cil, set up to lead the protest, The council announced there released the following proposals

would be no settlement behind 1. "Since the present bus seatclosed doors. All decisions would be made through mass meetings. unsound, humiliating, arbitrary, Rev. K. S. Dupont, council vice-president, told the mass inequitable, inconvenient and

morally unjustifiable; all bus passengers shall have the right about newly-anrived men leading passenger. Many walked. to sit wherever they choose on this struggle. "If I'd been here 50 years and hadn't done anyany bus or buses. 2. "Since people of all races, thing about it. I'd be ashamed. by their patronage contribute to Methuselah lived a thousand years waiting to die, without

the support of the bus company, people of all races shall have an doing anybody any good." opportunity to work for the bus

POLICE INTIMIDATION company in various capacities. . . Rev. Steele reported being 3. "That all bus drivers be arrested for speeding and passing constantly reminded of their never-ending obligations to render a stop sign while driving a vehicle in the car pool set up by the courteous service and equitable boycotters. He pleaded not guilty treatment to all passengers, reand expressed the hope that some gardless of race, creed, or color." of his friends would show up with It took the city commission ten him. He assured everyone that minutes to unanimously reject

Rev. Damon would be there, since

mission were printed in the local Sunday afternoon press. They included "first come, first served"

he'd been arrested by this same ciation, announced that this was cop three times in one day. Rev. Steele declared that this illegal intimidation will be challenged and urged everyone to register as

citizenship. Nothing will stop us." 'Nothing, Lord, nothing,"

CAR POOL ORGANIZED thousand voices. The Inter-Civic transportation committee is headed by Dan Speed, whose grocery store serves actors. On the 5th of December as dispatching center for the car we marched forth and we marched Civic Council mass meeting of pool from 6 AM to 10 PM. The well," said Dr. King. He paid telephone is the nerve center. tribute to courageous Rosa Parks Drivers, those needing rides, re- | who started the protest. "There's porters, attorneys, leaders of the a point beyond which human movement, maintain contact. endurance can go. Rosa Parks Through the glass window can be was the spark that lit the flames. seen the volunteer drivers -These flames have spread to workers, pastors, housewives, Tallahassee." There was a thunstudents. From 6 to 8:30 AM derous applause at mention of there are 27 pick-up stations with Tallahassee 43 registered cars.

Most of those in the car pool **REGULAR NEWSLETTER** organize themselves right in their neighborhoods. Speed estinewsletter with factual accounts mates that 200 cars not registered of the current MIA situation was with him operate as pick-up announced, beginning next week. vehicles. They follow the regular bus routes.

The local radio reported the with Jesus makes it right all boycott 100% effective. I observed bus after bus empty, with meeting of slighting remarks an occasional one carrying a lone home." the chant. section after sectior.

got up and walked around the On Monday, June 4, the bus company petitioned the city comhall. singing with gusto, their bodies swaying to the beat, giving mission to abandon the two runs their cash with eagerness and in the Negro community because most of the "patrons on said song.

routes have voluntarily ceased to use the hus service." In Montgomery, like in Tal-

ended, everyone was hungry for lahassee, there is no more fear news from Tallahassee. They were no longer alone in what Dr. King described to me as "the Negroes confidence in his own capacities: something he himself used to doubt. The idea of the MIA will spread, for the Negro has prover that he can unite and organize Montgomery Improvement Assoto gain his self-respect."

"OUR CUPS RUN OVER" six-month anniversary celebration. "We've gone a long, long Later, in Tallahassee, I talked way, and we've got a long, long with Civic Council President, the way to go to get our first-class Rev. C. K. Steele. He is a compact powerhouse. He drives for the car pool, handles the phone at the Was

dispatcher's office, meets the

enjoin the forces of justice," said He told me that the protest was Rev. King. "No Lord, no they a "crystallization of feeling on can't," was the reply from a the part of the people who are tired of being pushed around, humilitated and treated unjustly. "This is not a drama with one actor, but with more than 50,000 Our cups have run over."

When the Florida A & M students left their mass meeting. 2,300 strong, and stopped the first bus May 28, the protest was afoot and spread. The boycott was a reality before the ICC came into being. The splendid discipline Rev. Steele attributes to "the long years of suffering in silence. Now the Negro feels a sense of dignity in his own worth. He's sacrificing for something meaningful. While struggling we have great sympathy for our white brothers. We The publication of a regular feel that they too are the victims

of prejudice which has degraded both the butcher and butchered."

An offering was taken up. The RANKS FORCE ISSUE chair chanted: "Just a little talk

Rev. Steele related that some of those whom the white citizen right. Don't expect to get the considers Negro leaders were journey over, until I reach m afraid that nobody would respond The assembly picked up to the mass meetings. Some thought too much was asked, even proposing demands confined to a segregated bus system. "It was the sentiment of the ranks as expressed in the two mass meetings, which returned the struggle These meetings have been held on its true course. The people weekly. After the June 4 meeting know better than anyone else what they want."

Son of a retired coal miner with 40 years in West Virginia pits, Rev. Steele has come up the hard way. He stressed how this movement had given a meaning to life o the mass, who in turn have given life to this movement. Rev. Steele said there was an urgent need for four station wagons and cash.

The treasurer of the ICC is Rev. J. Metz Rollins. In his late twenties. tall and lean, he talked about the Inter-Racial Council that was proposed last week by some Negro leaders to promote better understanding between races. Rev. Rollins commented that it wouldn't work within the framework of segregation and anyway he wanted to give the tottering prejudiced set-up its final push. He observed that there was a wide gap between the elected officials of the ICC and

the non-elected "leaders." THE FIGHT AHEAD

"The old school leaders operate

on the level of personal protest.

little personal favors such as a

few Negro cops. A happy relation-

"The legal front is not enough.

Anything they give you, they can

also take away. Genuine victories

# **Maritime Hiring Halls**

# By Roy Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, June 3 — The Taft-Hartley act is about to claim another victim — the West Coast maritime hiring hall. Ever since the bloody waterfront battles of 1934 West Coast seamen have been dispatched to ships from their own hiring halls on the basis of how long they were out of work. Now all this is threatened.

Unfair labor practices charges have been filed against the Sailors Union of the Pacific in five separate regional offices of the National Labor Relations Board. The charges directly attack hiring procedures which have been in effect for over 20 years. At present only members can register for jobs in the union hiring hall.

exist in the fink hall days. The principle that the man longest out of work was bus company's petition, to disconentitled to the first job available is no tinue the runs along two routes. longer in force.

The present NLRB cases arose directly from the long, bitter fight, between the now defunct National Union of Marine within the framework of segrega-Cooks and Stewards and Harry Lunde- tion, taking applications for Neberg's Sailors Union of the Pacific for jurisdiction over the stewards department on West Coast ships. Last year Lundeberg was able to win a rigged NLRB election and drive the NUMCS out of business.

Immediately after winning the election. Ed Tunner, International Representative for the Seafarers International Union, Murry Weiss - Ed.] stewards department, announced that

these proposals and accept the

night.

yesterday:

But concessions by the city com-



[We publish herewith a letter | public. Like so many others in the | came aquainted with Trotsky's | that Trotsky was wrong which appeared in the Daily ranks of the Communist Party struggle for a united front of against Stalin on the crucial ques Worker May 30 and a reply by you probably doubted that the action between the German Com- tion of Germany? And didn't the Moscow Trials were anything but munist Party and the Social policy of Stalin lead to a frame-ups, but you were told that Democratic Party through the cataclysmic defeat which opened

part of the battle for first-class citizenship. An offering was taken up, and the mass response.

On June 4. Montgomery's Holt Street Baptist Church was packed. Brave men and women were jammed into the hall, entrances, stairways, outside the windows, and in the basement. Dr. Martin Luther King, president of the

This procedure is specifically banned by the Taft-Hartley Act.

Precedent for the present drive to break the West Coast hiring halls was established when maritime unions on the East Coast bowed to the Taft-Hartley provisions and opened their halls to non-union seamen. The East Coast unions revised their hiring practices to conform with Taft-Hartley. They allowed non-union men to register for jobs but set up a system. of priorities based on "seniority" which in effect barred most non-members from shipping. However this rule also has an adverse affect on the newer members of the union by establishing a sort of job trust for older members, and opened the door for all the old abuses that used to

ditor, Daily Worker: former members of the NUMCS would b

allowed to use the hiring facilities of his union. Apparently he has not lived up to labor charges.

If the NLRB charges are sustained the rank and file seamen in their struggle to maintain equal shipping rights. Any breach in the rotary system spells doom for job equality for rank and file seamen. | Trotskyites, racists, White Citizen A Taft-Hartley victory over the hiring hall Councils and McCarthy. makes it fairly simple for the union bureaucracy, in league with the shipping companies, to practice favoritism and keep Trotskyites are equal to the other

building communism. (Tumultu-

ous applause.) And the fact that

we present in all their ramifica-

tions the basic problems of over-

coming the cult of the individual

which is alien to Marxism-Len-

inism, as well as the problem of

liquidating its burdensome con-

sequences, is an evidence of

the great moral and political

strength of our Party. (Pro-

We are absolutely certain that

our party, armed with the his-

torical resolutions of the twenti-

eth congress, will lead the Soviet

people along the Leninist path to

new successes, to new victories.

Long live the victorious ban-

prolonged ap-

prolonged

longed applause.)

plause.)

# ... Text of Khrushchev's Speech

(Continued from page 6) tical and practical work. It is necessary for this pur-

| roneous views connected with the | dividuals abusing their power cerning both ideological-theore- cult of the individual in the The evil caused by acts violating is) as the "four socialist parties." sphere of history, philosophy, revolutionary Socialist legality which have accumulated during it is much closer to the truth economy and of other sciences,

as well as in the literature and a long time as a result of the pose: First, in a Bolshevik manner the fine arts. It is especially negative influence of the cult of to condemn and to eradicate the necessary that in the immediate the individual has to be comfuture we compile a serious textcult of the individual as alien to pletely corrected.

finally, characterized by the

Thirdly, to restore completely

Union, to fight willfulness of in-Irise.)

the Leninist principles of Soviet

wide practice of criticism and (Tumultuous,

Socialist democracy, expressed (Tumultuous,

in the Constitution of the Soviet plause ending in ovation.

book of the history of our party Marxism-Leninism and not con-Comrades! The twentieth consonant with the principles of which will be edited in accordgress of the Communist Party of ance with scientific Marxist obparty leadership and the norms the Soviet Union has manifested jectivism, a textbook of the his- | with a new strength the unshakof party life, and to fight intory of Soviet society, a book able unity of our party, its coexorably all attempts at bringpertaining to the events of the hesiveness around the Central ing back this practice in one civil war and the great patriotic form or another. Committee, its resolute will to accomplish the great task of

To return to and actually pracwar. tice in all our ideological work LENINIST PRINCIPLES the most important theses of HAILED Marxist - Leninist science about

Secondly, to continue systethe people as the creator of history and as the creator of all matically and consistently the material and spiritual good of work done by the party's Central humanity, about the decisive Committee during the last years, role of the Marxist party in the a work characterized by minute revolutionary fight for the trans- observation in all party organiformation of society, about the zations, from the bottom to the top, of the Leninist principles of victory of communism.

In this connection we will be party leadership, characterized, above all, by the main principle forced to do much work to examine critically from the Marx- of collective leadership, characist - Leninist viewpoint and to terized by the observation of the correct the widely spread ernorms of party life described in the statutes of our party, and

self-criticism.

NE	KT W	EEK			,	
	In	The	M	ilita	ant	
"St	alinisi	m an	d	Bol	shev	ism'

By Leon Trotsky

union militants off the ships.

in the interests of the defense of | Militant, which was distributed at | I almost started by saying am not a Trotskyite, but. . ." then to remain silent.

realized how unimportant that his promise because it is members of the should be, for a thought should defunct union who filed the NLRB unfair be examined no matter from what gularter it comes.

I think that reader N. J. (May 24) continues a harmful practice against the West Coast Sailors, and that in our movement, a practive which seems likely, it will be one more defeat for | is to a great extent not only manifestiation of, but also reason for many of the errors and shortcomings now discussed. Reader N. J. lumps together

How about thinking rather than parroting old phrases? Is reader

N. J. really convinced that the three groups, the worst in Amer-

enemies.

Dear B.

exposing and fighting these

pick-axe assassin? Some Stalinist spokesmen are block Hitler's road to power,

framed, tortured and annihilated by the thousands. This was wrong. Stalin's theory declared that

where slandered and framed the ican life? It might interest him that the Independent Socialist laborated with the FBI and the "Monthly Review" (no enemy of Department of Justice in pressing ours, let's admit) speaks of the for the prosecution of the Trot-CP, Socialist Party, Socialist skyists in the first Smith Act Labor Party and Socialist Work-Trials in Minneapolis, 1941. All ers Party (the Trotskyites, that

Perhaps it is not exactly so, but OPEN STRUGGLE that N. J.'s tactics.

It is this kind of irresponsible phrase-mongering, insensitive socalled "hard and smart" tactics which obscured many of th truths from us. I myself see the Trotskyi'tes as a sectarian and rather divorced from life emotional group, but I need not continue to attack them as the worst

— B. position.

But it is precisely the open

I should like to comment on your May 30 letter to the Daily Worker and invite you to reply, tion and outlaw its ideas. Have

every lie told by the Stalinists

ner of our party-Leninism! It is clear from your letter that All

"I the Soviet Union it was necessary a Union Square demonstration. REVIEW THE HISTORY After studying Trotsky'

Now you are told by Khrush- pamphlet, Germany: What Next? chev that Stalin's crimes brought I became convinced that his posithe Soviet Union to the brink of tion was correct and of vital imdisaster in World War II. Ask portance to the international yourself: Wasn't Trotsky right in Communist movement.

As against Trotsky's proposal crimes every step of the way even that the German Communist though he paid for it with his Party launch a struggle for the life at the hands of a Stalinist united front of action with the Social Democratic Party and thus

now arguing as follows: The Stalin's theory of "social fascism' Trotskyists, it is true, were and "united front from below"

And on the basis of the frame-"fascism and Social Democracy ups in the Soviet Union the Comwere twins" and that as a matter munist Panty in the U.S. as elseof fact the Social Democrats were the main danger in Germany. Trotskyists. The CP even col- This seemed to me to be sheer insanity that would surely lead to the ruin of the German revolu-

tion. You must remember that in those days we young Communists lived in the hope that Germany this was wrong. But, they conwould accomplish the socialist clude, this does not prove the revolution and break the imperial-Trotskyists were politically night. ist encirclement of the Soviet Union.

Very well. We Trotskyists never asked that our position be accepted on our say so. Only bureaucrats armed with economic statement condemning Trotsky as and material power can compel a counter-revolutionist or be ex-'agreement." The Marxists have pelled. I refused to write such always relied on the open strugstatement and was expelled. gle of tendencies within the labor movement and the test of events is that the Stalinists never

to prove the correctness of their

struggle of political tendencies that was prevented by the Stalinist bureaucracy. That was the function of the frame-up and the blood purge: to silence the opposi-

the members of the Communist Party ever had the opportunity to seriously study the basic position of the Bolshevik-Leninis Opposition led by Trotsky in the

Trotskyists, to which you took B., honestly say that you have judgement on that basis?

## GERMAN EXPERIENCE

the Young Communist League in

1932. The great issue before the world Communist movement at never offered any kind of serious disposed of with a simple gesture you rejected these lies even be- that time was the threat of Hitler explanation for the German of the hand."

fore Khrushchev's speech became taking power in Germany. I beldebacle. Can anyone today say

the way for World War II?

I cite the German question only as an example. It seems to me ship is established on the basis of that it is the duty of all a quiescent Negro. The miracle serious revolutionists to review, of the boycott is that it awakens this time with Trotsky's works feelings among ordinary Nebefore them, the historic struggroes: they realize that they don't gle that split the world comhave to take it anymore.' munist movement and trace this struggle through the test of major world events since then. In his speech, Khrushchev admits that many crimes were committed against the Trotskyists. But he asserts that Trotskyism was promulgiated by the CP. was politically wrong and was

have to come from the very bottom," said Rev. Rollins. "The May 17 decision hasn't affected my life too much. There's still a colored water fountain I have to defeated by ideological means use in the department store. The before Stalin's terror began. boycott reveals a willingness to This is a falsehood from begin-

pay for getting freedom." ing to end as can be proven by irrefutable documented evidence From the very beginning Stalin Brooklyn waged the struggle against the Trotskyist opposition with the **Public Meeting** methods of bureaucratic terror. frame-ups and amalgams. The Left Opposition was defeated, not by ideological struggle but by the rise of a privileged bureau-"Working Class Policy

cratic caste riding the wave of in the 1956 Elections' reaction to the October revolution and profiting from the demoralization brought by the FARRELL DOBBS - Soearly defeats of the revolution in

Europe and Asia. Kihrushichev wants the rankand-file Communist workers to take his word for the flact that Trotskyism was politically wrong Why should the workers believe Khrushchev? Yesterday he said the Trotskyists were spies and traitors, agents of Hitler and the Mikado, or when diplomatic expediency required, they were

opposition were proscribed as agents of British and American representing the "vanguard of mperialism. Today he admits all world counter - revolution." No this was false and that thousands discussion was permitted. Stalin's were murdered in the name of this ruinous policy remained in effect. falsehood. Why accept Khnush-In the light of this single chev's version of Troitskyism to tragic episode in the history of day? Isn't it better to take the the struggle between Trotskyism advice of Lenin who said:

and Stalinism, I wonder how you "It is necessary that every can lightly dismiss the Trotmember of the Party should study skyists as "sectarian and rather calmly and with the greatest obdivorced from life." Wouldn't it jectivity first the substance of be more in order to study the the differences of opinion, and respective positions of Stalinism then the development of the and Trotskyism in such an event struggles within the Party. as the defeat of the German Neither the one nor the other can working class by Hitler? And be done unless the documents of both sides are published. He necessary in view of the fact that who takes somebody's word for it to this day the Stalinists have is a hopeless idiot, who can be

Governor and Mayor Sunday, June 24 - 8 P. M Sunrise Manor 1638 Pitkin Avenue Donation 50c. Auspices: **Brooklyn Compass Club** Los Angeles **Public Meeting** The Algerian Struggle for Freedom and the Crisis in France"

Hear

cialist Workers Party Presi-

W. E. B. DU BOIS - Distin-

DAVID GOLDWAY - Exec.

CLIFFORD T. McAVOY -

Sec. of the Jefferson School

Former ALP Candidate for

guished Scholar and Edu-

dential Candidate

cator

Speaker: David Dreiser Fri., June 22 - 8:15 P.M. 1702 East Fourth Street Discussion Refreshments

either in the columns of the Militant or in any other way. By the time this is published

such vigorous exception, are a pack of lies based on the monstrous frame - ups and blood

Weiss' Reply

purges organized by the Stalin regime. With the publication of Khrushchev's speech, each and

every member of the Communist Plarty will know that the kind of accusations N. J. hurled at the

against Trotskyism is blown sky

Soviet Union? Can you, Comrade

isn't such a study particularly

I attempted to bring my con-

victions to my comrades in the

youth movement and as a result

vas ordered to either submit a

The important thing, however

allowed a free discussion of Trot-

sky's proposal for applying the

Leninist tactic of the united front

in Germany. The ideas of the

read the works of the Trotskvist movement and formed your I remember my own experience with Trotskyism as a member of

- Murry Weis